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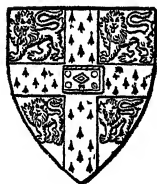


# THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

*A QUARTERLY JOURNAL EDITED FOR THE  
MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION*

BY  
CHARLES J. SISSON  
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AND  
ALEXANDER GILLIES

VOLUME XL



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# CONTENTS

## ARTICLES

	PAGE
BISSON, L. A., Proust, Bergson, and George Eliot . . . . .	104
DAVIS, M. GERARD, Colour in Ronsard's Poetry . . . . .	95
DODDS, MADELINE HOPE, 'A Forrest Tragaedye in Vacunium' . . . . .	246
ENTWISTLE, WILLIAM J., Justina's Temptation an Approach to the Under- standing of Calderón . . . . .	180
ETTLINGER, L., Carlyle on Portraits of Frederick the Great. An Unpublished Letter . . . . .	259
GILLIES, A., Herder and Masaryk some Points of Contact . . . . .	120
GRAFE, L. F., On the Date and Idea of Faust's First Monologue in 'Faust II', vv 4679-4727 . . . . .	115
HAY, CAMILLA H., The Basis and Character of Alfred de Vigny's Stoicism . . . . .	266
HENNIG, JOHN, Jean Paul and Ireland . . . . .	190
HENNIG, JOHN, Simplicius Simplicissimus's British Relations . . . . .	37
JONES, P. MANSELL, Poe and Baudelaire the 'Affinity' . . . . .	279
MILNE, J. G. and ELIZABETH SWEETING, Further Marginalia from a copy of Bartholomaeus Anglicus . . . . .	237
MILNE, J. G., and ELIZABETH SWEETING, Marginalia in a copy of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' 'De Proprietatibus Rerum'. A new version of the Nine Worthies . . . . .	85
MOORE, M. J., Sicily in the 'Novelle' of Luigi Prandello . . . . .	174
MOORE, SYDNEY H., The Turkish Menace in the Sixteenth Century . . . . .	30
PROCTER, E. S., The Scientific Works of the Court of Alfonso X of Castille The King and his Collaborators . . . . .	12
REISS, H. S., The Problems of Fate and of Religion in the work of Arthur Schnitzler . . . . .	300
ROBERTSON, JEAN, The Early Life of George Chapman . . . . .	157
SCHWARZ, W., The Theory of Translation in Sixteenth-Century Germany . . . . .	289
SCOUTEN, A. H., and LEO HUGHES, The First Season of 'The Honest York- shireman' . . . . .	8
STEWART, J. I. M., 'Julius Caesar' and 'Macbeth'. Two Notes on Shakespearean Technique . . . . .	166
STOLL, ELMER EDGAR, The Validity of the Poetic Vision Keats and Spenser . . . . .	1
WEEVERS, TH., The Poetry of Dutch Resistance . . . . .	197
WEISS, R., The Language of the Poems of Guido Cavalcanti . . . . .	284
WRIGHT, HERBERT G., Has Keats's 'Eve of St Agnes' a Tragic Ending? . . . . .	90

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

BELL, ALEXANDER, 'Teseilun' in the 'Vita S. Willelmi Norwicensis' . . . . .	130
BENNETT, J. A. W., Lombards' Letters ('Piers Plowman', B. v, 251) . . . . .	309
BOROVKOV, ALEXANDER, Uzbek Language Studies . . . . .	49
BRADBURY, J. L., 'Order' in the Book of Common Prayer . . . . .	210
GILLIES, A., Two English Translations of Herder's 'Maran Atha' a Note . . . . .	311
GOFFIN, R. C., 'Here and howne' in 'Troilus and Criseyde' . . . . .	208
HARRISON, THOMAS P., JR., Shakespeare's 'Hebenon' Again . . . . .	310
HATTO, A. T., Parzival 183, 9 . . . . .	48
HENNIG, JOHN, Primer-Versions of Liturgical Prayers a Correction . . . . .	131
MESHCHANINOV, I., Some Questions of Literature and Language considered by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences . . . . .	314

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ( <i>cont</i> )	PAGE
OBNORSKY, S N, New Moscow Linguistics Institute	217
RICARD, ROBERT, 'Cristal, vidrio, vidriera'	216
SHCHERBA, L. V, B A LARIN and A G YAGODINSKY, The Atlas of Russian Languages and Dialects	51
TREHERN, E. M, Notes on 'Hamlet'	213
WALPOLE, V, 'And Cassio hugh in oath' ('Othello', II, III, 227)	47
WHITE, BEATRICE, Whale-hunting, The Barnacle Goose, and the Date of the 'Ancrêne Riwle' Three Notes on Old and Middle English	205
WHITING, B J, A Probable Allusion to Henryson's 'Testament of Cresseid'	46
WRIGHT, HERBERT G, Cowper's 'Retirement' and Balzac's 'Entretiens'	129
WRIGHT, HERBERT G, Sir Henry Parker, Lord Morley and Albrecht Dürer	129
 REVIEWS	
Alexandre, The Medieval French Roman d', iv, ed by E C Armstrong and A. Foulet, v, ed by F B Agard (R. L G. RITCHIE)	56
Alonso, A, La Argentina y la nivelación del Idioma (W J ENTWISTLE)	324
Arrom, J J, Historia de la literatura dramática cubana (E SARMIENTO)	72
Baldwin, T W, William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke (G. D WILLCOCK)	54
Beneit, La Vie de Thomas Becket, ed by B Schlyter (B WOLEDGE)	57
Bethell, S L, Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition (J W R PURSER)	221
Bohman, H, Studies in the Middle English Dialects of Devon and London (S POTTER)	219
Brant, S, The Ship of Fools, trans and ed by E. H Zeydel (A CLOSS)	147
Cailhet, E., Pascal (H F STEWART)	320
Chaytor, H J, From Script to Print (W J ENTWISTLE)	319
Claudel, P, L'Annonce Faite à Marie, ed by A L Sells and C M. Girdlestone (E. STARKIE)	70
Colcord, J C., Sea Language Comes Ashore (S. POTTER)	317
Dominic, Sant, The Life of, in Old French Verse, ed. by W. F Manning (M K POPE)	225
Fairchild, A H. R., Shakespeare and the Tragic Theme (J. H. WALTER)	220
Favorite American Plays of the Nineteenth Century, ed by B H Clark (U ELLIS-FERMOR)	140
Feuillerat, Albert, Essays in honor of, ed. by H M Peyre (A L. SELLS)	141
Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan und Isolde, ed by A Closs (A C DUNSTAN)	73
Grubbs, H A, Jean-Baptiste Rousseau (L W. TANCOCK)	63
Guevara, L. V de, El Conde don Pero Vélez y don Sancho el Deseado, ed by R. H. Olmstead (W J ENTWISTLE)	145
Hebbel, F, Maria Magdalena, ed by G B. Rees (E L STAHL)	325
Hoffman, E J, Alain Chartier (K URWIN)	59
Jiménez, A., La Ciudad del Estudio, Selección y Reforma (W J ENTWISTLE)	324
Jones, E., Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1640-1800 (H. E BUTLER)	223
Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution, ed. by D M. Wolfe (H J. C GRIERSON)	138
Lewis, D. B. W., Ronsard (L. A. BISSON)	60
Lisle, Leconte de, Poèmes choisis, ed by E. Eggh (F JONES)	64
Long, M. M, The English Strong Verb from Chaucer to Caxton (S POTTER)	134
Lope de Vega, El Sembrar en buena Tierra, ed. by W. L. Fichter (W. J. ENTWISTLE)	323

REVIEWS (cont)

	PAGE
Machiavelli's <i>The Prince</i> An Elizabethan Translation, ed by H. Craig (C J Sisson)	136
MacKay, D. E., <i>The Double Invitation in the Legend of Don Juan</i> (W C Atkinson)	143
Mann, T, <i>Tonio Kroger</i> , ed by E M. Wilkinson (J Bithell)	74
Matthews, W., <i>English Pronunciation and Shorthand in the Early Modern Period</i> (S. Potter)	317
Molloy, W. J., <i>The German Catholic Estimation of Goethe</i> (J. Bithell)	148
Navarro, T., <i>Manual de Entonación Española</i> (I Dahl)	322
Pierre d'Abernun of Fetcham, <i>Le Secre de Secrez</i> , ed. by O A Beckerlegge (B Woledge)	58
Polish Anthology, A, ed by T M Filip and M A. Michael (O Elton)	75
Rubsamen, W H, <i>Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca 1500)</i> (A Hughes, O S B)	321
Schaffer, A, <i>The Genres of Parnassian Poetry</i> (E. Eggl)	67
Schlegel, A W, <i>Lectures on German Literature</i> , ed by H G Fiedler (A Gillies)	229
Smith, J C, <i>A Study of Wordsworth</i> (E C Batho)	318
Smith, M. B, <i>Marlowe's Imagery and the Marlowe Canon</i> (U. Ellis-Fermor)	136
Spenser, E, <i>The Minor Poems, I</i> , Variorum edition by C G Osgood and H. G. Lotspeich (B E. C. Davis)	53
Spitzer, L, <i>L'amour lointain de Jaufré Rudel et le sens de la poésie des troubadours</i> (R C Johnston)	227
Stallknecht, N P, <i>Strange Seas of Thought</i> (E. C Batho)	318
Thompson, E, <i>Robert Bridges</i> (G Kitchen)	223
Tomkis, T, <i>Albumazar</i> , ed H G Dick (J H Walter)	222
Torres Naharro, Bartolomé de, <i>Propalladia and other works</i> , ed by J E. Gillet (W. J Entwistle)	228
Uttley, F L., <i>The Crooked Rib</i> (E. J Sweeting)	316
Walpole, R. N., <i>Charlemagne and Roland</i> (E J Sweeting)	135
Williams, E R, <i>The Conflict of Homonyms in English</i> (S Potter)	132
Wordsworth, W, <i>Poems founded on the Affections. Poems on the Naming of Places Poems of the Fancy. Poems of the Imagination</i> , ed. by E. de Selincourt (E C Batho)	318
Wormley, S L, <i>Heine in England</i> (E. M. Wilkinson)	326
<i>Year's Work in English Studies</i> , XXIII, ed by F S Boas (C J. Sisson)	220
<i>Ystoire de la Passion</i> , ed by E A. Wright (M. K. Pope)	226

SHORT NOTICES

<i>Aspects de la Guerre Moderne</i> , ed by E J Sheffer (L W Tancock)	150
Bennett, H. S, <i>Shakespeare's Audience</i> (C J Sisson)	78
Bennetton, N. A, <i>Social Significance of the Duel in Seventeenth Century French Drama</i> (W. J Entwistle)	231
Boas, F. S, <i>American Scenes, Tudor to Georgian, in the English Literary Mirror</i> (E C. Batho)	328
Brewer, E. V, <i>The New England Interest in Jean Paul Friedrich Richter</i> (W F Mainland)	78
Brintzer, C, <i>War and Post-War German Dictionary</i> (C. T. Carr)	330
Bukofzer, M F, <i>Sumer is icumen in A Revision</i> (A Hughes, O S B)	327
Céu Novais Faria, M do, <i>Passagem de nomes próprios de pessoas a nomes comuns em Português</i> (H B Ramalhete)	233

SHORT NOTICES ( <i>cont</i> )	PAGE
Clark, R. E, and L Poston, Jr, French Syntax List (T B W REID)	150
Corneille, P, L'Illusion Comique, ed by J Marks (L A BISSON)	232
Craig, H, Shakespeare and the Normal World (J H WALTER)	230
Dahl, I, Fundamentos de escritura fonética (W J ENTWISTLE)	329
Essays and Studies, xxix, ed by U Ellis-Fermor (W HUSBANDS)	230
Essays by Divers Hands, xx, ed. by G Bottomley (W HUSBANDS)	77
Ferreira, V, Sobre o humorismo de Eça de Queiroz (H B RAMALHETE)	233
Foley, R N, Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866 to 1916 (J M. S TOMPKINS)	231
Gullén, J., La Poética de Bécquer (W. J. ENTWISTLE)	329
Keigwin, R P, The Jutland Wind (B. W. DOWNS)	330
Kirschenbaum, L, Enrique Gaspar and the Social Drama in Spain (A A PARKER)	233
Maistre Pierre Pathelin, as ed by R T. Holbrook (B WOLEDGE)	78
Randall, H W., The Critical Theory of Lorá Kames (U ELLIS-FERMOR)	328
Salmon, Y., Le Général de Gaulle, ed by W W. Timms (L W TANCOCK)	151
Sutherland, J, English in the Universities (C J SISSON)	327
Thorndike, E. L, Man and his Works (S POTTER)	149
Year's Work in English Studies, The, xxii, ed by F S Boas (C J SISSON)	77
NEW PUBLICATIONS	80, 152, 234, 331
ACCOUNTS OF THE MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION	154
EDITORIAL NOTE SUBSCRIPTION RATES	332

## THE VALIDITY OF THE POETIC VISION: KEATS AND SPENSER

In literary criticism we now and then come upon phrases such as 'poetic faith', 'poetic autonomy', 'the validity of the poetic vision', which all more or less involve or imply the notion, sometimes directly expressed, that poetry 'creates another world, governed by laws of its own'. But to such notions the writer generally has recourse in defence rather than in offence. The prevailing supposition, on the other hand, is that poetry or other fine literature is more or less a copy of this world, governed by the laws there in force; and so far as Shakespeare is concerned, since the time of Maurice Morgann and his Falstaff, that opinion has generally been fairly explicit and pronounced. The play is an image of life, the characters 'cases', human documents, or, as Morgann himself put it, 'historic rather than dramatic beings'. Critics have analysed them as such, or thus seriously considered their civic or social relations, and (what is more remarkable) treating them as if the record were biographical and therefore somewhat incomplete or subject to error, instead of fictional and therefore authoritative and final, they have gone behind the returns and undertaken to lay the true and inner nature of the personages bare. But as I have elsewhere noticed,<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth said (with the italics his own) that 'the appropriate business of poetry . . . her privilege and her duty . . . is to treat of things not as they *are* but as they *appear*; not as they exist in themselves but as they *seem* to exist to the *senses* and to the *passions*', William Archer, the dramatic critic, said that the stage 'is the realm of appearances', Mr Percy Lubbock, the literary critic, said of novels such as James's 'Below the surface, behind the outer aspect of [the hero's] mind, we do not penetrate; this is drama, and in drama the spectator must judge by appearances'. And, before them all, Burke,<sup>2</sup> more roundly, declared: 'No work of art can be great but as it deceives, to be otherwise is the prerogative of nature only.' Or as Thomas Hardy once put it, in envy of Turner's pictorial legerdemain, 'Art is the secret of how to produce by a false thing the effect of a true.'<sup>3</sup>

Turning now quite away from drama and character to descriptive and lyric poetry, we may, I think, find apposite and instructive examples of the artistic principle in question in Keats's odes *On a Grecian Urn* and *To a Nightingale*, and also in the stanza about the concerted music, both human and natural, in Spenser's *Bower of Bliss*. On the two odes I will quote the words of the great English scholar and critic Ker, a successor of Arnold in the chair of poetry at Oxford:<sup>4</sup>

There is no alloy of prose thinking as there is in *Prometheus*, as there is in *Hyperion*. The thought in the *Grecian Urn* is so thoroughly poetical that it may be mistaken by a careless reader for fanciful conceit. To think of the figures on the Urn as living personages, this may seem to be merely the sort of childish game that you get in the stories of Hans Andersen—a pleasant reverie, an amusement of the fancy—justifiable as amusement, yet hardly the thing for serious-minded persons to spend much time upon. This is not what Keats intends. The work of his fancy about the Urn is not a

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare and Other Masters*, p. 355, *From Shakespeare to Joyce*, pp. 197, 224.

<sup>2</sup> *On the Sublime and Beautiful*, Pt. 2, Sect. x.

<sup>3</sup> Florence Hardy, *Early Life of Thomas Hardy* (1928), p. 284.

<sup>4</sup> W. P. Ker, *Form and Style in Poetry* (1928), pp. 120-1.

transformation of sober reality into a pleasant lively vision—it is a raid into the eternal world, and an interpretation of that life of Beauty which is common to all the arts—the life of Mnemosyne or Memory. The poem itself effects what the poem speaks about. It is not a fanciful child's story, making toys and furniture move and talk. When you have the poem in your mind, you share in its life.

What little town by river or sea shore,  
Or mountain-built with peaceful citadel,  
Is emptied of its folk this pious morn'?

That is not fanciful pretence, it is poetical vision and interpretation. Not interpretation of the *Grecian Urn* exactly, but of the same life as the *Grecian Urn* renders in its own way. It is the poem of Keats that remains, to do what he describes the *Grecian Urn* as doing.

The thought in the *Ode to a Nightingale* is nearly the same. The immortality of the bird's song is part of that world into which the poet enters.

Both poems are, then, examples of the independence and autonomy of poetry, of another world, governed by laws of its own.

Concerning the *Nightingale* there has been some dispute, but chiefly, I think, because that principle has not been remembered and observed. Critics so perceptive and sympathetic as Colvin and Bridges have both objected to

Thou wast not born for death, immortal bird,

as (in Colvin's phrasing) 'a breach of logic which is also a flaw in the poetry'. This judgement both Mr de Selincourt and Miss Lowell have refused to accept, but alike for a reason which both Colvin and Bridges, though fully recognizing it, yet repudiate—that (in Miss Lowell's words) 'Keats is not referring to the particular nightingale singing at that instant but to the species nightingale'. Or as Mr de Selincourt has it, 'the poet is not really thinking of the permanence of the song-bird's life but rather of his song, with which he naturally identifies the bird, seeing that, apart from its song, it has no life for him'.<sup>1</sup>

The latter explanation is more in the spirit of poetry than Miss Lowell's, nearer to the drift of the poem. *Qua* poet Keats would not—could not—be thinking of the 'species', for poetry, that of Keats pre-eminently, has to do with the individual, the particular and the concrete. And yet Mr de Selincourt leans in Miss Lowell's direction, and still more noticeably so as he cites Wordsworth's lines *To the Cuckoo*, to which, he says, the objection 'would be as applicable'. 'The emotion of each poet', he continues, 'is kindled by

No Bird, but an invisible Thing,  
A voice, a mystery,

which has power by reason of this very lack of individuality to awaken in his mind the beauty and the glory of the past.' But it is thus that the poet proceeds

The same whom in my school-boy days  
I listened to; that cry  
Which made me look a thousand ways  
In bush, and tree, and sky  
To seek thee did I often rove....

And the point is only that the cuckoo is invisible, and not therefore less individual but more so, 'the same' as of old, a voice, rather than a woodnote, even a spirit or 'mystery', thus making after Wordsworth's fashion the earth itself, in turn,

An unsubstantial, faery place  
That is fit home for thee.

<sup>1</sup> *Keats* (N Y. 1926), p. 475. There has probably been some misprinting here in the use of the pronoun, though this is 'the fifth edition, revised'.

'No bird', but only because so much better than that, and the cuckoo grows upon him, and so upon us, instead of dwindling to a song or scattering out into a 'species'. For that, why use the relative *whom*?

As always, Keats is more concrete, not more generic, than Wordsworth. Yet with him too the point is that, simply 'as it seems to exist to his senses and his passions', the bird is (again) 'the same' 'Perhaps' (but certainly, if then any nightingale was thereabout!)—

Perhaps the self-same song that found a path  
Through the sad heart of Ruth when, sick for home,  
She stood in tears amid the alien corn,  
The same that ofttimes hath  
Charm'd magic casements .

and so on. In short, it is, once more, a matter of 'appearances'. (And of mood as well, the corn here being, on the other hand—illogically again—not the same.) Hazlitt once said, as Mr de Selincourt notices, that we connect the idea of the individual with human beings and the idea of the class with natural objects and creatures of the lower orders. But that does not seem here to apply. It is a matter of appearances merely, of the immediate impression, of pure sensation—that is to say, wholly one of poetry, which, in this case, is the imaginative presentation of such an experience. Not such a matter is Hugo's worm, in the *Épopée du ver* of the *Légende des siècles*, for though the creature does the speaking it is not seen nor (of course) really heard, and is not only a 'class' but a cosmical symbol. Even in life the unpoetical American will, on going back after ten or twenty years to the old homestead, be likely, before he catches himself, to be committing the same logical error as Keats or Wordsworth if the brown thrasher or the cardinal should strike up, as he will hardly be doing when the neighbour's dog barks or his cow lows, though either should be of the same breed as before. For these, with little 'roving', are visible, these are more than voices, though considerably less than 'mysteries'. The nightingale's song, moreover, like the cuckoo's, is, at least to the ordinary ear, always 'self-same', identical; and the nocturnal Philomel being (even more than the cuckoo) invisible, only by the promptings of the reason, not expected in poetry except when invited, can the little singers themselves seem mere representatives of the species. The trouble here, however, is that such promptings Keats has, inadvertently, invited—

No hungry generations tread thee down;

and whether this means that nightingales are not caught or shot and eaten, as larks and partridges are, or that in their own kind there is no exterminating struggle for existence, it introduces explanations which do not explain. There is a breach of logic, but simply because logic has got in the way. For a careless (or too careful) moment, the poet is now not 'on the viewless wings of poesy', and so, more than he is fully aware, 'the dull brain perplexes and retards'. Callimachus of old raised no such uncomfortable considerations in his verses, beginning,

They told me, Heracitus, they told me you were dead,  
and ending,

Still<sup>1</sup> are thy pleasant voices, thy nightingales awake,  
For Death he taketh all away, but them he cannot take.

<sup>1</sup> The adverb, in this case. •



Here there is (if you look for it) a similar breach, but one which otherwise does not trouble the illusion at all

αἱ δὲ τεαὶ ζῶουσιν ἀηδονες, ἦσιν ὁ πάντων  
ἀρπακτῆς Αἰδὼς οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ<sup>1</sup>

The plural itself is more plausible

The Grecians, however, both the ancient and also the modern, are against me, and I bow to scholarship 'Thy nightingales' are Heracitus's own poems, his 'nightingale notes', as Professor Mackail has it, and the meaning is much the same as in the *Grecian Urn*, though there the contrast is not between the art and the artist. Here, as there, it is, as with Austin Dobson, translating Gautier, who is echoing Horace

All passes. Art alone  
Enduring stays to us,  
The Bust outlasts the throne—  
The Com Tiberius

And verses, they last still longer

Even the gods must go.  
Only the lofty Rime  
Not countless years o'erthrow—  
Not long array of time.

Which all is perceptibly within the bounds of logic but, for us at least, not itself on the most daring heights of the poetry thus celebrated. So far as the mere conception is concerned, there is more imaginative and emotional intensity in Keats's *Nightingale*, or in Tennyson's lyric, *In the Garden at Swanston*

Nightingales warbled without,  
Within was weeping for thee,

or in his other, *In the Valley at Caunteretz*

For all along the valley, down thy rocky bed,  
Thy living voice to me was as the voice of the dead,  
And all along the valley, by rock and cave and tree,  
The voice of the dead was a living voice to me

The contrast is both simpler and sharper, more sensuous and passionate

Why, one wonders, the difference in poetry and in taste? No doubt the thought of Callimachus as he has it is more to the purpose of elegy, is a greater tribute to the dead, but why elsewhere do the Greeks not express such a thought as that of Keats and Tennyson? In part it must be because Nature is not to them, as to the Romantics, alive, in part because they do not take to the Romantics' immediate, sensuous, ironical contrasts. Moschus, as he laments the death of Bion, neither (on the one hand) much ignores the facts nor (on the other hand) secures any poignant contrast

Ah me, when the mallows wither in the garden, and the green parsley, and the curled tendrils of the anise, on a later day they live again, and spring another year; but we men, we, the great and mighty, or wise, when once we have died, in hollow earth we sleep, gone down into silence; a right long, and endless, and unawakening sleep. (ll 106ff)

The only breach of logic is in the statement that on a later day the flowers live again, the only difference (and consequent cause for lamentation) is in the re-

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Book of Greek Verse* (1930), no 513, ll. 5-6.

membrance that some of the men who die are great and mighty, or wise And that conception, save as heightened and perfected in the mere expression, is too little above the level of the bare facts to be particularly moving A flower, of course, is only for a day or so and is never so much alive as a bird, though to Burns and Wordsworth the daisy is pretty nearly so, and, to the latter poet, also the celandine But it has no voice, no song, is not single, remote, invisible, mysterious, and if anything in Nature is in point of permanence to contrast with man, what, on the strength of mere 'appearances', could serve the poetic purpose better than the nightingale, or than the cuckoo,

Breaking the silence of the seas  
Among the farthest Hebrides,

as the other does that of the night?

Now in Wordsworth's sonnet to the River Duddon

I thought of thee, my partner and my guide,

and in Browning's *May and Death*, while the contrast remains, the fallacy (though in the former with an echo from it in the Greek)<sup>1</sup> is avoided. The sonnet runs thus, beginning with the second quatrain

Still glides the Stream, and shall for ever glide,  
' The Form remains, the Function never dies,  
While we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,  
We Men, who in our morn of youth defied  
The elements, must vanish,—be it so!  
Enough, if something from our hands have power  
To live, and act, and serve the future hour,  
And if, as toward the silent tomb we go,  
Through love, through hope, and faith's transcendent dower,  
We feel that we are greater than we know.

And that, certainly, is lofty poetry, and yet the truth as well. the river, too, seems the same and isn't But (that's the trouble with the truth!) there is less play for the senses and the passions Fact confines, the thought here outweighs and hampers the feeling. Of this, in Browning's lines beginning,

I wish that when you died last May,

there is more and freer At first the poet would have all spring's delightful things perish too But remembering other people, he recalls the wish, with a single reservation

Only, one little sight, one plant,  
Woods have in May, that starts up green  
Save a sole streak which, so to speak,  
Is spring's blood, spilt its leaves between.—  
That, they might spare, a certain wood \*  
Might miss the plant, their loss were small:  
But I,—whene'er the leaf grows there,  
Its drop comes from my heart, that's all

Here the contrast is only implied—the plant reappears, as the friend does not—and the main point is the association, the intimate personal memory And here there is greater play for the senses and the passions Yet of all this there is only suggestion, and, as Mr Lubbock would say (though in *Dramatis Personae* it is

<sup>1</sup> The echo is acknowledged in a note appended 'The allusion to the Greek poet will be obvious to the classical reader'

only to be expected), there is drama. Behind the outer aspect of the poet's mind we do not penetrate, but to his emotion we do.

In Spenser the want of correspondence is not between impression and reality but between a harmony as imagined and the dissonance if it were brought to the test.

The ioyous birdes shrouded in chearefull shade,  
 Their notes vnto the voyce attemptred sweet,  
 Th'Angelicall soft trembling voyces made  
 To th'instruments diuine response meet.  
 The siluer sounding instruments did meet  
 With the base murmure of the waters fall  
 The waters fall with difference discreet,  
 Now soft, now loud, vnto the wind did call.  
 The gentle warbling wind low answered to all. (II, XII, 71)

The stanza has been much admired, from the time of the Wartons on. But Thomas Twining, discussing it in his dissertation prefixed to Aristotle's *Poetics* (1789), 'Poetry as an Imitative Art', observes

I cannot consider as music, much less as 'delicious music', a mixture of incompatible sounds—of sounds musical with sounds unmusical. The singing of birds cannot possibly be 'attempted' to the notes of a human voice. The mixture is, and must be, disagreeable. To a person listening to a concert of voices and instruments, the interruption of singing-birds, wind, and waterfalls, would be little better than the torment of Hogarth's enraged musician.<sup>1</sup>

And Twining is right, except in what he says of the poetry. He condemns it because, as Mr T. S. Eliot would say (but without, I should expect, himself condemning it), it lacks an 'objective correlative'. Yet, as Professor Ker would, on the other hand, say, 'the poem itself effects what the poem speaks about'. Or (again), the fancifully imagined harmony of voices, instruments, birdsong and waterfall, realized in the verbal and metrical melody as not in fact, is 'part of the world into which the poet enters'. For that world itself has no 'objective correlative'. It is truly a Bower of Bliss, of consistently fantastic and unbridled sensuous delight. This harmony in sounds corresponds to that here wrought in the horticultural and architectural art. The gate is of ivory, yet sculptured and painted, or at any rate coloured, to represent 'all the famous history' of Jason and Medea, with vermeil on the ivory waves for the boy's blood and gold on Creusa's garments for the flame that consumes her. The 'boughs and branches broad dilate their clasping arms in wanton wreathings intricate'. The porch is 'archt over-head with an embracing vine whose bunches hanging down', hyacinth, ruby, emerald, or burnished gold in colour, entice the passer-by, or are squeezed into a cup of gold by a comely dame and offered him to drink. Such a 'luscious wine', so immaturely produced, has, when we coolly stop to think of it, no 'objective correlative' either, for, as mere matter of fact, it is but insipid, unexhilarating grape-juice. Nor has the fountain, where the lovely naked damsels are bathing, and on which ivy of purest gold, but in its native hue, is encrusted, whose lascivious arms

dipping in the siluer dew  
 Their fleecy flowres they tenderly did steepe,  
 Which drops of Christall seemd for wantones to weepe. . . .

And in such a setting, surely, it is permitted that

Birdes, voyces, instruments, windes, waters all agree.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit (1812), pp 19-20.

For such concord itself agrees with the whole canto and the scene, and in art, as I have repeatedly illustrated it in drama, not probability but consistency is all-important. This, like the other poems we have been discussing, is what Coleridge would call 'a legitimate poem, the parts of which . . . mutually support and explain each other', 'that species of composition', as he says before this, 'which is opposed to works of science by proposing for its *immediate* object pleasure, not truth' <sup>1</sup> No doubt a poetic description of earthly experience that corresponds a little more closely than this to such as we know belongs to a higher type, and the concerted music in Milton's *Hell and Heaven* <sup>2</sup> (other unreal places) has no such drawback. But however artificial and arbitrary, this all-embracing harmony of sounds nevertheless fits in with Canto XII, and that canto no less capable and rigorous a judge than Wordsworth 'pronounced unrivalled in our own or perhaps in any language'

ELMER EDGAR STOLL

MINNEAPOLIS

<sup>1</sup> *Biographia Literaria, Works* (N Y, 1884), III, 371-2

<sup>2</sup> *P L* I, 550 ff, 711 ff, III, 345-9, 365-71.

## THE FIRST SEASON OF 'THE HONEST YORKSHIREMAN'

The bicentenary in 1943 of the death of Henry Carey can hardly be said to have called forth any spate of articles on that very interesting contemporary of such more famous authors as Pope and Swift. In fact, we do not recall having seen any commemoration of the event aside from two brief and anonymous pieces in *The Times Literary Supplement*, one of which attempted to make rather too strong a claim for Carey's importance in literary history<sup>1</sup>. It is our hope, then, that this paper may serve in a small way as an additional though belated tribute to a too-much neglected writer.

The accounts hitherto given of the appearance of *The Honest Yorkshireman* have not been entirely correct, and at least one serious error, an incorrect date for the first performance, has been perpetuated in the various reference works used by students of the drama.<sup>2</sup> To point out such new facts as we have been able to discover, and to give the history not only of an obscure and forgotten play but also of an interesting struggle between an author and what might be termed his natural enemies—tyrannical managers on the one hand and piratical printers on the other—we shall narrate the important events of this first season.

This little farce—'being the last of that Kind He ever intends to compose', as he described it in July, 1735—Carey wrote evidently some time during the summer of 1734 and gave it to Fleetwood, the manager at Drury Lane, at the beginning of the 1734-5 season. Thereupon his troubles and disappointments began. Fleetwood, according to Carey's statement in the preface to the farce, kept it throughout most of the season and then handed it back without ever having given the piece a trial. It was then too late to submit the play to the other houses, and Carey would have been forced to let it lie idle until the fall had not Theophilus Cibber requested it for his summer company.

But Carey's hopes were soon dashed. The Drury Lane company began on 1 July with *The London Merchant*, having already advertised Carey's piece to follow shortly.<sup>3</sup> However, Fleetwood again interfered by closing up the theatre immediately after this one day's production.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Both articles appeared in the issue of 9 October 1943, pp. 487 and 490. The first sets out to pay tribute to Carey during his bicentenary and then states that he 'has a better claim than Gay to be father of the lyric drama, for *The Contrivances* came first by a dozen years'. Now *The Contrivances* did first appear thirteen years before *The Beggar's Opera*, but in its initial form it did not contain one single lyric. Under the influence of Gay's successful innovation, Carey revised the piece in 1729 as a ballad opera. The editions of 1743 and 1777 which we have consulted are labelled 'ballad opera' and contain numerous songs. Genest seems to have fallen into the same error, for he terms *The Contrivances* a 'ballad farce' when he discusses its première in 1715.

<sup>2</sup> The date of first performance is given as 11 July 1735, and the theatre as Lincoln's Inn Fields in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, II, 433, in the article on Carey in the *DNB*, in *Grove's Dictionary* (third edition), I, 558, and by Genest Nicoll (*A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, p. 302) does suggest the possibility of a July performance at the Little

Haymarket and states that there is 'no record of first performance', but he too lists a performance of this play on 11 July at Lincoln's Inn Fields and in a discussion of the piece (p. 43) indicates that the play was an original Goodman's Fields production.

<sup>3</sup> See Genest.

<sup>4</sup> F. T. Wood, 'Goodman's Fields Theatre,' *Modern Language Review*, xxv (1930), 442-56, gives a somewhat confused account of this incident. He states that Carey took the play, after Fleetwood had returned it, to Lincoln's Inn Fields, 'which for the first time in its history had remained open during the summer season, and here it was accepted by the management and put in rehearsal', but had the misfortune to have the theatre interdicted and closed. Now there are several errors here. Just who is to be understood by 'the management' of Lincoln's Inn Fields is not clear. Certainly Rich, whose company had abandoned Lincoln's Inn Fields for Covent Garden nearly three years before, was not involved. Nor was Lincoln's Inn Fields open during the summer 'for the first time in its history', it

Though Carey might ordinarily have been reluctant to try his play during the summer, he was now determined to go ahead at all costs and took his play to Lincoln's Inn Fields, where it was immediately put into rehearsal. On 7 and 9 July advertisements were inserted in the *Daily Advertiser* for a première on Friday, 11 July.

Something evidently went wrong in the plans for this theatre, for on 10 July Carey inserted a notice in the *Daily Advertiser* to the effect that he had changed his mind and that the production would be removed to the Little Haymarket theatre and given there on Tuesday, 15 July. Carey's announcement in the *Craftsman*, No 471, reads as follows:

Several Difficulties and Inconveniences attending the Performance of my FARCE, (call'd

The honest YORKSHIREMAN,

At the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and I being determin'd it should be done in the best Manner, have chose to have it acted at the New Theatre in the Hay-Market, after the Tragedy of GEORGE BARNWELL, and to defer the Day from Friday the 11th of July to Tuesday the 15th, when and where I hope it will be perform'd to the Satisfaction of the Publick, and the Credit of their

Obliged, humble Servant,

H CAREY.

Tickets deliver'd out for Friday the 11th at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, will be taken on Tuesday the 15th at the New Theatre in the Hay-Market.

It was at the Haymarket then that *The Honest Yorkshireman* finally was offered to London audiences, opening there on 15 July and playing nine times during July and August.<sup>1</sup>

The summer had not run its course until a fourth theatre became involved in the checkered history of Carey's little ballad farce. On 30 July the *Daily Advertiser* carried an announcement of a 'Mezzo-Drama, or Summer Evening's Variety', consisting of a combination of music and dancing with Carey's farce, to be presented on Tuesday, 5 August, at Goodman's Fields for Carey's benefit by the troupe which had been acting it at the Haymarket. On the following day, 31 July, the date was moved to Wednesday, 6 August. Whether or not this performance was actually given we are unable to say, the *Daily Advertiser* gives no more bills for it on 5 or 6 August. The production was not without publicity, however, announcements appeared in *The Grub-Street Journal*, the *Craftsman*, and *Fog's Weekly Journal*.<sup>2</sup>

had been open nine different summers from 1715 through 1732, much of the time throughout the three summer months. Nor was it Lincoln's Inn Fields which was interdicted and closed after one night but Drury Lane, as a reading of Genest, or of Carey's preface to this play, reveals. *The Grub-Street Journal* of 10 July makes the point clear by quoting the *Daily Post* of Friday, 4 July: 'The Patentee of Drury-lane theatre has countermanded the summer playing.'

It may not be out of place here to point out the existence of several errors in Mr Wood's article. For example, the following sentence, describing the activities of Giffard in 1736-7, contains at least three serious errors of fact: 'Since his own theatre [Goodman's Fields] was closed down, he and his company went to Lincoln's Inn Fields, where they acted for one season till May 20, 1737, when they removed to Drury Lane, which had just been vacated by Rich in favour of the new

house in Covent Garden.' As a matter of fact, Giffard's company did not move into Drury Lane in 1737, Rich certainly never occupied Drury Lane, and he had not 'just' vacated any theatre to go to Covent Garden but had left Lincoln's Inn Fields for Covent Garden some five years previously.

J. T. Hillhouse. *The Grub-Street Journal*, p. 151, cites a performance of *The Honest Yorkshireman* at Drury Lane during 1735, having been misled by the third edition of the *Biographia Dramatica*, edited by Stephen Jones. According to the best records available, Carey's piece was not performed at Drury Lane until 23 March 1736.

<sup>1</sup> The *Daily Advertiser* announces performances for 15, 18, 22, 25, 29 July, 1, 8, 14, 21 August.

<sup>2</sup> Nos 292, 474 and 352 respectively. The advertisement in *Fog's* has some curious errors in the list of parts and for some reason gives no date for the performance.

On 7 August, the day after the announced benefit at Goodman's Fields, *The Grub-Street Journal* reprinted the new epilogue which Carey had written for the fourth night at the Little Haymarket. Although Carey made no special comment when he included this second epilogue in the printed version of his play some six months later, we learn from *The Grub-Street Journal* that even the mere changing of the epilogue was attended with some kind of indignity or annoyance to the author.<sup>1</sup>

Now that Carey's play had been announced or produced at all but one of the main theatres at either end of town, the fans took it up. According to the bills in the *Daily Advertiser* during the last two weeks of August, it was performed under the new title *A Wonder or, An Honest Yorkshireman* at 'Yeates's Great Theatrical Booth' at Bartholomew Fair and at the Welsh Fair in London-Spaw-Fields.<sup>2</sup>

When the regular theatrical season opened in September, Fleetwood's partner at Drury Lane, Giffard, proved that all managers were not necessarily tyrannical by coming to Carey's aid and producing the farce at his own theatre in Goodman's Fields. It opened there on 26 September and proved very successful, being performed something like twenty-five times by the end of the year.<sup>3</sup>

When, on 11 July, Carey repeated his announcement about moving from Lincoln's Inn Fields to the Haymarket, he added,

When Leisure will admit me to inform the Town how I have been trifled with in this Affair, I am persuaded they will rather pity me than blame me

So far as we know, Carey did not fulfil his promise to inform the town of the particular way in which he had been mistreated—that is, not before he wrote the preface to the printed version of his play, of which we shall speak directly—but in November he did take pains to let the town know how he felt. In *Of Stage Tyrants*,<sup>4</sup> addressed to Chesterfield, he boasted that he had now attained a certain amount of tranquillity of mind—in spite of all the indignities he had been made to suffer at the hands of stage managers and pirates. Speaking of the managers of Drury Lane and Covent Garden, Carey voiced the not altogether groundless opinion that they were secretly planning a cartel to suppress all opposition, no matter how much they might pretend to the world to be bitter enemies. They were, he says, dissemblers

Who, like two wrangling Counsellors at Bar,  
In Publick, seem to contradict and jar,  
But yet, in Private, like dear Friends caress,  
And form Designs, poor Players to distress.  
Woe to the Stage! if once their Schemes Succeed,  
Actors will then be Abject Slaves indeed  
Poets had better lay their Pens aside,  
Than tamely truckle to Stage Tyrant's Pride.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the 'Pegasus in Grub-street' column, Carey's epilogue is given as 'intended to be spoken the fourth night of the *Honest Yorkshireman*, but through fear or folly so mangled by some hedge poet, that the author did not know it again'.

<sup>2</sup> We have been unable to discover just what this 'Welsh Fair' was. Possibly it was a sheer invention of the entrepreneurs of the acting booths at the regular fairs within the city, for it was in this season that the officials of London succeeded in interdicting plays at Bartholomew Fair. (See *The London Magazine* or *The Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1735.) The play itself

contains, in the printed versions, a song lamenting the Mayor's action in suppressing 'Bartledom Fair'.

<sup>3</sup> F. T. Wood, op. cit. p. 452, gives the date of transfer to Goodman's Fields as 3 November, but the piece had been performed there a dozen times by that date.

<sup>4</sup> Printed for J. Shuckburgh and L. Gulliver. And sold by A. Dodd, E. Nutt, and E. Cook, 1735. The broadside was announced for sale on 13 November in *The Grub-Street Journal*, no. 307.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. pp. 3-4.

The pirates Carey had in mind in November were evidently those who had robbed him of the credit—and reward—which was rightfully his for having composed such pieces as *Sally in Our Alley*, which the 'Immortal Addison [had] approv'd', and *Namby-Pamby*, which had been ascribed to various others

Till POPE, who ever prov'd to Truth a Friend,  
With Gen'rous Ardour did my Cause defend.<sup>1</sup>

However successful Carey may have been in regaining his composure after such treatment, he was soon to lose it when he came, within two months, to publish his now well-received farce *The day after Christmas*<sup>2</sup> there appeared in the book-sellers' shops a work entitled '*A Wonder on, An Honest Yorkshire-Man*'<sup>3</sup> A Ballad Opera . Price 1s' No printer's name appeared in the announcement, but from the title-page we learn that it was 'Printed for Ed Cook, and sold by the Book-sellers of London and Westminster' The date on this title-page is for the following year, 1736

This apparently pirated edition differs in several details from the authentic edition, which was shortly to follow. Aside from the altered title, there are numerous changes, particularly in the arrangement and the ascriptions of songs, a few of which have been entirely omitted There is no prologue or epilogue and only one cast, that of the Goodman's Fields performances Perhaps most interesting is the somewhat disingenuous remark in the preface that the chief motive for delaying publication so long was 'the Fear of having it fall into the Hands of Pyrates, who make such unwarrantable Proceedings their daily Practice. .'

Sometime around the first week-end in January, 1735/6,<sup>4</sup> the irate author appeared with his own edition An idea of Carey's state of mind may be got from the title-page, which describes the piece as having been 'refus'd to be Acted at Drury-Lane Playhouse But now Perform'd at the New Theatre in Goodman's Fields, With great Applause', and from the preface In the latter, Carey gives virtually the account which this article has set forth He describes his vexing experiences with 'the great Mogul of Drury Lane', sketches briefly the career of his piece during the summer and fall, not forgetting to show his gratitude toward young Cibber and, more especially, Giffard, and ends by condemning bitterly the pirates who had robbed both the author and the public<sup>5</sup>

So ends the story of *The Honest Yorkshireman* It was not, as his newspaper notices had threatened, his last composition of the type, for he went on to write three others during the next four years, but his resentment can hardly be called unfounded

A H SCOUTEN  
LEO HUGHES

AUSTIN, TEXAS

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p 6

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Daily Advertiser*, 26 December 1735

<sup>3</sup> This pirated edition seems to have misled the second and third editors of the *Biographia Dramatica*, Leslie Stephen (in the article on Carey in the *D N B*), and the editors of *Grove's Dictionary*, for all use the title *A Wonder*, considering the authentic title a revision

<sup>4</sup> *The Grub-Street Journal* of 1 January announced it as for publication 'tomorrow', the *Craftsman* of Saturday, 3 January, for 'today',

the *Daily Advertiser* of Monday, 5 January, gave its first notice of publication 'today' Just one week later, 12 January, the *Daily Advertiser* carried a notice of a second edition as being published 'today', a notice which also appeared in the *Craftsman* of 17 January Both were printed for L Gulliver

<sup>5</sup> What loss the author had sustained is obvious enough The public was cheated, as Carey informed them, in being required to pay a shilling for the pirated edition, whereas his edition was to sell for just half that price



# THE SCIENTIFIC WORKS OF THE COURT OF ALFONSO X OF CASTILLE: THE KING AND HIS COLLABORATORS

## I

In the Middle Ages the royal patron of learning was not an exceptional figure. As Professor Haskins has pointed out, authorship was not a profession, 'the writer required an independent source of income, whether of a permanent sort as monk, chaplain, teacher, or civil servant, or from such casual bounty as an occasional patron might provide'.<sup>1</sup> The king was in a position to act as patron, not only was he able to bestow pensions and gifts, but his service provided many appointments, and in the royal household, the chancery, and the royal courts of justice could be found offices for many an aspiring scholar, further, the king exercised much influence over ecclesiastical preferments. Alfonso X's position as a patron of learning was not unique, or even unusual. Henry II of England and William II of Sicily in the twelfth century, and the Emperor Frederick II in the thirteenth century, were all celebrated patrons of scholars, and the courts of England and Sicily were well-known centres of learning. The personal interests of the ruler exercised much influence and were reflected in the works produced under his patronage, thus historical and legal studies flourished under Henry II and the study of natural science at the Sicilian court. In Castille itself Alfonso's predecessor Fernando III commissioned the writing of Archbishop Rodrigo's *Historia Gothica*, and much of the work begun under Alfonso X was continued at the court of his son and successor Sancho IV. There are, however, certain characteristics which distinguish Alfonso's literary court from those of most other rulers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The major works produced under Alfonso's patronage are not individual compositions, although such are to be found, but great works of co-operative scholarship in which many persons collaborated and which were due to the initiative of the king and were produced under his personal direction—in which the king, in fact, played the part of a general editor, and of an editor who took his duties seriously and was far from leaving his collaborators a free hand. They are written in the vernacular, not because classical scholarship was lacking in Castille, for various minor writings dedicated to the king are in Latin, and the production of some of these co-operative works themselves required the collection, transcription, and translation of many Latin works, but because Alfonso set out to reach a wider audience in his own country than he could have reached through the medium of Latin, and because he seems to have aimed at making Castilian a literary language. They appear to form part of a very comprehensive scheme whereby workers in various fields of study would be provided with standard works of reference, and carefully revised editions of them, transcribed by scribes attached to the royal household, were deposited in the king's chamber. Arabic originals were largely drawn on—here the Sicilian court school provides a parallel—and Jews played an important part as translators.

The books produced under Alfonso's direction can be conveniently classed into four groups according to their subject: scientific, historical, legal, and literary. Much has been written at one time and another about these works, and some of

<sup>1</sup> C. Haskins, 'Henry II as a Patron of Literature', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 1925), p. 71.

them have been studied in detail. All I propose to do is to collect together what can be learned from the scientific works about the king's part in their production and to discuss the identity of those of his collaborators whose names are given in the prologues, for it is the scientific works which give most data both as to the king's editorial activities and as to the scholars who worked for him. But before dealing with these matters it is necessary to enumerate the scientific works themselves.<sup>1</sup> The best known are the *Alfonsine Tables*. These were tables of the movements of the planets, based on those of the eleventh-century Cordovan astronomer al-Zarkali (Arzachel), but corrected and extended from fresh observations and preceded by a long vernacular introduction and a prologue which states that the observations were made at Toledo during the decade 1262 to 1272. The *Tables* enjoyed great fame during the later Middle Ages and in the Renaissance period, but the form in which they appear in most manuscripts and early printed editions is not that in which they were drawn up at Alfonso's orders. They were recast at Paris early in the fourteenth century, probably by John of Lignières, and it is these tables, often accompanied by the Latin canon of his pupil John of Saxony, which became so widely known. The vernacular prologue and introduction survived in a single manuscript and were printed in the nineteenth century,<sup>2</sup> while, according to Dr J. L. E. Dreyer, the *Tables* in their original form are contained in some unpublished English manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, usually with the canon of William Reade, Bishop of Chichester, the Merton College astronomer who reduced the *Tables* to the meridian of Oxford.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the *Tables* there were two collections, the one of astronomical, the other of astrological treatises, both of which appear to have been put together about the same period, between the years 1276 and 1279. The astronomical collection, known as *Los libros del saber de astronomía*, consists of fifteen treatises, the first of which is a catalogue of stars, while the rest deal with the construction and use of various astronomical instruments. They are translated from, or are based on, Arabic works dating from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. Although this collection was not formed until after 1276, the prologues of the separate treatises show that some of these were first translated between 1255 and 1259. It is, indeed, probable that most of these translations were undertaken early in the reign in connexion with the compilation of the *Tables*, since the works deal with instruments which would be used in making observations, although some of them were revised at the time that the collection was made. *Los libros del saber de astronomía* did not become widely known in the Middle Ages and few manuscripts

<sup>1</sup> On Alfonso's scientific work as a whole cf. A. Wegener, 'Die astronomischen Werke Alfons X', in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 3 serie, vi (1905), 129-85. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, II, 834-42, gives a catalogue of the works with bibliographical data.

<sup>2</sup> Manuel Rico y Sinobas, *Los libros del saber de astronomía*, IV, 111-83.

<sup>3</sup> J. L. E. Dreyer, 'On the original form of the Alfonsine Tables', in *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, LXXX (1920), 243-62. On pp. 255-60 Dr Dreyer prints extracts from the *Tables*, to his list of Bodleian MSS on p. 261, the following should be added: MS Digby 92, ff. 11-14, canon only; MS Ashmole 191, ff. 59-74, MS Ashmole 1796, ff. 90<sup>v</sup>-109<sup>v</sup>, MS Bodley 432, ff. 1-14 tables, ff. 28-32<sup>v</sup> canon. In MS. Wood

D 8, f. 48<sup>v</sup> (c. 1485) 'per Nic. Linn.' has been added in a distinct hand to the title 'Incipiunt canones super tabulas Reede'. This appears to be the origin of the suggestion made by R. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, II, 57, and by C. L. Kingsford in his article on Reade in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the latter on the authority of Bernard, *Cat. MSS Angl. et Hibern.* (1697), p. 366, no. 8538, item 21, that the canon was not written by Reade but may be by Nicholas of Lynn. But MS Ashmole 191, f. 59 (xv cent.), has the title 'Canones Magistri Guillelmi Reede Cicestrensis Episcopi', and in MS Digby 48, f. 177, the title 'Will. Reade Canones in Tabulas Oxoniensis' has been added to the text. Other MSS which I have seen either have no title or the title 'Canones super tabulas Reede'.

survive, it was not published until the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The astrological collection is entitled 'el libro de las formas e de las ymagenes que son en los cielos e de las uertudes e de las obras que salen dellas en los cuerpos que son dyuso del cielo de la luna', and has not survived in its entirety. Only the index and table of contents of the component treatises, preceded by a statement that the collection was begun by Alfonso's order in 1276 and completed in 1279, have survived in the unique Escorial MS H 1 16. From this it appears that the collection comprised eleven lapidaries, the first of which is assigned to a certain Abolays.<sup>2</sup> This lapidary is generally identified with a work contained in the Escorial MS H 1 15.<sup>3</sup> This second manuscript contains four lapidaries, the last of which is attributed to Mahomat Aben Quich. No author is given for the other three, but Abolays is referred to in the prologue of the first treatise as the translator of the work from 'Chaldean' into Arabic. It is usually assumed that the first three lapidaries represent the work of Abolays referred to in the *Libro de las formas* and here divided into three parts.<sup>4</sup> But these three lapidaries appear to be distinct works and the first differs in character from the other two, for it deals mainly with the scientific and medicinal properties of stones, while the second and third treatises are concerned only with their magical properties. Another suggestion is that the second and third lapidaries represent the fourth and fifth items of the *Libro de las formas*, there ascribed to Ylus, and Belyeus and Ylus, respectively.<sup>5</sup> A comparison of the contents of these two items as given in the index with the subject-matter of the two lapidaries bears out this suggestion. On the other hand, although the first item in the *Libro de las formas* and the first of the lapidaries both comprise three hundred and sixty chapters arranged according to the degrees of the zodiac with thirty chapters to each sign,<sup>6</sup> there appears to be little correspondence between the contents as given in the index to the *Libro de las formas* and the extant work. But, whatever may be the relationship between the lost *Libro de las formas* and the extant lapidaries, one thing at least seems certain—both the Escorial manu-

<sup>1</sup> Edited by M. Rico y Sinobas, *Los libros del saber de astronomia*, 5 vols (Madrid, 1863-7) Steinschneider. *Die europaischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, p. 37, states that the last treatise in *Los libros del saber*, the astrological *Libro del ataqir*, is not published, this is incorrect, it is published out of order by Rico y Sinobas, II, 295-309. On the MSS of Tallgren, 'Observations sur les MSS de l'Astronomie d'Alphonse X', in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, x (Helsinki, 1908), 110-14 and 'Los nombres árabes de las estrellas', in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, II (Madrid, 1925), 644-58. The Bodleian MS Canon Misc 340, ff. 1-21, contains an incomplete copy of a treatise entitled 'Aquí comienza el libro dela fabrica e composicion del mstumento delas armillas, El qual fue fecho por mandado del Rey don Alfonso el sabio, Rey de Castilla,' and which begins 'Pues que dicho auemos e monstrado'. This is the same as the treatise published by Rico y Sinobas, II, 1-78, but breaks off abruptly in lib. II, cap. 4 (p. 36 of the edition). This MS. was cited, but not examined, by the editor.

<sup>2</sup> 'La primera part es de abolays que fabla delas ymagenes e de sus obras que se fazen enlas piedras por los grados delos doze signos'.

<sup>3</sup> Both MSS are published in facsimile by J. Fernández Montaña, *Lapidario del Rey Don*

*Alfonso X* (Madrid, 1881), together with a faulty transcription of MS H 1 15. On the edition of Steinschneider, 'Arabische Lapidarien', in *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLIX (1895), 266-70. On the MSS of Zarco Cuevas, *Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos de el Escorial*, I, 190-2, and J. Horace Nunemaker, 'The lapidary of Alfonso X', in *Philological Quarterly*, VIII (1929), 248-54, and 'The Madrid MS of the Alfonsine Lapidaries', in *Modern Philology*, XXIX (1931), 101-4. Abolays cannot be identified, cf. Nunemaker, 'Note on Abolays', in *Hispanic Review*, II (1934), pp. 242-6. J. Cardoso Gonçalves, *O Lapidario del Rey Don Alfonso* (Lisbon, 1929) is a study of the illuminations from Montaña's facsimiles.

<sup>4</sup> Fernández Montaña, op. cit. p.v., J. Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, III, 631, *Estudios sobre los Judíos de España*, pp. 284-5.

<sup>5</sup> Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 44-50.

<sup>6</sup> Each chapter of the lapidary describes a stone, but some folios are missing so that the number actually described is 301 not 360. The 'stones' include metals and many other mineral substances.

scripts are royal manuscripts and emanated from the scriptorium attached to Alfonso's chamber. Further, there is a collection of works on magic, necromancy, and astrology in an unpublished Vatican manuscript which has been claimed for Alfonso X by Antonio Solalinde. The king is not named, but the manuscript resembles others written for the royal chamber. Solalinde also suggested that this vernacular collection corresponds to the Latin *Liber Picatrix*, which exists in various manuscripts of the fifteenth century and later, and which is stated to have been translated, first from Arabic into Castilian in 1256 at Alfonso's command, and later from Castilian into Latin.<sup>1</sup>

Finally there are a number of separate astronomical and astrological works translated from Arabic into Castilian. These include an astronomical compendium of Ibn al-Haitham, the canons of al-Battānī, Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* with the commentary of Abū ibn Rūdwan (Abenrodianus), an astrological treatise of Ibn Abī-l-Rūqāl (Abenragel) entitled in Castilian *El libro de los juicios de las estrellas*, and another astrological work by a certain 'Ubaid Allāh' called in its Castilian dress *El libro de las cruces*.<sup>2</sup> The Castilian translations of the *Quadripartitum* and of the compendium of Ibn al-Haitham have perished, but are known from Latin translations made from the Castilian, and the *Libro de los juicios de las estrellas* was also translated into Latin under the title *Liber magnus et completus de rudicis astrologiae*.<sup>3</sup> Alfonso X's scientific interests were thus clearly centred on the study of astronomy and its medieval bedfellow astrology. Some of Alfonso's modern admirers have attempted to clear the king's reputation from the charge of dabbling in black magic by denying the authenticity of the astrological and magical works, or by minimizing his responsibility for their translation.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, impossible to maintain such a position in face of the categorical statements in the prologues of some of these works that the translations were undertaken at the king's express command, and in view of the fact that some of the manuscripts, for example, the Escorial manuscripts of the *Libro de las formas* and the *Lapidaries*, and the Vatican manuscript of the magical works, show every sign of having been written for the king's chamber. Further the *Libros del saber de astronomía*, whose authenticity has never been questioned, contain a large amount of astrological matter. There is, indeed, no reason to question the king's encouragement of a pseudo-science much in vogue among his contemporaries. His attitude to it is summed up in *Las Siete Partidas*<sup>5</sup> which lays down that the practice of astrology, that is divination by the stars, is not forbidden

a los que son maestros, e la entienden verdaderamente, porque los juyzios, e los asnamientos, que se dan por esta arte, son catandos por el curso natural de las

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Solalinde, 'Alfonso X, Astrólogo', *Noticia del MS Vaticano Reg. Lat. No. 1283*, in *Revista de Filología española*, xiii (1926), 350-6. On the *Liber Picatrix* cf. Lynn Thorndyke, *History of Magic*, II (New York, 1923), 813-24, and Sarton, *op. cit.* I, 668. I have been unable to consult H. Ritter, 'Picatrix', in *Bibliothek Warburg* (1923), pp. 94-124. An edition of MS. Reg. Lat. 1283 is in preparation by G. O. S. Darby, cf. *Work in Progress*, 1942, in the *Modern Humanities*, ed. J. M. Osborn and P. M. Withner, p. 209, no. 4433.

<sup>2</sup> None of these Castilian translations is published, but editions of the *Libro de los juicios de las estrellas* and the *Libro de las cruces* are in preparation. Cf. *Work in Progress*, p. 209, nos. 4436, 4437. The prologues to these two works are

given by J. Domínguez Bordona, 'El libro de los juicios de las estrellas', in *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo*, viii (1931), 173, and J. A. Sánchez Pérez, 'El libro de las cruces', in *Isis*, xiv (1930), 79-80 respectively. On the translation of al-Battānī's canons cf. N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispanica Vetus*, II, 82, and C. A. Nallino, *Al Battānī sive Albatennī Opus Astronomicum*, I, pp. lvi-lx, II, pp. vii-viii.

<sup>3</sup> On these Latin versions see *infra*, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Rico y Sinobas, *op. cit.* III, pp. ix-xiv, J. Soriano Viguera, *Contribución al conocimiento de los trabajos astronómicos desarrollados en la escuela de Alfonso el Sabio* (Madrid, 1936), pp. 18 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Siete Partidas*, Part VII, tit. 23, leyes 1-3.

Planetas, e de las estrellas, e fueron tomadas de los libros de Ptolemeo, e de los otros sabidores, que se trabajaron de esta sciencia. Mas los otros que non son ende sabidores, non deuen obrar por ella

Other forms of divination and necromancy are forbidden, although a distinction is made in favour of magical practices undertaken with the intention of doing good—a distinction which might cover some, but apparently not all, of the magical formulae included in the Vatican manuscript

## II

The prefaces and introductions to these various scientific works give a considerable amount of information about the part played by Alfonso X in their production. In the prologue to the *Alfonsine Tables* the king appears as the patron at whose command the tables were compiled by two Jewish scholars, Isaac ben Sid and Jehuda ben Moses Cohen. It was the king who 'porque amaba los saberes et los preciaba' commanded instruments to be constructed and observations to be taken at Toledo where al-Zarkali's *Tables* had been compiled nearly two hundred years earlier, and this, says the prologue, he commanded because there were diversities and discrepancies in certain cases between the computed and the observed positions of the planets which could only be corrected by further observations. Thus the initiative was the king's, but the work was carried out by the two Jews, who, after observing the sun throughout an entire year, and also the conjunctions of the planets both with each other and with the fixed stars, and after taking observations on solar and lunar eclipses, compiled the *Tables* and wrote the long introduction on their use, 'and we have named this book' they write 'the book of the *Alfonsine Tables*, because it was written and compiled at his command'.<sup>1</sup>

In some of the other works the king took a more active part. The prologues to the various treatises in *Los libros del saber de astronomia* appear to have been written about 1276, at the time when the works were collected. Some of them are in the third person, some are put into the mouth of the king, and may have been written by him, all are very similar in phraseology. In some cases they tell us who was the author of the Arabic original and they generally give the names of the scholars, Jewish or Christian, who translated or composed the work at Alfonso's command, and make various references to the part taken by him. The translations did not always meet with the king's approval and had sometimes to be carried out afresh. The prologue to the *Libro de la açafeha* states that:

Master Fernando of Toledo translated this book from Arabic into romance by command of the most noble King don Alfonso, son of the most noble King don Fernando and of the Queen doña Beatriz, and lord of Castille, of Toledo, of Leon, of Galicia, of Seville, of Cordova, of Murcia, of Jaen, and of Algarve, in the fourth year that he reigned. And afterwards he commanded Master Bernardo *el Arábigo* and don Abraham his physician (*Alfaquí*) to translate it a second time in Burgos better and more completely, in the twenty sixth year of his reign and in the year 1315 of the era of Caesar [A.D. 1277].<sup>2</sup>

In the case of the *Libro de las estrellas fijas* the king himself appears to have taken a hand in the revision of the work. The book was originally translated by Jehuda ben Moses Cohen and Guillén Arremón Daspa in 1256, but in 1276 it

<sup>1</sup> Rico y Sinobas, iv, 111 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Rico y Sinobas, iii, 135. Alfonso X began to reign on 1 June 1252, the fourth year of his reign is therefore from 1 June 1255 to 31 May 1256 and the twenty-sixth year from 1 June 1277 to 31 May

1278. The Caesarian or Spanish era is reckoned from 1 January 38 B.C. The second translation of the *Libro de la açafeha* was therefore completed between June and December 1277.

was revised by the king with the help of the aforesaid Jehuda, another Jewish scholar Samuel, and two Italians, John of Messina and John of Cremona, and the king is stated to have deleted certain matters which he understood to be superfluous and which were not in correct Castilian, and to have substituted other matters and himself to have corrected the language.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the Arabic treatises were first translated literally into Castilian, but that a final revision before the works were included in the collected *Libros del saber de astronomía* permitted a considerable amount of compilation, rearrangement, and adaptation. The dates of an original and a revised translation are given in the prefaces of three books: the *Libro de las estrellas fijas*, the *Libro del alcora*, and the *Libro de la açafeha*. In the case of the last named the verb *trasladar* is used in both cases and we appear to be dealing with a new translation designed to supersede a faulty one, but in the other two, while *trasladar* is used to describe the first process, *componer* and *enderesar* are used for the final one, and questions of subject-matter as well as language are involved.<sup>2</sup> The preface to the *Libro de las estrellas fijas* does not name its source, but the work appears to be based principally on that of 'Abd al-Rahman al Sufi. O. J. Tallgren has shown that Alfonso's scholars have abridged their original and have omitted many descriptive details and also passages characteristic of oriental taste such as anecdotes, proverbs, and quotations from Arabic verse, these, presumably, are the *razones soueianos* of Alfonso's prologue. On the other hand, numerous astrological details are added and there are a certain number of astronomical observations which are not found in the original.<sup>3</sup> In a later article Tallgren has also shown that the compiler used the Arabic *Almagest* and Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation of it, as well as the work of al Sufi.<sup>4</sup> Therefore the work as it has come down to us is not a complete or literal translation of a single Arabic original, but an adaptation to which material from other sources has been added. On the other hand, the prologue of the *Libro del alcora*, while it gives Costa ben Luca as the author of the original, states that the first four chapters, which deal with such practical matters as the materials which may be used in the construction of the celestial globe and their qualities, were not found in the original work, but were added by Alfonso's direction; the last chapter, which is astiological, also begins with a note to the effect that it is an addition.<sup>5</sup>

Each treatise on an instrument is divided into two parts or books, the one dealing with the construction of the instrument, the other with its use. In some cases no Arabic treatise on the construction could be found and the lack was remedied by one of Alfonso's Jewish astronomers. Thus, in the prologue to the *Libro del astrolabio redondo*, we read

Et porque non fallamos libro en que fable de cuemo se deue fazer de nueuo por end Nos, Rey Don Alfonso el sobredicho mandamos al dicho Ra'icag que lo fiziese bien complido et bien paladino

and there are similar statements in the prologues to the *Libro de la lámina uni-*

<sup>1</sup> Rico y Sinobas, I, 7 'Et despues lo endreçó et lo mandó componer este Rey sobredicho et tolló las razones que entendió eran soueianas et dobladas et que non eran en castellano drecho, et puso las otras que entendió que complían et quanto en el lenguaje endreçolo él por síse'

<sup>2</sup> Ibid I, 7 153, III, 135

<sup>3</sup> O. J. Tallgren, 'Sur l'astronomie espagnole d'Alphonse X', in *Studia Orientalia*, I (1925), 344

<sup>4</sup> 'Survivance arabo-romane du catalogue d'étoiles de Ptolémée', in *Studia Orientalia*, II (1928), 240

<sup>5</sup> Rico y Sinobas, I, 154, 206

<sup>6</sup> Ibid II, 113

*versal*<sup>1</sup> and the *Libro del quadrante*<sup>2</sup> In the case of the *Libro de las armillas* it is the other way round, and we are told 'este libro de cuemo obran con ellas non era fallado en esta nuestra sazón'<sup>3</sup> The five short treatises on different types of clocks appear to have been composed for Alfonso, in the prologue to the *Libro del relogio de la piedra de la sombra* we are told that the work was written because no book could be found which was 'complete in itself'<sup>4</sup> and in that of the *Libro del relogio del agua* we read 'that which we found written in books composed by sages of old times was very incomplete'<sup>5</sup> Clearly Alfonso's intention in planning the collected *Libros del saber de astronomía* was to provide astronomers with a working library on the construction and use of the essential instruments of their science, so that they would not need to consult other works

The method employed by Alfonso and his collaborators in these translations is further illustrated by the Latin version of an astronomical compendium of Ibn al-Haitham which is contained in the Bodleian MS Canon Misc 45 It is not taken direct from the Arabic, but from a Castilian version made at the command of Alfonso X This Castilian version has not survived, but the anonymous translator into Latin has retained and translated the prologue to the vernacular version The prologue is preceded by an index of chapter headings, but there is a folio missing, presumably containing the title of the work and the beginning of the index which now starts with chapter 27 of the first book<sup>6</sup> Immediately following the index is the rubric '*Capitulum primum de prologo huius libri verba alfonso regis yspanie*' The king is not named in the prologue, but it is written in the first person and is couched in terms very similar to those used in some of the books on astronomical instruments After giving the name of the Arab author as 'Abulhazen Abnelantan' the prologue proceeds

Et nos, respiciendo libri bonitatem et utilitatem quam inde homines assecuntur, ad hoc ut melius intelligatur, mandavimus magistro Abrathe ebreo quod transferret librum istum de Arabico in Yspanum Et quod ordinaret modo meliori quam ante fuerat ordinatus. Et quod divideret in capitula.

Steinschneider, who compared the contents of this treatise with the Arabic and with two Hebrew translations, pointed out that certain chapters occur only in the Bodleian manuscript and are, presumably, additions made at Alfonso's orders<sup>7</sup> This prologue also illustrates the care taken by Alfonso to see that the requisite diagrams were provided, for it goes on to say

et mandavimus de vnaquaque re de qua locutus est auctor propriam ponere figuram ad hoc ut melius intelligatur Et ut plurimum figure que sunt in prima parte libri debent ymaginari in superficie circuli meridiani et alie in superficie equationis diei. Figure autem que continentur in secunda parte ymaginari habent in superficie circuli quem facit centrum epicicli vniuscuiusque celi Et mandavimus figurari vnumquemque modum circulorum qui in isto libro continentur propriis coloribus ut melius cognoscatur.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rico y Smobas, III, 3, 'Et el sábio que fizo esta lámina sobredicha non fizo libro de cuemo se deus fazer de nuevo . et porque este estrumento seia muy minguado si non ouessee libro de cuemo lo deuen fazer de nuevo por ende nos Don Alfonso el sobredicho mandamos al nuestro sábio Rabiçag el de Toledo que lo fizese bien complido'

<sup>2</sup> Ibid III, 287, 'esta parte primera deste libro non fué fallada en esta sazón de agora cierta et complida assí cuemo deue seer'

<sup>3</sup> Ibid II, 1

<sup>4</sup> Ibid IV, 3

<sup>5</sup> Ibid IV, 24

<sup>6</sup> The title *Tractatus Planetarum* has been added by a later hand above the mutilated index

<sup>7</sup> M Steinschneider, 'Notice sur un ouvrage astronomique d'Ibn Haitham', in *Bollettino di Bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche*, XIV (1881), 727-8, XVI (1883), 507

<sup>8</sup> MS Canon Misc 45, f 1<sup>v</sup> The MS, which is an early fifteenth-century copy, contains a few uncoloured line drawings and several blank spaces for diagrams

All the treatises in the *Libros del saber de astronomía* are profusely illustrated with elaborate figures and diagrams and here again we have evidence of Alfonso's active interest. At the end of the first part of the *Libro de la açafeha* there is a lengthy note beginning

Nos rey don Alfonso el sobredicho ueyendo la bondad desta açafeha et de cuemo es estrumente muy complido et mucho acabado, et de cuemo es caro de sennalar, et que muchos omes non podrien entender complidamente la manera de cuemo se faz por las parables que dixo este sábio que la compuso, mandamos figurar la figura della en este libro

and the note then goes on to give very full and elaborate instructions about this diagram and the different colours—black, red, and yellow—which are to be used in delineating it, so that the various circles marked on the instrument, which is a type of astrolabe, may be easily distinguishable one from another.<sup>1</sup>

The prologues of the astrological works are more varied, but they tell the same tale of the king's interests and activities and that it was he who sought for and obtained Arabic manuscripts which were then translated into Castilian at his express command. The prologue to the *Lapidary* recounts how, in the year of the conquest of Murcia (1243), long before Alfonso became king, he obtained the Arabic manuscript of the text<sup>2</sup>

and he obtained it in Toledo of a Jew<sup>3</sup> who held it hidden, who neither wished to make use of it himself nor that any other should profit therefrom. And when he had this book in his possession, he caused another Jew, who was his physician, to read it and he was called Jehuda Mosca *el menor* and he was learned in the art of astrology and knew and understood well both Arabic and Latin. And when through this Jew<sup>4</sup> his physician he understood the value and great profit which was in the book, he commanded him to translate it from Arabic into the Castilian language, so that men might better understand it and how to profit more from it. And one García Pérez his clerk aided in this translation. He also was learned in the art of astrology. This translation was finished in the second year after his father the most noble king don Fernando had captured the city of Seville.

The translation was thus completed in 1250 and was the earliest of these pseudo-scientific works undertaken at Alfonso's orders. The prologue in its present form must have been written considerably later than 1250, for it not only refers to Alfonso as king, but gives his titles in a form not used by the Chancery until after 1260. The Jehuda Mosca *el Menor* of this prologue is in all probability the same as the Jehuda ben Moses Cohen who took part in the compilation of the *Alfonsine Tables* and was responsible for various translations, including two other astrological works—the *Libro de las cruces* and the *Libro de los juucios de las estrellas*. In the prologue to the *Libro de las cruces* he writes<sup>5</sup>

Our lord and most noble King Don Alfonso king of Spain, son of the most noble King Don Fernando and the most noble Queen Doña Beatriz, in whom God placed intelligence and understanding and knowledge above all the princes of his time, reading in diverse books of learned men, by the enlightenment which he had through God's grace, from whom all good things come, always set himself to elucidate and revive the studies which were lost at the time when God set him to reign in the land.

<sup>1</sup> Rico y Sinobas, III, 147. The diagram in question is reproduced in facsimile on p. 148 and carries out the instructions.

<sup>2</sup> *Lapidario*, ed. Fernández Montaña, f. 1.

<sup>3</sup> In both these cases the facsimile has *mdro*, but in the second instance the reference back is to *otro judío que era su físico*, 'another Jew who

was his physician', i.e. Jehuda Mosca. Further, *otro* has no meaning unless a Jew has been already mentioned. Thus the sense requires the emendation *judío* for *mdro* in both cases.

<sup>4</sup> See preceding footnote.

<sup>5</sup> *Isis*, XIV (1930), 80.



and goes on to recount how Alfonso having found the *Book of the Crosses* commanded Jehuda to translate it into Castilian. So, too, in the prologue to *El libro de los juicios de las estrellas*, after eulogizing Alfonso 'qui ama e allega assí los sabios e los ques entremeten de saberes, e les faze algo e merçet', the translator states that he undertook the work of translation at the king's command, although in this case it was Jehuda ben Moses Cohen who called the king's attention to the work.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that in some cases works translated from Arabic into Castilian at Alfonso's command were afterwards translated from Castilian into Latin. Wegener considered it unlikely that Alfonso X had anything to do with these Latin versions.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing to connect the king with the Latin version of Ibn al-Haitham's astronomical compendium or with the Latin *Liber Pictarum*. In each case it is the vernacular rendering which is said to have been carried out at the king's orders, the name of the translator into Latin is not known, nor is there any indication of the date of the Latin version.<sup>3</sup> The Bodleian manuscript of Ibn al-Haitham's work belongs to the early fifteenth century and no manuscript of the *Liber Pictarum* is earlier than the fifteenth century, so that these Latin versions may well date from a period much later than the reign of Alfonso X. In the case, however, of the *Liber de iudicis astrologiae* and the *Quadrupartitum* there is definite evidence to connect Alfonso with the Latin as well as the Castilian version. The title to the *Liber de iudicis astrologiae*<sup>4</sup> is

Hic est liber magnus et completus quem composuit haly habenaël filius<sup>5</sup> summus astrologus de iudicis astrologie quem Jhuda filius mucee praecepto domini Alfonsi romanorum et castelle dei gratia Regis illustris transtulit de Arabico in maternum videlicet yspanicum ydioma et quem egidius de tebaldus permensis aule Imperialis notarius vna cum petro de regio ipsius aule protonotario transtulit in latinum.

Although this does not specifically state that the Latin translation was commissioned by Alfonso, yet the two translators were in his service and their work must have had the king's approval. This translation achieved some popularity, judging by the number of manuscripts of it which exist, it was first published at Venice in 1485. Besides this translation due to the two notaries, the Escorial Library possesses a manuscript of what purports to be another, distinct, Latin version of the *De iudicis astrologiae*, also based on the Castilian of Jehuda ben Moses Cohen, but translated at Alfonso's orders by a certain Alvarus. I have not seen this manuscript, but its title as given by Padre Guillermo Antolín<sup>6</sup> is almost identical with that of the translation due to Egidius de Tebaldus and Petrus de Regio.

Hic est liber magnus et completus quem haly Albenragel summus astrologus composuit de iudicis astrologie, quem iuda filius mosse de precepto Domini Alfonsi Illustrissimi Regis Castelle et Legionis transtulit de Arabico in ydeoma maternum. Et Aluarus dicti Illustrissimi Regis factura eius ex precepto transtulit de ydeomate materno in latinum.

Steinschneider,<sup>7</sup> who knew of this translation only from the account of it given

<sup>1</sup> *Revista de Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo*, VIII (1931), 173.

<sup>2</sup> Wegener, op cit. p 132

<sup>3</sup> In the case of Ibn al-Haitham's work the name of the translator into Latin may have been included in the title missing from MS Canon Misc 45

<sup>4</sup> Bodleian MS Canon Misc 443, f 1 (early fifteenth century).

<sup>5</sup> A word has dropped out after *filius*

<sup>6</sup> *Catálogo de códices latinos de el Escorial*, II, 484, MS J II 17, MS J II 7 is a copy of the translation of Egidius de Tebaldus and Petrus de Regio.

<sup>7</sup> 'Vite di matematici arabi tratte da un' opera medita di Bernardino Baldi con note di M Steinschneider', in *Bollettino delle scienze matematiche*, V (1873), 506.

by Rodríguez de Castro,<sup>1</sup> was inclined to doubt whether it was really a distinct translation commissioned by the king. He pointed out that it apparently survived in a single manuscript—and that a comparatively late one, written in 1460—and that nothing whatever was known of its alleged translator, he considered it unlikely that Alfonso would order a second translation of the same work, unless it were, perchance, a mere revision, and he thought that the prologue of Alvarus which precedes the text was probably fictitious. The description given by Padre Guillermo Antolín is somewhat fuller than that of Rodríguez de Castro, the three short phrases quoted from the text are not identical with, although they are very similar to, the corresponding phrases taken from the translation due to Egidius de Tebaldis and Petrus de Regio, they are too brief to be conclusive and might come from either a distinct translation or from a revision.<sup>2</sup> What is needed is a comparison of the two texts. In the meanwhile one fact of some significance is worth noting—the prologue attributed to Alvarus is followed by a ‘Prohemium Jude qui transtulit de Arabica lingua in hispanam’ which begins ‘Laudes et gratias reddamus deo omnipotenti’, this is, without doubt, a translation of the preface of Jehuda ben Moses Cohen which begins ‘Lloies e gracias rendamos a dios padre uerdadero omnipotente’.<sup>3</sup> Now, as far as I know, this prologue is not included in any of the manuscripts of the translation of Egidius de Tebaldis and Petrus de Regio. So the writer of the manuscript of 1460, or more probably of its prototype, must have had before his eyes a copy of the Castilian version, he cannot merely have copied or adapted the existing Latin translation. Now, when we remember the history of the various astronomical treatises, does it appear beyond the bounds of probability that Alfonso X should commission two separate Latin translations of one work. But, until the texts have been compared, no satisfactory solution is possible and further conjecture is profitless.

The translation of the *Quadripartitum* of Ptolemy presents no difficulties, the Castilian version prepared from the Arabic—we do not know by whom—for Alfonso X was afterwards, by the king’s command, rendered into Latin by Egidius de Tebaldis, as is made clear by Egidius himself in his lengthy preface<sup>4</sup>

librum ipsum transferre providi iussu et beneplacito domini Alfonsi romanorum et castelle regis illustrissimi de yspanico in latinum verumtamen librum istum de arabico transferri mandavit primitus in yspanicum ydeoma idem gloriosissimus Alfonsus romanorum et castelle rex excelsus.

Much of this preface is taken up with a eulogy of Alfonso of whom Egidius writes in the following terms

qui scientiam diligit et scientes honorat, qui a finibus terre per universa mundi climata cujusque manerie omnium gentium et linguarum perquiri scientias et acquirit; qui tanquam scientiarum et virtutum omnium dominus et magister vtilia multa propria consideratione renovavit, et libros plurimos ordinari mandavit, de sapientum antiquorum sententias atque dictis quae hinc inde iacebant perditas, et diffusa, et illuminabitur proculdubio posteritas futurorum.

He is indeed fulsome in his praise of Alfonso, ‘rex ille munificus cuius liberalis munificentia inestimabilis est’, and says of him ‘eius intellectus omnia compre-

<sup>1</sup> J. Rodríguez de Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, i (Madrid, 1781), 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Catálogo*, p. 484. Et dixit haly ‘Gratias deo uno victori’ (sic) Tractatus 1 ‘In celo quedam sunt signa quorum similitudo’, Expl. ‘et deus scit quid debet esse’ MS Canon Misc 443 ‘[D]ixit Haly filius Hebenragel gratias vii deo victorioso’, ‘Capitulum primum [D]uodecim

signa sunt in celo similia membris corporis’ Expl. ‘et quod futurum est melius novit deus’ The MS is without foliation.

<sup>3</sup> *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo*, viii (1931), 173.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Quadripartitus Ptolemy* (Venice, 1493), f. 2, col. 1.

hendit, prouidentia eius divina potius quam humana videtur', and 'nec credo quod hominem perfectiorem natura potuisset facere' Egidius was an Italian employed in Alfonso's chancery and in all probability a political exile from his native city, so that due allowance must be made for the flattery of a royal servant entirely dependent on the king's bounty Nevertheless, if taken together, the prologues of all these astronomical and astrological works show that Alfonso was more than a mere patron that he sought for books, initiated projects, allotted work among his collaborators, gave them then instructions, and to some extent revised their work, finally he was a scholar who could appreciate the results of their labours <sup>1</sup>

### III

Some fifteen persons—Jews, Castilians, and Italians—are named as taking part in this work under Alfonso's direction Not much is known of any of them The disappearance of the royal archives of medieval Castile robs us of the main source of knowledge of the officials in the king's employ and of Alfonso's expenditure on his scientific interests We cannot trace the careers of scholar officials—and some at any rate of those who collaborated in this work held official positions—nor the exercise of the king's bounty, as it is possible to do in the case of England, in the exchequer and chancery records The names of most of Alfonso's scholars occur only in the prologues of the works they translated or composed, and these give little information about them Of the Jews<sup>2</sup> the two most active were Isaac ben Sid, the Rabiçag of the texts, and the physician Jehuda ben Moses Cohen, both inhabitants of Toledo, who jointly compiled the *Alfonsine Tables* Isaac ben Sid was also responsible for the compilation of a number of treatises in the *Libros del saber de astronomia*<sup>3</sup> Jehuda ben Moses Cohen aided in the translations of the *Libro de las estrellas fijas*, the *Libro del Alcora*, and the three astrological works the *Lapidario*, the *Libro de las cruces*, and the *Libro de los juicios de las estrellas*

Two other Jews who figure in the prologues of the astronomical works are Samuel Halevi of Toledo<sup>4</sup> and Abraham the king's physician who revised the *Libro de açafeha* in 1277. The latter can be identified with the master Abraham who translated Ibn al-Hartham's compendium of astronomy and with the 'Abraham, Jew and physician' who turned into Castilian the Arabic work called *Halmacreig*, which describes Mohammed's journey through the heavens<sup>5</sup> This translation—like that of Ibn al-Hartham's work—has not survived, but is referred to in the prologue of a French version made from the Castilian As Steinschneider quotes only a short passage, this prologue is here transcribed in full <sup>6</sup>

#### Liure de leschiele Mahomet

Ce est li liure q' hom appelle en Sarrazinois Halmacreig qe uolt tant dire en francois come monter en alt, et ce liure fist Mahomet, et lui mist cestui nom et por ce l'appellent issint les gentz Et demostre li liure lo monter de Mahomet, coment il par

<sup>1</sup> Cf Solalinde, 'Intervención de Alfonso X en la redacción de sus obras', in *Revista de Filología española*, II, 283-8, for Alfonso's part in the *General Estoria*

<sup>2</sup> On Alfonso's Jewish astronomers cf Steinschneider, *Die europaischen Übersetzungen* (Vienna, 1905), nos 4, 55, 61, 108, and references given there

<sup>3</sup> I.e. *Libro de las armellas*, *Libro del astrolabio redonda*, *Libro del ataqi*, *Libro de la lámina universal*, *Libro del quadrante*, and four of the five

works on the construction of clocks He also translated the canons of al-Battānī

<sup>4</sup> He took part in the revised translation of the *Libro de las estrellas fijas* and composed the *Libro del reloj de la candelá*

<sup>5</sup> Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodliana* (1852-60), col 2747, *Die hebraischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters* (1893), p. 591 Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. Bibliothecae Bodlianae*, II (1858), no 537, col 389.

<sup>6</sup> Bodleian MS Laud. Misc 537 (end of thirteenth or early fourteenth century) f 1.

leschiele monta ou ciel sicome vous orrez en auant, et uist totes les meruelles qe diex lui mostra sicom il meisme dist et li liure deuse. Et ceo liure translata Habraym iurf et fisicien de Arabic en espagnol par le comandement du noble seignour Don Alfons por la grace nostre sire diex Rois des Romens tot ades acresciant et Rois ausinc de Castelle, de Toliede, de Lion, de Gallice, de Sibile, de Cordoe, de Murce, de Guen, et de Algarbe. Et departi ce liure par LXXXV chapitres por ce qe hom poust plus legierment demostier les choses que en lui se contienent ad celx qui en demandassent, et lor poust plus tost respondre des choses demandees. Et sicom ce liure estoit par le deuant dit Habraym translatez Arabic en espagnol, tot ausint par chascune chose ie Bonauenture de sene notaire et escriuen monseignour le Roy deuant nomez par son comandement le tornei de espagnol en francois atant por com ieo ensai. Et lo torner de ce liure fis ieo mout volentiers par deus resons, li une en est por faire le comandement mon seignour, et lautre si est parceqe les gentz sachent la uie Mahomet et sa escience et qe quant il orront et construnt les abusions et les choses non creables quil conte en ce liure, la droite loi des cristiens et la uerite qe est en lui si en serront plus seanz et plus delictables ad tenir et ad garder ad tous celx qui bon Cristiens sont.<sup>1</sup> Et se autornier du francois que ieo fais a nul defeaute quil ne sort si ad droit torne come il conuent, si pri touz celx qui droit francois seuent quil le me pardoignent, quar mieulz uault quil laient issint qe si naussent point.

The date of this French version is given at the end of the manuscript

Le Liure fu de espagnol en francois tornez en lan nostre sire diex Mil et Ducenz et Sessant et quatre ou mois de May.<sup>2</sup>

The Castillian version must therefore be earlier than May 1264. It is worth remarking on the fact that the French, as well as the Castillian, version was commissioned by Alfonso X and that the scholar entrusted with this work was an Italian notary and scribe in the service of the king. To return to the Jew, Abraham, it seems probable that he is the 'Don Abraham fisico' who was court physician to Sancho IV and as such appears in the household accounts of the years 1293 and 1294,<sup>3</sup> and who, according to the Infante Don Juan Manuel, attended Sancho IV in his last illness.<sup>4</sup> He must thus have served Alfonso X and his son for more than thirty years, from at least as early as 1264 until 1295. Steinschneider and Sarton<sup>5</sup> both call him Abraham of Toledo, but none of the texts connect him with that city—in them it is only his Jewish race and his profession of physician which are noted. The only place with which he appears in any way connected is Burgos, in which the revised translation of the *Libro de la acafeha* was completed in 1277, and Abraham may have been a native of that city, which possessed a wealthy and influential Jewish community, or he may merely have been there in attendance on Alfonso X who spent most of the year 1277 in Burgos. In either case the ascription to Toledo appears gratuitous. The 'Don Xosse alfaquin' who added an astrological chapter to the *Libro del alcora* cannot be identified, nor can 'maestre Bernardo al Arábico' who helped Abraham in the revised translation of the *Libro de acafeha*. He was presumably a convert from Islam, in the Italian translation of the *Libros del saber de astronomia* made in 1341, he appears as 'Maestro Bernardo Arabico ouero Saracino'.<sup>6</sup>

The Castillian scholars named in these works are even more elusive. We are told that 'Maestre Fernando de Toledo' was responsible for the first, unsatis-

<sup>1</sup> MS *simt*

<sup>2</sup> MS Laud Misc 537, f 51<sup>v</sup>, col 2

<sup>3</sup> M Gálvez de Ballesteros, *Sancho IV de Castilla*, I (Madrid, 1922), lvi, lxx, lxxviii

<sup>4</sup> Don Juan Manuel, *Tractado sobre las Armas*, ed P de Gayangos, *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, LI, 262

<sup>5</sup> Steinschneider, *Die hebraischen Uebersetzungen*, p 972. Sarton, op cit II, 718, 835, 844

<sup>6</sup> E Narducci, *Intorno ad una traduzione italiana fatta nell'anno 1341 di una compilazione astronomica di Alfonso X* (Rome, 1865), p 24

factory, translation of the *Libro del açafeha* in 1255 or 1256. Various officials employed by Alfonso X about this time bear the name Fernando and the title Master, but I have not found one specifically connected with Toledo. In August 1253 Alfonso X made various grants of lands in the vicinity of Seville to individual members of the chapter of the cathedral of Seville. Among the recipients of these grants were two canons, Garcí Pérez, described also as king's clerk, and Guillén Arremón. These have been plausibly identified with Garcí Pérez the clerk learned in the art of astrology<sup>1</sup> who took part in the translation of the Lapidary completed in 1250, and with Guillén Arremón Daspa who co-operated in the translation of the *Libro de las estrellas fijas* in 1256.<sup>2</sup> The dates fit and the identifications are very probable, but it must be remembered that the name Garcí Pérez is an extremely common one. Another Castilian scholar, who is unknown except as a translator, is 'Maestre Johan Daspa clérigo del rey', who collaborated with Jehuda ben Moses Cohen in the translations of *El libro del Alcora* and the astrological *Libro de las cruces*, both of which were completed in February 1259. In the latter Juan Daspa played a subordinate part, for the prologue, after stating that Jehuda ben Moses Cohen translated the work at the king's command, continues

and because in Arabic this book was not divided into chapters, he [the king] commanded so to divide it and place the chapter headings at the beginning of the book, as is customary in all books, in order that the subjects and the judgements which are in the book may be found more quickly and easily. And this did his servant Master John.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the book he is spoken of as the companion of Jehuda ben Moses Cohen in his labours. Of Alvarus, if indeed such a personage existed at Alfonso's court, nothing whatever is known.

More is known of the Italians. Among the scholars who took part in the revised version of the *Libro de las estrellas fijas* in 1276 are 'Maestre Joan de Mesina e Maestre Joan de Cremona'. The former has left no trace in documents. Narducci's<sup>4</sup> suggestion that he might be identified with the John of Sicily who wrote an *Expositio super canones tabularum Arzachelis* was questioned by Steinschneider,<sup>5</sup> and is untenable. John of Sicily, writing in Paris in 1290, was unaware of the existence of the *Alfonsine Tables*, but the John of Messina who in 1276 was employed as a translator by Alfonso X must have known of the *Tables* completed for his patron some four years earlier, these two cannot be the same person. John of Cremona, on the other hand, can be identified with the chancery clerk 'Magister Johannes de Cremona' who on 23 March 1284 signed the letter of Alfonso X in which the dying king informed Pope Martin IV of his reconciliation to his rebel son.<sup>6</sup> After Alfonso's death, John of Cremona remained in the royal service and his name occurs in the household accounts of Sancho IV for 1293-4.<sup>6</sup>

Another Italian scholár employed by Alfonso X was Egidius de Tebaldus. In the title of his preface to the *Quadrupartitum* he is referred to as 'Egidius de Tebaldus lombardus de ciuitate parmensi'. He presumably belonged to the same family as Albertus Tebaldi de Parma and Dominus Pionus de Tebaldus who figure

<sup>1</sup> A. Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el siglo trece* (Madrid, 1913), pp. 165, 166, and xxvi, xxx, nos. 24, 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv, 80. John's full name is given at the end of the text 'Maestre Johan Daspa clérigo deste mismo sennor' (i.e. Alfonso), *ibid.* p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Narducci, op. cit. p. 15, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Steinschneider, *Die europaischen Uebersetzungen*, p. 51. On John of Sicily cf. Duhem, *Le Système du Monde de Platon à Copernic*, iv (Paris, 1917), 6-10.

<sup>5</sup> Rymer, *Foedera*, i (1816), 2, p. 640.

<sup>6</sup> Galois de Ballesteros, op. cit. i, xc, cf. p. xxxii and iii (1928), cccxcvii.

among the consuls of the city of Parma in 1181 and 1212 respectively,<sup>1</sup> but I have found no trace of his career in Italy before he entered Alfonso's service. In the *Liber de iudiciis astrologiae* he is further described as 'notarius aulae imperialis'. and his associate in the work of translation is 'Petrus de Regio aulae imperialis protonotarius'. Spanish scholars who refer to the latter call him Pedro del Real, but I suspect that he was an Italian from Reggio in Lombardy.<sup>2</sup> In the prologues of these two translations Alfonso is given the title *Rex Romanorum et Castellae*, so they presumably belong to the period of his abortive candidature for the imperial crown, and it is with his imperial chancery that Giles of Parma and Peter of Reggio are connected. In 1256 the ambassadors of the commune of Pisa offered to recognize Alfonso as King of the Romans and in the following year the double election of Alfonso X and Richard, Earl of Cornwall, by the German princes took place. It was not until 1275 that Alfonso X was finally persuaded by Gregory X to renounce his shadowy rights. It was only during these nineteen years that Alfonso could be called *Rex Romanorum*, and in fact his use of the title was sparing. It is never used in documents intended for home consumption, nor was it used in foreign correspondence unconnected with imperial affairs, thus it is not usually found in letters addressed to the kings of England, France, or Aragon. It is used in letters addressed to Alfonso's German and Italian supporters and to the Popes when urging his imperial candidature. It is, in fact, used only in documents issued by his imperial, as distinct from his royal, chancery, and in such documents his title is *Rex Romanorum semper augustus*, followed by his elaborate Castilian style. The number of such letters can never have been great, and few have survived, but, scanty as the evidence is, it seems to show that Alfonso's imperial chancery had its own staff of notaries and clerks, distinct from those of the royal chancery. One member of this staff was the Pisan lawyer Bandino Lancea, who formed part of the embassy from Pisa in 1256 and remained behind in Alfonso's service. His name appears in Alfonso's imperial letters of the years 1257 and 1258 and in the latter year he is styled 'protonotarius sacri imperii'.<sup>3</sup> Probably he was retained by Alfonso to organize his embryonic imperial chancery. There are few imperial letters belonging to the 'sixties and none mentions an imperial protonotary. Alfonso's chances of becoming emperor had declined, and he can have had little reason to correspond with his dwindling band of German and Italian adherents. About 1270, however, his fortunes revived once more. After the defeat of Conradine, the Ghibellines of Northern Italy turned to Alfonso as their only hope and there was much coming and going between Lombardy and Castille, exchanges of embassies, plans for alliances against Charles of Anjou and for the dispatch of troops from Castille, until, in 1271, Alfonso entered into an agreement with the commune of Pavia and with the Ghibelline exiles of Cremona, Parma, Piacenza, Vercelli, Tortona, Novara, and Lodi.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that it was at this time that the three Italian scholars—John of Cremona, Giles of Parma, and Peter of Reggio entered Alfonso's service. The earliest documentary evidence of the presence of any of them in Castille belongs to this period, when on 22 October 1271 'Magister

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon Parmense in Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, new edition, ix, 6, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Italian scholars assume his Italian nationality, but the only suggested identification, that with Pietro de Reggio the physician who accused Pietro de Albano of heresy [cf G. Traboschi, *Bibliotheca Modense*, iv (1783), 339, Affo, *Memorie degli Letterati Parmigiani* (Parma, 1789), i, 265], is untenable.

<sup>3</sup> F. X. Remling, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer*, i (Mainz, 1852), 274, 275, E. Pérard, *Recueil de pièces curieuses servant à l'histoire de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1864), p. 491, E. Winkelmann, *Acta Imperii inedita seculi xiii und xiv*, i (Innsbruck, 1880), 464, no. 579.

<sup>4</sup> *Annales Placentini Ghibellini in Mon. Hist. Germ.* xviii, 549–53.

P de Regio' signs a letter addressed by Alfonso X, as King of the Romans, to Pavia<sup>1</sup> If this be so, then the date of the Latin translations of the *De rudicus astrologiae* and the *Quadrupartitum* will fall between 1271 and 1275, for after the latter date the use of the title *Rex Romanorum* would be irregular. It is true that the Bodleian MS Savile 15 contains a copy of the *De rudicus astrologiae* prefaced by the rubric '[H]ec est figura inen translationis huius libri die jous mensis martii 21 die Moharan Era Arabum 652, Christi 1253, Cesaris 1291, Alexandri 1565',<sup>2</sup> but the date A D 1253 seems impossibly early for the Latin translation. There is no evidence that either of the translators was in Castille until nearly twenty years later, the use of the title *Rex Romanorum* clearly belongs to some date after 1257, nor could Giles of Parma be described as 'aule imperialis notarius' or Peter of Reggio as 'ipsius aule protonotarius' in 1253. It is possible that 1253 is the date of the Castilian translation of Jehuda ben Moses Cohen on which the Latin translation was based, the surviving manuscript of the vernacular version is incomplete and gives no date,<sup>3</sup> but the form of the king's title suggests a date after 1260. Some time after 1257 seems essential for the Latin version and the period between 1271 to 1275 the most probable. After Alfonso's renunciation of his imperial pretensions, the Italian scholars remained in his service. In 1280 'Magister Petrus de Regio domini Alfonsi regis Castelle protonotarius' was one of three ambassadors sent to Charles of Salerno to solicit his mediation between Alfonso X and Philip III of France.<sup>4</sup> The embassy was successful and its envoys accompanied Charles from Aix-en-Provence to Paris where their presence was noted and their names duly reported to Edward I by his agent, Maurice de Craon.<sup>5</sup> Two documents of 15 August 1280, by which Alfonso X undertook to meet Philip III and in the meanwhile to consent to a truce, are signed 'Egidius Tebaldu notarius domini regis Castelle'.<sup>6</sup> So, with the end of the Imperial venture, work appears to have been found for the Italians, either on foreign embassies or in the royal chancery in drafting foreign correspondence in Latin, there is not, however, any evidence that either Peter of Reggio or Giles of Parma continued to reside in Castille after Alfonso's death, as did John of Cremona.

Modern research has cleared up a number of uncertainties concerning the scientific work of Alfonso X's court. Gone now is the legend of the astronomical 'congress' at Toledo, to which Arabs from Toledo, Seville, and Cordoba and 'others more than fifty in all' from Gascony and Paris were summoned by Alfonso and where they met together in the palace of Galiana from 1258 to 1262 and held disputations on the stars of the eighth sphere. The story is due in the first place to Hieronymo Román de la Higuera, from whose manuscript history of Toledo it passed into the pages of Nicolas Antonio and thence into those of Rodríguez de Castro and was generally accepted.<sup>7</sup> It is now nearly a century since Steinschneider proved its fictitious nature, by showing that among the scholars supposed to have been present are included the long dead authors of some of the treatises translated at Alfonso's orders—for example, Abenragel, who is made to preside over the proceedings in the absence of the king.<sup>8</sup> Yet the legend died hard and continued to

<sup>1</sup> Winkelmann, op cit p 465, no 580

<sup>2</sup> MS Savile 15, f 1.

<sup>3</sup> The last three of the eight books of the treatise are missing.

<sup>4</sup> G. Daumet, *Mémoire sur les relations de la France et de la Castille* (Paris, 1914), p 167, no xii

<sup>5</sup> Rymer, *Foedera*, I, 583

<sup>6</sup> Daumet, op cit p 169, no xiii, p 170, no xiv

<sup>7</sup> N. Antonio, op cit II, 81, Rodríguez de Castro, op cit II, 643-4.

<sup>8</sup> In 1848 in *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslands*, which I have been unable to consult. Cf Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature* (1857), pp 188, 359 n 65

be repeated in standard works of the nineteenth century,<sup>1</sup> while its ghost appears to haunt uneasily the pages of even more recent writers.<sup>2</sup> Instead of this congress of notables we have a group of some fifteen persons, including Jewish physicians, Castilian ecclesiastics, and Italians employed in the royal chancery, who were engaged in the work of translating, revising, compiling, and editing under the king's direction. This activity was not confined to a period of four years, but was carried on more or less steadily for over thirty, and covers most of Alfonso's lifetime. If we can accept the statements contained in the preface to the *Lapidario*, the work was first known to Alfonso in 1243 when he was twenty-two years old, and its translation was completed in 1250, two years before his accession to the throne. The latest of the scientific works, the lost *Libro de las formas y de las imágenes*, was not finished until 1279, five years before his death. Between these dates a very large number of manuscripts must have been examined, translated, and made use of. Not all the resulting works are dated, and in some cases there is little to indicate at what period of the reign they were taken in hand. We know, however, that the first versions of the *Libro de la açafeha* and the *Libro de las estrellas fijas* belong to 1255-6, while the vernacular *Liber Picatrix* was probably finished in 1256. Both the *Libro del alcora* and the *Libro de las cruces* were finished early in 1259. The *Tables* were completed in 1272 as a result of observations carried on over a decade. I have shown that the most likely dates for the Latin translations carried out by Giles of Parma and Peter of Reggio lie between 1271 and 1275. The revised edition of the *Libro de las estrellas fijas* belongs to 1276, the second versions of the *Libro del alcora* and of the *Libro de la açafeha*, and the *Libro del cuadrante* all belong to 1277, the other treatises contained in the *Libros del saber de astronomia* are not dated. Finally, the collection and transcription of the treatises which composed the *Libro de las formas y de las imágenes* was carried on from 1276 to 1279. So there appear to be two main periods of activity, one in the 'fifties of the century, another—given over to revision, retranslation, and collection—in the 'seventies, the compilation of the *Tables* bridges the gap between.

Much of this scientific work was doubtless carried out at Toledo. In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries Toledo was a meeting-place for eastern and western learning, the city to which Christian scholars such as Gerard of Cremona, Michael Scot and Daniel of Morley went to obtain translations of philosophical and scientific works.<sup>3</sup> There was a wealthy Jewish community in Toledo, and Jews were the usual intermediaries between Muslim and Christian scholars. That Jews played a predominant part in Alfonso's scientific works is incontestable. Further, the Mozarabic inhabitants of Toledo, the descendants, that is, of Christian families who had lived there under Muslim rule, were still bilingual at the end of the thirteenth century, and their private documents, such as conveyances of land, sales, contracts, and marriage settlements were drafted in Arabic.<sup>4</sup> There was therefore, no lack in Toledo of experts in the Arabic tongue, and the city was an obvious centre for the work Alfonso had in hand. It was certainly there that the astronomical instruments were constructed and set up and the observations taken on which the *Alfonsine Tables* were based. Four of Alfonso's scholars—Jehuda

<sup>1</sup> Eg. in L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine Arabe*, II (Paris, 1876), 442.

<sup>2</sup> A. Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el siglo trece*, p. 165. 'Los sabios toledanos que reunidos en el palacio de Galiana discutían sobre el *ochoavo cielo*'.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of*

*Medieval Science* (2nd ed. 1927), pp. 12 sqq., 126 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> A. González Palencia, *Los Mozarabes de Toledo en los siglos *dixce* y trece* (Madrid, 1926-30), 3 vols. contains a collection of such Mozarabic documents, together with summaries or translations in Spanish.



ben Moses Cohen, Isaac ben Sid, Samuel Halevi, and Master Fernando—are all called ‘of Toledo’ in the texts, and were presumably natives of the city. It must not, however, be supposed that the king and his court resided habitually at the ancient capital of the Visigothic kingdom, nor that all the work was necessarily carried out there. Seville was the city at which Alfonso spent the longest consecutive periods of his reign, and his visits to Toledo were no longer or more frequent than to many other cities of his dominions, less frequent, in fact, than to Burgos. His first residence in Toledo after his accession lasted from 3 February to 19 May 1254, and he was there again for just over a year from 26 January 1259 to 6 February 1260. He paid short visits to the city in 1268 and 1269, he was there for four months between 8 December 1278 and 10 April 1279 and he last visited it at the end of April 1281. These dates do not bear any close relationship to the known dates of the works. On the other hand, it appears that the revision of the treatises for collection in the *Libro del saber de astronomía* and possibly also in the *Libro de las formas* was partly carried out, not at Toledo, but at Burgos, and to some extent under the supervision of the king. We are specifically told that Alfonso himself corrected the language of the *Libro de las estrellas fijas* in 1276 and that the revised *Libro de la açafeha* was completed in Burgos in 1277. Alfonso stayed in Burgos from May to July 1276 and again from April 1277 to February 1278. All this suggests that Alfonso, after he had commissioned and instructed his scholars, left them a free hand, but that he intervened later in the case of those treatises selected for incorporation in the two collections—more than this we cannot say.<sup>1</sup>

It must be admitted that the effects of all this work on the development of science were not commensurate with the great effort involved.<sup>2</sup> This is partly due to the secondary importance of the works translated, partly to the king’s addiction to astrology, a study detrimental to the true development of science, partly to the use of the Castilian language which inevitably militated against the wide diffusion of the works in Western Europe. The *Alfonsoine Tables* are the most solid contribution both to scientific studies and to the king’s reputation in this field, and, as we have seen, it was the *Tables* as modified at Paris and accompanied by Latin canons by various authors which were most widely known and used. Apart from the *Tables*, the works of which most manuscripts survive are the astrological ones which, either by Alfonso’s orders, or later, were translated into Latin—the *Quadrupartitum*, the *Liber de iudiciis astrologiae*, and the *Liber Picatrix*. It is as ‘the Astrologer’ that Alfonso X appears in the *Crónica de 1344*<sup>3</sup> and in the pages of such fifteenth-century humanists as Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo and Alfonso de Cartagena.<sup>4</sup> To the men of the Middle Ages astrology was

<sup>1</sup> For the king’s itinerary I have used A. Ballesteros y Beretta, *Itinerario de don Alfonso el Sabio*, 1252–1259 (Madrid, 1935) and *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, CVII (1935), 21–76, 381–418, CVIII (1936), 15–42, which covers the years 1260–4. For the period 1265–84 I have used a skeleton itinerary compiled mainly from published documents. It is far from complete, but shows that Alfonso was at Toledo on the following dates: 30 October, 30 December 1268, 14, 24, 31 August and 25 September 1269, 8, 23 December 1278, 26, 28 March, 8, 10 April 1279, 24, 27 April 1281. Between 1276 and 1279, the period of the two collections, Alfonso was in Burgos on the following days: 28 May, 19 June,

14 July 1276, 5, 11, 12 April, 1 May, 20, 28 June, 6, 7, 28 July, 5 August, 1 September, 15, 16 October, 16, 29 December 1277, 8 February 1278. The number of extant documents for the second half of the reign is far smaller than for the first half.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sartori, op. cit. II, 748.

<sup>3</sup> R. Menéndez-Pidal, *Crónicas generales de España* (*Catálogo de la Real Biblioteca*, v (Madrid, 1918)), p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Rodericus Sanctius, *Historia Hispanica*, pars 4, cap. 5, *Alfonsus a Carthagina, Regum Hispaniae Anacephalaecosis*, cap. 84, both in Andreas Schott, *Hispania Illustrata*, I (Frankfurt, 1603).

but applied astronomy, its study a legitimate pursuit for the learned, its encouragement a suitable object for the munificence of kings. And so, as we enumerate the works both astronomical and astrological carried out by Alfonso's orders, we can readily understand his contemporary reputation as a scholar and patron of scholars and appreciate the reasons which led those who worked for him to call him 'amador de los sciences et de saberes' or 'rex excelsus qui scientiam diligit et scientes honorat'.

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## THE TURKISH MENACE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A subject never long absent from the thought of a German *Burger* of the sixteenth century was the Turkish peril. Vague news of Murat I's great victory over the Slavs at Kossovo in 1389, and of Hunyadi Janos's brave stand against the Turks in 1456, had filtered through into Germany bit by bit, but from 1520 onwards, when Suleiman II, the greatest sovereign the Turks in Europe ever had, came into power, their imminent danger was ever before the German-speaking peoples. At almost every *Reichstag* eloquent appeals were made for funds to raise troops to oppose the Ottoman might. It is most interesting to note how the entire history of the Reformation was linked up with this Turkish menace,<sup>1</sup> again and again the Protestant cause was aided by Charles V's preoccupation with Suleiman and his sometimes secret but often avowed ally, Francis I. Generally the result of the appeals was, as a Nurnberg correspondent wrote in March 1522 'Die Not war gross aber die Hulf war klein, es dacht ein Jeder nur an sich'.<sup>2</sup> Georg Kirchmaier, in his *Denkwürdigkeiten*,<sup>3</sup> states. 'In one day they [the Turks] have executed over 6000 men but there is none to take pity upon us. we can find neither help nor rescue, neither prince nor leader *Ein Jeder wartet bis ihm die Wand warm wird*. Oh, how shamefully our Christian brethren are deserted' Public processions and prayers were ordered, a bell was to be rung each day in all towns and villages to remind people to pray, a *Turkensteuer* was imposed (8 May 1522) on all *Reichsstände* and *Untertanen*, but contributions came in *gar saumselig*—Frankfurt, e.g. alleged it had too many public buildings to erect.<sup>4</sup>

Two events in particular increased general apprehension. The first was the battle of Mohács, 29 August 1526, when King Ludwig II of Bohemia and Hungary, with 22,000 men, was hopelessly defeated by Suleiman with 200,000, the king perished miserably in a swamp as he fled after the battle, and the way was left open for an attack on Lower Austria and Bavaria. It was in September, after this battle, that Cardinal Campeggio assured Wolsey 'The Pope will make every effort for peace and for the promotion of an expedition against the Turks'. The second event was one which struck terror throughout Europe—the sack of Rome (6 May 1527) by mixed troops, mostly German, when art treasures, archives and libraries were destroyed and thousands of people lost their lives—a contrast indeed to the capture of Rome in May, 1944! Though no Turks were present, this evidence of lack of unity in Christendom rang a note of ominous warning in the ears of all thinking men. No one was astonished when in 1529 Suleiman, 'Herr aller Herrscher, Schatten Gottes über die Welt', marched on Vienna, his troops arriving beneath the walls on 21 September. Under the leadership of Count Nicolaus von Salm<sup>5</sup> the inhabitants fought bravely, and on 14 October, to the amazement of all, the Sultan was compelled to raise the siege. It was a near escape. In a letter to Amsdorf (27 October 1529) Luther writes:

Gestern erhielten wir die Nachricht, dass der Turke durch ein Wunder Gottes von Wien nach Ungarn zu abgezogen ist. Denn nachdem er gegen die Stadt selbst fast

<sup>1</sup> Far more, it would appear, than has generally been admitted by writers on the Reformation. Reading the records closely, one cannot but conclude that the effect of the Reformation would have been greatly circumscribed had not this fear of the Turks loomed so large in the eyes of the rulers of Germany.

<sup>2</sup> Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit*

*dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg i. B. 1897), II, 236.

<sup>3</sup> Janssen, II, 236.

<sup>4</sup> The whole situation is well summed up in Hauser and Renaudet, *Les Débuts de l'Age Moderne*, Paris, 1929.

<sup>5</sup> Salm had all the houses in the *Vorstadt* pulled down. Was this the background of the early scenes of *Measure for Measure*?

20 Angriffe vergebens unternommen, hat er von unterirdischen Grabern aus an drei Stellen die Mauern mit Pulver gesprengt und blosgelegt. Aber mit keiner Gewalt konnte er sein von Gott erschrecktes Heer zum Sturme zwingen, dass sie sich lieber von den Fuhrern niederstechen liessen, als den letzten Sturmangriff zu wagen.<sup>1</sup>

All these happenings can, of course, be studied in the usual way—in archives, *Kanzlerdokumente*, *Postillen*, letters. A less frequented method is to note how they are recorded in that form of literature which can most truly be called 'popular' in the sixteenth century, in the *hymnbooks* of the people. From 1526 onwards there is constant reference to 'deins nammens grossen dampffer', as the Turk is styled by one writer.<sup>2</sup> A certain vague fear of invasion had been in existence for years previously, but from the days when the broadsheets containing the death of Ludwig II and Vienna's narrow escape<sup>3</sup> began to circulate, hymns abound in which German fright, indignation and pity find expression. One of the earliest is an appeal to take up arms, printed in Nurnberg in 1529.<sup>4</sup>

Wacht auff, wacht auff, yhr Fursten gut,  
Thut frolich zamen springen,  
Auff das yhr redt das Christlich blut!  
euch wirt nit misselingen  
Wyder den feindt der Christenheyt,  
den Turcken ich do meine  
sein hochmut wird yhm werden layt,  
seyn gwalt wird yhm auch kleyne.

Wach auff, wach auff, du edle kron,  
Karle, du Keyser werde!  
Mit deiner hilf solt du bey ston  
in sorg uund grosser bschwerde  
Dem bruder, Konig Ferdinand,  
do haym solt du nit bleyben  
Der Turck der ligt yhm yn dem land,  
den hilf ym dannen treyben

Dann ich sing euch zu diser frist  
clerlich und offenbare  
Wo nit der Turck hett vor gewist  
gantz eygentlich furware,  
Das zwispalt untern Christen wer,  
het yhm nit fur genumen  
mit einem solchen grossen heer  
in Christlich landt zu kumen

Frolich dar wagt leyb, gut un̄ ehr,  
das Turckisch volck zu schlagē,  
so wonet Gott in ewrem heer  
den Turcken zu veragen

Many early lyrics consist simply of a recital of the Turkish advance, though they generally contain an appeal for volunteers. One writer<sup>5</sup> tells how

zway und zwaintzig Kunigreich  
Darzu zway gross Kayserthum

<sup>1</sup> Luther's *Briefe*, de Wette, III, 518

<sup>2</sup> Wackernagel, *Das d. Kirchenlied v. d. ältesten Zeiten bis zu Anfang d. XVII. Jahrhunderts*, III, 982

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 'Ein new Lied, wie der Turk Wien

belagert', Lohencron, *Deutsches Leben im Volkshed um 1530*, pp. 17 ff

<sup>4</sup> Wackernagel, III, 803

<sup>5</sup> Wackernagel, III, 981

have been captured Likewise

Pulgerian er gewan,  
 Suiffen<sup>1</sup> mocht jm nicht vorstan,.  
 Rodis hat er gewonnen,  
 vil Stet inn Hungern zwungen,  
 Kunig Ludwig erschlagen,  
 Fur Wien ist er auch kommen,  
 des haben wir schlecht frommen,  
 Christen solten all klagen

Like many others of his era, this author is convinced of the far-reaching propagandist policy of the Ottomans

furwahr ich euch sage,  
 er bedenkt nacht und tage  
 wie er der Christen lande  
 bring in sein gwalt uund hande  
 Darumb seit nit so trege  
 oder es wirdt euch laide

An unpassioned hymn by Huldreich Bretel<sup>2</sup> relates a similar story of the Turkish conquest

Der Unger hat empfunden  
 des Turcken grausam hand,  
 Grabat auf diser stunden  
 ist in des Wutrichs band,  
 Dalmacia dergleichen  
 leit pein, angst, clag und not  
 \* \* \* \*  
 Wer kan und mag nit beweinen  
 den fall der Chrystenheit?

and all the more so, as there have also fallen 'Libya, klein Asia, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antiochia aund Alexandria [these last being called 'die vier Vatter von Rom'], Rodiss des teuschen Ordens, Sabatz, Steyrmarch und Osterreich'

To such pleas the powerful aid of Hans Sachs was lent in 1532. In his poem *Wider den blutdurstigen Turken*, he appeals to the 'grossmechtiger keiser', to the 'heilig reiche', to the 'fursten, lantheren und grafen', the 'ritterschafte', 'teutscher adel', 'bischof und prelaten', and so on until he arrives at the 'reitersknaben', 'buchsamenmeister' and 'heben Bauern',

mit spiess und hellenbarten  
 greifen den Turcken an.

In almost every case the appeal is directed to that new sense of personal responsibility which the Reformation was doing so much to foster. If they do not join in this conflict, there will be an end of Germany and its Protestant Church

In der Turcke geht sich das geschreye  
 der Christlich glaub der sei sich gar zersteuwen,  
 darumb meint der Turck, sein glaub sei gerechte,  
 und greufft die frommen Christen an,  
 vil mer dann ich ertzelt kan.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Which after all does not show great geographical advance on old Barbarossa's query. But where is Serbia?

<sup>2</sup> Wackernagel, III, 978

<sup>3</sup> Hans Witzstat von Wertheim, quoted by Wackernagel, III, 198

As the time goes by, the appeals 'become more passionate

O Jesu, Gottes Vaters Sohn,  
 ein Mittler hie auff erden,  
 Barmherzigkeit erwirb uns nun,  
 das wir so gar nicht werden  
 Zerknurschet von des Turcken hand,  
 der jetzund leytt in unserm Land  
 das alles zu verheren <sup>1</sup>  
 O Herr, dein Christenheit erhalt,  
 thu uns vor yhm bewahren  
 Es ligt an deiner hulff und krafft,  
 wer die nicht hat, gar nichts nicht schafft,  
 ob er auch wei der sterchste <sup>2</sup>

Not a little of the point of these appeals is afforded by a narration of Turkish atrocities, as e.g. those sequent upon the sacking of Ofen (Buda) and Pest, when at

Marie Geburt, am selben fest,  
 gewon der Turck die Stat zu Pest.

Cruelties to women and children are specially recorded in the hope of stirring up German indifference, and the poem ends

O Karole, Kayserliche man,  
 weil dir Gott solcher eeren gan,  
 marck unser gross elende,  
 Mitt deiner maacht uund trostes schein  
 den wuttrich wider wende.<sup>3</sup>

Sometimes the songs take the form of a complaint from the poor prisoners at Constantinople, 'Jrer jammerlichen klag und ermanung an gemayne Christen-hayt' <sup>4</sup> The sufferings of such prisoners are enumerated their sale in public,

Man treybt sie dar  
 all tag furwar  
 am kauff so ellendigkleiche,

their persecutions, their despair, their fetters,

Auch ketten gross  
 an halsen bloss,  
 dazu an handen und fussen,

their half-starved condition, their separation from one another. Each stanza ends with the refrain

Es ist kein schertz,  
 Gott erman alle Christen hertz.<sup>5</sup>

All through Luther's writings we find allusions to this question of the hour. In August 1528 he wrote directly to the nation upon it in his *Vom Krieg wider die Turken*, a book as fresh, as wise and as fascinating to-day as ever. In it he says he has been urged for *five years* past to take up the theme and admits that 'fast (sehr) viele oder schier alle Reichstage sind um solcher Sache willen ausgerufen und gehalten worden' 'Wie der Pabst der Endchrist, so ist der Turke der leibhaftige Teufel, wider alle beide geht unser und der Christenheit Gebet' When Vienna was relieved he published his *Heerpredigt wider die Turcken* (October 1529),

<sup>1</sup> Wackernagel, III, 977.

<sup>2</sup> Wackernagel, III, 976

<sup>3</sup> Wackernagel, III, 979.

<sup>4</sup> Wackernagel, III, 980.

<sup>5</sup> Cf also Wackernagel, III, 978.

but it is a question whether a single line from a hymn of this period did not exercise a greater influence than either of the set treatises. His hymn, 'wider die zween Ertzfeinde Christi und seiner heiligen Kirchen, Erhalt uns, Herr, bey deinem Wort',<sup>1</sup> with its famous 'Und steuer des Bapsts und Turcken Mord', became a model on which every prentice hand in the making of *Kirchenlieder* for a century afterwards would try his powers. Taking 'Erhalt uns, Herr, bey deinem Wort' as his first stanza, each minor poet would string on to it many verses of similar structure but less stalwartness. Even writers so considerable as Matthesius and Selnecker thought it no shame to do so, and that not once but several times.

After Luther's death the peril increased rather than diminished. Charles V, it is true, made a treaty with Suleiman in 1545 and was thus able to devote himself to the *Schmalkaldischer Krieg*, but the peace was of brief duration. In his funeral sermon on Luther (22 February 1546) Melancthon mentions the Turks as threatening us from without', in all the hymn books of the day we find, alongside complaints concerning the imprisonment of the 'gute Churfurst', petitions that the Turkish menace may be averted. Such hymns are to be found, e.g. in the *Lubecker Enchiridion* (1545), *Eyn Gesangbuchleyen* (Marpurg, 1549), and in the *Hamburger Enchiridion* (1558). Thus, in a hymn published in Nurnberg in 1554<sup>2</sup> we read

Die feinde von uns treibe,  
die Turcken ich da mein,  
das jhr keiner beleibe,  
sie hassen den namen dein.  
Wenn wir sollen ausslaysen  
wider des Turcken schar,  
Bschutz uns Witwen und waysen,  
bhut uns, Herr, alle gar.

The fight was bound to be hard and long but, as another writer put it,<sup>3</sup>

Ein steuffe hoffnung wollen wir zu dir  
und deinen Gnaden tragen.

Unwilling combatants were not desired, but even they might still be of use

Wer selb in disen streit nit woll, der soll  
mit andacht nit auffheren,  
Zuschreien und zubitten ser, der Herr  
woll seine Kinder gweren  
Uund geben gluck auff unser seyt.

When the *Schmalkaldischer Krieg* broke out, more than one writer saw the danger which threatened the empire from the east. The emperor, it was said,

Solt auch helfen bewaren  
mit Konig Ferdinand,  
So setzen sie in faren  
das fruchtbar Osterland,  
das thut der Turck verheeren  
mit Krieg, Brand, Hader, Mord,  
Niemand thut ihm das wehren,  
streiff't bis an Wiener Port.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The line has been as much knocked about as any in the vast stores of German hymnology. Its history is well known, taken up at once by the Catholics for their own first hymn books, the line, which had earlier driven them to fury, appears as 'Und steuer des Satans List und Mord', an alteration which Wackernagel slyly described as not too complimentary to the Papists. Other

variants, all eloquent as to particular perils at the time of their making, are 'des Bapsts und Spaniers Mord', 'des Bapsts und Polen Mord', and 'Und steure deiner Feinde Mord'.

<sup>2</sup> Wackernagel, III, 1275

<sup>3</sup> Wackernagel, III, 932

<sup>4</sup> Wackernagel, III, 1167

And in the year when the great peace was made at Augsburg, Triller von Gora composes for his *Schlesisch Singebuchlein* (Breslaw, 1555) a hymn 'Wider die Turcken und andere Heidnische Tyrannen'<sup>1</sup>—in whose ravages he sees, as did Luther, a 'Zuchtruthe' in recompense for his country's godlessness

Fresh alarms were raised during the late fifties and in the 'sixties. In the *Enchiridion* ('gedruckt to Hamborch', 1558) by Albert Salsborch, a spirited Low-German appeal begins

Waket up, gy Christen alle,  
syth nuchtern all toglyck'  
De Turke ys vorhanden  
und ys vorwar nitht wyth.

Thomas Brewer, in the 'sixties, quotes the Turk as one who still

schont da weder Weib noch Kindt,  
sein Sebel uund Kugel geschwindt  
tun alles schnell auffressen<sup>2</sup>

A hymn published in 1571<sup>3</sup> bears witness to the fact that the peril is by no means past

Der Turck mit grosser heeres kraft  
wil tilgen die gantz Christlich lehr  
durch fewr und Schwerd.

No less acute is the menace in the time of Ringwald, author of 'Es ist gewislich an der Zeit'. In 1585 he writes

Steh doch in diesem harten streit  
auch bei der armen Christenheit,  
Die jetzt vom Turcken wird bedrangt  
und gar an deiner hulffe hengt.<sup>4</sup>

In another hymn of the same period<sup>5</sup> we are told that the Turk

kompt nu stracks der meinung her,  
das er uns vollent wie ein Beer  
hin opffer und zerresse,

and the fervent wish is expressed that this 'stinkent Mahometh' may be

zu boden schlagen  
mit Pestilenz und fewre.

In yet another a full-dress appeal is made to the nation to tackle the problem

denn sih, es kompt ein Hauff  
vons Turckischen Keyzers Kron  
Mit Spiessen und Hellebarten  
mit Ross und Wagen viel  
uund Bogen ohn ziel  
in Ungern wollen sie warten.

Their object is clear

grosse Beute  
von dingen mancherley  
uns wollen sie abestreiffen,  
darneben alle Fest,  
und Wien, die allerbest,  
zubrechen und zuschleiffen.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted, Wackernagel, iv, 104

<sup>2</sup> Quoted, Wackernagel, iv, 479

<sup>3</sup> 'Christlich Schul und Haus Gebet', Leipzig, 1571 Quoted Wackernagel, iv, 1180

<sup>4</sup> Wackernagel, iv, 1478

<sup>5</sup> Wackernagel, iv, 1485

<sup>6</sup> Wackernagel, iv, 1487.



Sie diawen auch gar frech,  
 das sie on widerstand  
 mit Pulver und mit Pech  
 das gantze Deutsche Land  
 Stracks wollen wider brennen  
 und aller Menschen Schar  
 in blut erseuffen gai  
 die Jesum Christ bekennen.

Before closing, Ringwald inserts the customary request for practical help

Mach euch jung und alt  
 hinein ins Ungerland.

After the Wallachian Vespers of 1593, Michael the Brave held back the Turks and gave Central Europe freedom from attack for eight years. The Treaty of Zsitva Torok, 1606, may really be regarded as the turning-point of the Turkish conquests. From thence onwards all Austrian paying of tribute ceased. 'Though failing to secure to Hungary and through it to the Empire a well-protected frontier, it signified the first signal success achieved by western Christendom against its arch-foe since Lepanto'<sup>1</sup>. Desultory (and sometimes that adjective understates the case) fighting continued for over half a century: it was in that fighting that Wallenstein and Tilly learnt many of their endearing ways of waging war. The barbarism so dreaded by Germans in the sixteenth century was fully brought home to them by soldiers of their own in the seventeenth century, and towards the end of the Thirty Years' War we find the great Silesian satirist, Logau, mordantly observing

Man sagt, daß Turcken Reich werd ehstes untergehen  
 Was hulfts? Weil Türkisch Art bey Christen wil entstehen.

As late as 1683 Kara Mustapha all but captured Vienna by a surprise attack and it was only in 1687, when Charles of Lorraine won the second battle of Mohács, that the nightmare of Turkish invasion, which had lasted since 1389, was finally removed from the German lands. In 1945 it is not the Turk, but the German himself, whom the inhabitants of Central Europe have most cause to dread

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<sup>1</sup> A. W. Ward, *Camb. Modern Hist.* iv, 8.

## SIMPLICIUS SIMPLICISSIMUS'S BRITISH RELATIONS

A von Keller has said that the parallelism which has been repeatedly noticed between *Simplicissimus* and Wolfram's *Parzival* is merely external.<sup>1</sup> The resemblance, however, is particularly striking when we consider the hero's early history, his birth of a noble lady on her flight, his mother's death and his upbringing in ignorance of his descent.

Perhaps the most remarkable point in this *Vorgeschichte* is the role of the forest. Simplicius spent his childhood in the employ of his foster-father and later in the company of a hermit (who, as he learns in later years, was his father) in the forests of the Spessart mountains. On his flight after the destruction of his foster-parents' home he goes through an agony of fright in the forest, until 'der liebe Tag den Baumen gebot, ihn mit seiner Gegenwart unbetrübt zu lassen' (Book 1, chap. 6, also 16), eventually he is attracted by the famous hermit's song, which ends with a reference to 'diese Walder od'.<sup>2</sup> Do these words bear merely an external resemblance to the words 'una selva oscura, salveggia, aspra ed forte' in the beginning of Dante's *Divina Commedia* (which, in contrast to Italian interpreters, such as Bianchi and Scartazzini, commentators in this country, such as O'Donnell, refused to interpret in a merely symbolical sense) and to the description of the forest in the 'Wald und Hohle' scene which is the turning-point in the first part of Goethe's *Faust*?

Und wenn der Sturm im Walde braus't und knarrt . . .  
Dann führst du mich zur sichern Hohle, zeigst  
Mir dann mich selbst.<sup>3</sup>

Simplicius's story is an early example in German literature of an autobiography in the modern sense as an objective realization of self-identity.<sup>4</sup> The expression 'to be oneself', as used, in this instance, by Goethe, is most significant in this respect, it has become one of the fundamental concepts of modern existential philosophy.<sup>5</sup> At this point the modern character of the Simplicius novel becomes

<sup>1</sup> A. v. Keller, in his article on Grimmelshausen in *Deutsche National-Biographie*. On the parallelism between *Simplicissimus* and *Parzival* see K. Francke, *Social Forces in German Literature* (New York, 1897), p. 204, and Robertson, *German Literature* (London, 1908), p. 228. On Simplicius's references to King Arthur see p. 43, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *Das Oxford Buch Deutscher Dichtung* (Oxford, 1911), p. 40. Eichendorff's 'Nachdichtung' *Der Einsiedler* (ibid. no. 217) says 'Wenn ich bei Waldesrauschen hier gedankenvoll gesessen'. See note 3.

<sup>3</sup> 'Reinstes hessisches Wesen sind die Waldgeheimnisse, denen schon Wolfram von Eschenbach sich hingeeben hatte. Ihre Quelle war die uralte heisse Scheu der Hessen vor den Wald-bäumen [which St. Boniface so painfully hurt when felling the sacred oak at Geismar]. Auf dieser Feier ist der erste Teil des *Simplicissimus*

aufgebaut'. J. Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme*, 1 (Regensburg, 1923), 509. Strangely enough, no reference to Goethe is made. A more romantic expression of the profoundly German idea of the forest as the background for becoming oneself is found in Eichendorff's poem *Abschied*. In Heidegger's philosophy the place of the forest has been taken by the Nothing (*Was ist Metaphysik?* Halle, 1928).

<sup>4</sup> The theory and history of autobiography was placed on a scholarly basis by Wilhelm Dilthey. See *Die Geschichte der Autobiographie*, by W. Misch, Dilthey's son-in-law.

<sup>5</sup> See my articles 'Das neue Denken und das neue Glauben (Karl Jaspers)', *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. XVII (1936), p. 48, and 'The measure of man', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, October, 1944.

most evident when it is compared (as is often done) with Christian Reuter's *Schelmuffsky*, published thirty years later

These two works are, on the other hand, representative in seventeenth-century German literature of the venerable tradition of Ulysses. It is not accidental that even in the second chapter of the first book *Simplicius* says 'in praise of shepherds'

Bey den alten Heyden fand man so wol solche *Exempla* Hirten sind gewesen (wie Lucianus in seinem *Dialogo Helenae* bezeuget) *Paris*, *Prinzi* dess Königs Sohn

The parallelism between the *Simplicius* novel and the most recent interpretation of the Ulysses' tradition by James Joyce is so striking, that I am inclined to believe that Joyce (who is known to have had an extensive knowledge even of remote works of German literature) read this book. The scientific coldness and minuteness in the description of the lowest physical processes is in both works an expression of a literally unlimited *Selbstenthüllung*. A comparison in this respect with Swift's *Gulliver* is of interest, and gains in significance in Rose's note contained in his introduction to the second edition of A. T. S. Goodrick's translation of *Simplicissimus* (1924)

The earliest book (by the author of the *Simplicius*-novel), *Der flegende Wandersmann nach dem Mond* (1659), was a translation of F. Baudouin's *L'homme dans la lune* (Paris 1648) which in turn was a translation of Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moon*, by Domingo Gonsales (London 1638). Some details of Godwin's book were imitated by Cyrano de Bergerac, from whom Swift derived valuable hints for *Gulliver's Travels*.<sup>1</sup>

In one of the Breughel-like descriptions of physiological processes (Book I, chap. 28), *Simplicius* expressly refers to 'Ulysses'. *Simplicius*'s account of his experiences in the Venusberg at Paris (IV, 4 and 5) has been omitted in Goodrick's translation with the remark that it is too indecent and moreover unimportant. At the very bottom of his misery *Simplicius*, 'the poor soldier', becomes a male prostitute. The description of this utter disgrace foreshadows passages found in many works of twentieth-century literature with the only difference that *Simplicius* is aware of the *viehische Unflatercy*. Actually this incident and the subsequent cure when he suffered from small-pox form the turning-point in *Simplicius*'s life.<sup>2</sup> A further reference to Ulysses is found in the course of the scenes witnessed at the soldiers' banquet at Hanau, which remind *Simplicius* of the metamorphosis of 'Ulyssis Geferten in Schweine' (I, 30). The description which *Simplicius*, 'der tumbe Tor', gives to his master of the debauchery following that banquet shows just as repulsive

<sup>1</sup> p. xxiv. The modern tradition of the Man in the Moon (Verne, Poe) is traced in Franz Hirsch's *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur (Geschichte der Weltliteratur, v)*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 458. A survey of the contents of Grimmelshausen's *Wandersmann* is given by Bobertag in his edition of Grimmelshausen's works in *Kurschner's Deutsche National Literatur*, xxxiii, xxxv. But cf. *Euphorion*, xxxi, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> See also K. C. Hayens's *Grimmelshausen* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 90 f. 'One great lady had him kidnapped - he stayed with her for one week and returned loaded with presents' (also pp. 127 f.). German writers on the *Simplicius* novel have still more fatally misunderstood the real significance of that passage, e.g. when, like Goodrick, suggesting the derivation of this scene from

Bandello, Hirsch (op. cit. pp. 487, 489) speaks of *Simplicius*'s 'Liebesabenteuer mit einer vornehmen Dame'. *Simplicius* clearly says that he had 'vier und nochmehr dergleichen Kunden' and that his 'Verehrung in dem Huren-Hauß [later 'Bordell'] war 200 Pistolet'. Chap. 6 starts 'Durch diese meine Handtierung brachte ich beydes an Geld und andern Sachen so viel Verehrungen zusammen, daß mir angst dabey ward, und verwunderte ich mich nicht mehr, daß sich die Weibsbilder ein Handwerk auß dieser viehischen Unflatercy machen, weil es so trefflich wol eintraget'. After all this, Nadler (op. cit. p. 513) still calls *Simplicius* at Paris a 'zeilichei Schwerenoter', while E. Schmidt (*Charakteristiken* (1886), p. 107) speaks of his 'galante Abenteuer'.

a detachment from the spiritual reality underlying them as is found in those passages for which Joyce's *Ulysses* has been banned<sup>1</sup>

The banquet referred to above was given by Simplicius's first master in the world, his uncle James Ramsay, one of the few historical personages described in this book as personal acquaintances of the hero. Ramsay's association with Hanau, where Simplicius has the good luck to be stranded at the end of the first part of his wanderings (I, 19), is a historic fact, and so is the raising in 1636 of the siege of that town by the Imperial forces (as mentioned in II, 14). How far the story of Simplicius's life corresponds to that of the author's own life or to the general history of the Thirty Years' War has been argued to some extent by Kogel, Bobertag, v. Keller, Rose and others. Rose (p. xxix) says that Simplicius's relations with Ramsay are 'of course fictitious'.

Simplicius is the son of James Ramsay's sister Susanna and of Captain Sternfels von Fuchsheim, the name Melchior Sternfels von Fugsheim, another of the many anagrams of the author's name, is found below the preface to Grimmelshausen's *Ewigwährendes Calender* (1670).<sup>2</sup> As I have no access to the sources quoted in the articles on the brothers David, George and James Ramsay in the *Dictionary of National Biography*,<sup>3</sup> I am unable to argue whether Susanna is a historic personage or not. The account given by Simplicius's foster-father (v, 8) of the last hours of 'die schone junge Edelfrau' who could ride 'so mannlich' is interesting enough as an early German testimony to the national characteristics of the Scottish. Mansfeld's army, with which her husband served, had been defeated near Höchst<sup>4</sup> (now the great industrial suburb of Frankfurt-am-Main). On her flight she was overtaken by a premature delivery. Simplicius's foster-father found her 'indem ich sie beyde Hand und Augen gegen dem [*sic*] Himmel auffheben sahe, und auff Welsch mit einer erbarmlichen Stimme zu Gott ruffen horete'. However, she managed to make herself understood.

Ach! wan ihr ein ehrlicher Christen-Mensch seyd, so bitte ich euch um Gottes und seiner Barmhertzigkeit, ja um dess Jungsten Gerichts willen, vor welchem wir alle um unser Thun und Lassen Rechenschafft geben müssen, ihr wollet mich zu ehrlichen Weibern führen!

'Diese Worte', Simplicius's foster-father continues, 'die mich so grosser Dinge erinnerten, samt der holdseeligen Außsprache, und zwar betrubten doch uberauß schonen und anmuthigen Gestalt der Frau, zwangen mich zu Erbarmde'. Before Susanna Ramsay [*sic*] dies in her ordeal, she asks to have her child baptized at once, and she leaves to his foster-parents all her belongings except 'etliche Pater Noster',<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Ulysses' is also mentioned in Grimmelshausen's *Courasche*, xxiv. The author of *Simplicius* tells us that one of the critics of his popular novels wrote 'Ich mochte wissen, was doch den Tropfen verursacht hat, diss Geschmir anzufangen, Ists Gewinns halber beschehen? so begehre ich denselben weder mit ihm noch dem Verleger zu theilen, dann wer wollte diese Thorheit kauffen? Ehr und Ruhms halber kans auch nicht seyn, dann was wolte er vor Ehr davon zu hoffen haben, wann er von Dingen ein vertriessliches Gebappel daher macht, welche sonst jederman bekannt seyn, Ich konte mich des lachens schier nicht enthalten daß er vergeblich soviel leer Stro gedroschen und seine Zeit so ubel angelegt hat' (R. Kogel's introduction to the principal scholarly edition of *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus*, Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI und XVII

Jahrhunderts, nos 19-25 (Halle, 1880), pp. vi f., I quote henceforth from that edition). An almost literal translation of this passage may be found in a review of *Finnegan's Wake* in *The Irish Book Lover*, 1940, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> The most modern account of all that is known of Grimmelshausen's life is found in Nadler, op. cit. p. 509.

<sup>3</sup> XLVII (1896), 240 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The battle of Höchst took place on 6 June 1622.

<sup>5</sup> Paternoster was throughout the Middle Ages a word for Rosary beads, thus corresponding to the words Ave Maria which were more commonly used in these countries. Paternoster Row, London, takes its name from the medieval guild of the Paternosters or bead-makers. M. Heyne, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. II, col. 1104 f. (Halle, 1892), also *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII, 185.

Edelgesteine und so Geschmeiß, welches ich voi das Kind aufbehalten sollte'.

Another tribute to the Scottish character is paid in the description of Susanna's brother 'Dem Gouverneur, der sonst kein weichhertzig Weiber-Gemut hatte, sondern ein daffereier heroischer Soldat war, stunden die Augen voll Wasser', when he heard of the life and death of his brother-in-law (I, 23). When he learnt that Simplicius was his sister's son, he at once took care of him, however embarrassing the boy's uncouth behaviour was to him 'Meines Heirn Gunst vermehrte sich taglich, und ward jelanger jegroßer gegen mir, weil ich seiner Schwester jelanger jegleicher sahe' (I, 27, also II, 14). Captain Ramsay's conversations with Simplicius (I, 20, and II, 9) give us an interesting picture of his mentality. Simplicius notices in his uncle the contrast between a certain external piety (grace before meals I, 30) and his moral instability (I, 33). The feebleness of the captain's attempts to maintain discipline among his retinue (II, 3 and 10) and the ambiguity of his dealings with his Swedish allies (II, 4) are frankly exposed.

#### Captain Sternfels (I, 22)

ist nicht allein daß Gouverneurs Schwager, sondern auch im Krieg sein Beförderer und werthester Freund gewesen. Wie dem Gubernator mir zuerzehlen beliebt, ist demselben [Simplicius's father] von Jugend auf weder an Dapfferkeit eines heroischen Soldaten, noch an Gottseligkeit und Andacht, die sonst einem Religioso zuständig, nermal nichts abgegangen, welche beyde Tugenden man zwar selten beyeinander zufinden pflegt. Durch Lesung vieler Papistischen Bucher, von dem Leben der Alten Eremiten, [war er] verleitet worden [to become a hermit].

Yet the thing which, after the defeat at Hochst, Captain Sternfels regrets most is that 'er nicht in derselben [battle] vor dem Evangelium sein Leben zulassen das Glück gehabt hatte'. When, after resigning his military career, he learns that his brother-in-law has become governor of Hanau, a place situated not far from his abode, he listens to this news 'zwar mit einem frohlichen Gesicht und kleinen Lacheln' aber so kaltsinnig, als ob er niemals keinen Ramsay gekant hatte' (I, 23).

We get this description of a Scottish nobleman and especially his marvellous 'Bestandigkeit und festen Vorsatz' (I, 23) from the pastor at whose house Captain Sternfels gave up his military life for a hermitage 'so daß er seinen Adel und ansehnliche Güter in Schotten,<sup>1</sup> da er geburtig, verschmahete und hundan setzete,

<sup>1</sup> *Schotten* is the dative plural of the name of the inhabitant *Schotte* (Scotus) used for the country, a use first found in MS. <sup>H</sup> (fifteenth century) of Eilhart's *Tristan* (Lichtenstein, p. 29) note for *Yberne*, later in Schuppius, Fischart (see p. 44, note 2) and Sachs. The article *Schotten* in Grimm's *Wörterbuch* hardly gives a correct picture of the interesting history of this word which is attached to the tradition of Irish monasticism in Germany from St Kilian's days to the great twelfth-century community of Irish monasteries spreading through all parts of Germany from Lake Constance to Silesia and which, in the sixteenth century, was resumed, on the one hand, by Scottish refugees claiming for themselves the glorious inheritance of the Scots and, on the other hand, by the Irish exiles who played a prominent part in academic and religious life under the Counter-Reformation in the Low Countries, Bavaria, Bohemia and Austria.

This tradition accounts also for the numerous odd scraps of Irish folklore which we encounter

in German literature. Reviewing the strange wells which he had visited, Simplicius mentions 'Ich hatte die zween Brunnen in Iriland gesehen, darin das eine Wasser wann es getruncken wird, alt und grau, das ander aber hubsch jung machet' (VI, 14). ('Die Brunnen der furnehmen Insel Britannia' are mentioned among the wonders of the world in the *Historia von D. Fausten* (1587, Neudrucke, nos. 7 and 8, Halle, 1878, p. 68), a work to which the sixth book of *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* is related in several respects.)

The spelling 'Iriland' (for which Grimm's *Wörterbuch* offers no evidence, though it prevailed in German literature up to the late eighteenth century, especially in the Ossianic controversies) was revived by James Joyce in order to put through his pun Iriland-Madland (German 'Irenhaus' = asylum).

Whilst, in the course of scholarly studies of the historical documents of both the Irish language and of Irish monasticism, as preserved on the Continent, the traces of the Scots have been

weil ihm alle Welthandel abgeschmackt, ertel und verweifflich vorkamen (I, 22)

When Simplicius learns in his later life (v, 8) that 'die Edelfrau Susanna Ramsi und ihr Mann Capitam Sternfels von Fuchsheim' were his parents and that therefore he was 'deß Gubernators [namely of Hanau] Ramsay Schwester leiblicher Sohn' he finds that

von meinem Vetter [*sic*, instead of 'Onkel'] Ramsay konte ich anders nichts erfahren, als daß die Hanauer ihn mit samt der Schwedischen Guarnison außgeschafft hatten, weißwegen er dan vor Zorn und Ungedult gantz unsinnig worden ware

It is said that the ubiquitous Jesuits invented the story of Captain Ramsay's end in lunacy. The historical truth seems to be that after holding on his own account the fortress of Hanau against the Imperial forces, he was eventually killed at a skirmish near Dillenburg (between Hanau and Wetzlar) in March 1638. He is one of the few soldiers from these countries who have left traces in early German literature.

W. Rose made a short reference to 'the Scotch and Irish soldiers of fortune' who were among 'the ill-disciplined hordes' of the Thirty Years War (p. xiv). The best known of these are Macdonald, Gordon, Leslie, Butler and Devereux, whom Schiller has immortalized. Simplicius implicitly refers to them when saying 'Weiss man nicht wie Wallenstein zu Eger eingewieget worden?' (II, 25), and in a later work, entitled *Rathstube Plutons* (1672), chap. XII, Grimmelshausen more expressly says that Wallenstein was assassinated 'von einem Gordon zu Eger'. Springinsfeld, another figure of Grimmelshausen's semi-autobiographical figures, was in Wallenstein's army when the great general was murdered. How detailed was the knowledge of Wallenstein's assassination among his contemporaries may be seen from a little-noticed remark found at the end of the Preface to Andreas Gryphus's *Horribilicribrifax* (1663): 'Ich vermache dir die Partisane die ich von dem erbet, der jenem Herzog zu Eger den Rest gegeben'. Schiller speaks in the last scenes of *Wallenstein's Tod* of a *Hellearde* as the weapon with which Wallenstein was killed.

Rose's reference to the 'ill-disciplined hordes' is in accord with the lively description which Schiller gave in the second book of his *Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* of 'Mansfeld's Rauberscharen' and of 'die Gewaltthatigkeiten' of Wallenstein's soldiery. Whilst 'der Irlander Lesslie' (to conclude from his name, a Protestant) and 'die zwei protestantischen Schottländer Butler und Gordon' (I quote from the fourth book of Schiller's *Geschichte*) were in the Catholic army, Simplicius's father whom the pastor first mistook for his master, 'den Mannsfelder

thoroughly investigated (see my articles, 'The historical work of Louis Gougaud', in *Irish Historical Studies*, III (1942), 180-6, 'Irish literature on the Continent', in *Irish Art Handbook* (Dublin, 1942), pp. 107-13, and 'Irish Saints in the liturgical and artistic tradition of Central Europe', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (5th series), LXII, 181-92), the study of the tradition of English Saints, its traces in German literature and its connexion with the literary tradition of later English activities, military and other, in Central Europe has been strangely neglected (see my article 'English Saints in Europe', in *The Tablet*, 4 December 1943). Grimmelshausen offers an

interesting example of this connexion when he makes Simplicius, who, as I have shown, is by descent purely Scottish, take part in a military undertaking in the vicinity of 'die Reichs-Stat, die von einem Engländischen König erbauet und nach seinem Namen genennet worden' (v, 20), namely Offenburg in Baden, called after Offa, an eighth-century king of the Mercians. (The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIV, 899, concludes with a reference to the Offenburg tradition. According to A. v. Keller it is 'ziemlich sicher' that Grimmelshausen himself was at Offenburg (loc. cit. p. 697).)

<sup>1</sup> Neudrucke, no. 3, Halle, 1883, p. 7

selbst' (I, 22) became a hermit although the pastor told him 'daß solch Vorhaben zumal nach dem Pabstum schmacke [und] daß er dem Evangelio mehr mit seinem Degen wurde dienen können' To judge from his wife's Pater Nosters and his own 'Popish' readings, Captain Sternfels must have been a very broad-minded and tolerant Protestant Simplicius acknowledges that the strong religious bent which eventually brings about his conversion is inherited from his parents 'Ich gedachte', he says (V, 11) 'an das gottselige Leben und Absterben meines Vaters und an den erbarmlichen Tod meiner Mutter' <sup>1</sup> Grimmelshausen's work is the most important literary record in German literature of British soldiery in the Protestant armies of the Thirty Years' War, and as such the direct counterpart to Schiller's description of the Catholic side <sup>2</sup> It is a little-noticed coincidence that the first English translation of Schiller's *History of the Thirty Years' War* was made by a Protestant Irish soldier (Blaquiere in 1799)

The idea that Simplicius's father was of Scottish descent does not fit in very well with his name Simplicius plans to join the Swedish army as he thought he would meet there 'Verwante die auch etwas gelten, dan bey derselben [army] viel vornehme Schottische von Adel sich befanden' (V, 20), but he does not say whether he thinks of relations from his father's or his mother's side (To this day the Ramsis are a well-known Swedish-Finnish family) <sup>3</sup> It is strange that Simplicius, Steinberg's and Susanna Ramsay's first-born and only son, makes no attempt to see his relatives or to recover his father's 'ansehnliche Güter in Schotten' when, in his later life, he went to England He says, also, that he was in Ireland The extensive account of his journey to England has not only never been translated into English, but has not even been mentioned in the otherwise extensive accounts of the sixth book, as, for instance, those by Hirsch and Robertson <sup>4</sup>

Simplicius's wanderings after the end of the war start by his being 'versetzt auß seiner Einsiedel-Wildnuss [to which he had retired for the same reasons as his father] in ein Schiff zwischen Engeland und Franckreich'. There he meets 'Julum einen Edelmann auß Engeland mit seinem Diener Avaro, die auß ihrem Vaterland in Franckreich raseten'. We have here a little-known early contribution to the topical subject 'Englishmen in German literature'. The evil spirit who brought Simplicius on that boat had failed to seduce Julius 'wegen seiner edlen Art und tugendlichen Aufzuehung [und Avaro] wegen seiner einfaltigen Frommigkeit' Lucifer commissions Waste and Avarice 'einen von diesen Engländern vor die Hand zunehmen [und] zuversuchen' Whilst being 'zwischen Engeland und Franckreich' in the boat 'worm beyde Engländer überfahren und gleich außsteigen wollten', Simplicius witnesses how Haughtiness seduces Julius

<sup>1</sup> Simplicius's own religious attitude, 'weder Petrusch noch Paulisch' (III, 5 and 20), was certainly the result of his paternal inheritance Like Grimmelshausen himself, he became, in later years, a Catholic.

<sup>2</sup> Schiller's account of the historical significance of the presence of British soldiers in Mansfeld's army should be noted at this point 'König Jakob von England', he says in the second book of his *Geschichte*, 'der gleichgültig zugesehen hatte, wie sein Endam die böhmische Krone verlor, erwachte aus seiner Fühllosigkeit, da es die ganze Existenz seiner Tochter und seiner Enkel galt und unterstützte Graf Mansfeld mit Geld und Truppen' According to Simplicius (III, 4), 'die Könige in England, Schweden und Denemarck' took

an interest in German affairs 'weil sie Teutschen Gebluts und Herkommens', rather than for political and religious reasons Nadler embarks at this point on an interpretation of Grimmelshausen as a forerunner of the idea of the Third Reich (op cit p 511)

<sup>3</sup> One of the first soldiers of Scottish descent to join the Swedish army (in 1624) was Hugh Hamilton (*Dict of Nation Biogr* VIII (1908), 1044) See B Hoening, 'Memorien englische Offiziere im Heere Gustav Adolfs und ihr Fortleben in der deutschen Literatur' (*Beitr z n Philol*, Wien 1902, pp 324-50)

<sup>4</sup> Goodrick's translation covers only Books I-V Hayens, op cit pp 98 f, gives a short account of the sixth book

Tapfferer *Cavalier* [he says to him] ich bin die *Reputation* und weil ihr jetzt ein fremd Land betretet, wird mir nicht ubel anstehen, wan ihr mich zur Hofmeistern behaltet hier konnt ihr die Einwohner durch eine sonderbare *perelegans* sehen lassen, daß ihr kein schlechter Edelmann, sondern auß dem Stamm der alten Konige entsprossen seyd<sup>1</sup> und wangleich solches nicht ware, so wurde euch jedoch geburen, eurer *Nation* zu ehren den Frantzosen zuweisen, was Engeland vor wackere Leute trage (vi, 5.)

Julus falls into Lucifer's trap He at once buys the boat on which he travels, with all the goods she carries, the first example of the tradition of the rich Englishman, full of national pride, in Continental literature (Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften*, Dumas's *Comte de Monte Cristo*, Jules Vernes's *Tour du Monde*, Merimée's *Colomba* and About's *Roi des Montagnes* are well-known modern examples of that tradition) In Paris, Julus begins to lead a fast life 'In seinem Losament ging es zu wie bey deß Konigs *Arturi* Hof-Haltung<sup>1</sup> Avarus, on the other hand, starts stealing and embezzling his master's money Julus's father advises die Englischen Kauffherren die mit ihm *Correspondiren*, und dem *Julio* jeweils seine Wechsel entrichteten' to give his son less money (vi, 7)

Derowegen redete Julus seine Lands-Leute an, und sagte 'Ihr Herren wisset, daß mein Vater an vielen Schiffen die beydes nach Ost- und West-Indien gehen, nicht allein part, sonder auch in unsrer Heimat auff seinen Gutern jährlich bey 4 bis 5000. Schafe zuscharen hat, also daß es ihm auch kein *Cavallir* im Land gleich, noch weniger vorzuthun vermag, . wer wolte mir dan nun zumuthen, daß ich hier als ein Bernheuter leben sollte' ware solches . nicht unserer gantzen *Nation* eine Schande'

'In Gegenwart der anderen Engländer' he pawns his maternal inheritance 'und beheft sich die Summa [of borrowed money] auff sechshundert Pfund Sterling, welches nach unsrer Muntze ein namhaftes stuck Geldes machet' (vi, 7) It is worth noting that the first mention made in German literature of the official British currency is found in Wolfram's *Parzival*, 335, 29

At his father's death Julus travels to England, and Simplicius, who has entered his service, accompanies him 'um Engeland zu beschauen, dieweil ich mir einbildete, ich hette bereits vil Lander gesehen, dagegen mu diese Enge ein seltener Anblick seyn wurde' (vi, 8)<sup>2</sup>

At home, Julus

verhuelte sich gegen jederman, daß ich nicht allein glaubte er muste auß dem Geschlecht der alten Konige seyn geboren worden, wie er sich dessen in Frankreich oft geruhmet, sondern ich hielt vestiglich davor, er ware auß dem Stamm *Arturi* entsprossen, welcher das Lob seiner Freygebigkeit biß an das End der Welt behalten wird

To this day, Continental people find it hard to decide whether the royal behaviour of Englishmen is a genuine or merely a boastful attitude

Soll, sprach [Gott], soll mein Albion vergehen,  
Erlöschen meiner Helden Stamm?

(Schiller, *Die unüberwindliche Flotte*)

<sup>1</sup> vi, 6 Another reference to king Arthur is made in iv, 24, where a sword is mentioned which 'wol deß Konigs *Arturi* in England Calburn verglichen werden mogte' The post-medieval tradition of king Arthur is an important link between England and the Continent See e.g. Hans Sachs's verse

'Vor Jahren in Britania ein Konig sas,  
mechtig und reich, der Arturus genennet was'  
(Neudrucke, nos 164 ff., 1900, p 351)

<sup>2</sup> This is another connexion with James Joyce who also plays on the meaning of England =

Narrowland The variety of spellings for *England* is remarkable when compared with Grimm's-hausen's strict adherence to the spelling *Franch-reich* 'Erst im 18 jahrhundert riss die uble abkürzung England, was uns wie enges land klingt, ein, hatte man *Anglia* im sinn, so war Angeln, Angeln, Engeln oder Engeln zu setzen, freilich war von den Briten selbst England aufgebracht und gab den ton an Schiller, der stets England schreibt, gebrauchte in der *Jungfrau von Orleans* des reimes halber Engländer' (Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, III, col 475)



Irishmen were in the Middle Ages and still are reputed abroad for their claim that they all descend from royal families. Continental writers, even the venerable Bollandists, occasionally mocked at their 'conceit' in this respect. 'Julus fuhrte zu Wasser und Land anderer Leut Tochter und Weiber nach Engelandischem Gebrauch spatziren' (vi, 8).

Simplicius is particularly impressed by a pleasure trip 'auff der Them's', and a few chapters later (14) he mentions 'die Them's in England' among the numerous rivers which he claims to have seen on his journeys. He cannot hide his admiration of the extensive commercial activities of his English contemporaries: one of Julius's ships is 'in Brasilien', another one 'unweit den Moluccischen Inseln', both, however, are unsuccessful.

The *Traumgedicht von Dir und Mir* (1660), traditionally Grimmelshausen's second published work, had referred to Oliver Cromwell as being still alive,<sup>1</sup> so that this story must have been written before the tidings of the fateful 3rd of September 1658 arrived on the Continent. A still more important reference to contemporary English history is found at the end of the eighth chapter of the sixth book of the Simplicius novel.

Indem vernimt er [Julus] daß deß enthaubten [sic] Königs altister Printz mit einer Armee in Schottland ankommen ware [23 June 1650], hette auch glucklichen Success und gute Hoffnung seines Herrn Vaters Königreich widerum zuerobern! solche Occasion gedachte ihm Julus zunutz zu machen, und seine Reputation dadurch zu erhalten. Er brachte eine schöne Compagnie Reuter zusammen, über welche er Avarum zum Leutenant machte, und ihm goldene Berge verhielt, daß er mit ging, alles unter dem Vorwand, dem Protector zudenken, als er aber sich reißfertig befand, ging er mit seiner Compagnia in schnellem March dem jungen schottischen König entgegen und conjungte sich mit dessen Corpo, hette auch wol gehandelt gehabt, wan es dem König damahls geglückt, als aber Cromwel dieselbe Kriegsmacht zerstoßerte,<sup>2</sup> entrannen Julus und Avarus kaum mit dem Leben, und dorfften sich doch beyde nirgends mehr sehen lassen: derowegen musten sie sich wie die wilden Thiere in den Waldern behelffen, und sich mit rauben und stehlen ernehren, biß sie endlich darüber erdapt und gerichtet wurden. Julus zwar mit dem Bal, und Avarus mit dem Strang.

Thus ends Simplicius's account of his experiences in Britain. He leaves it to the reader to decide whether he regards this as 'Traum oder Geschichte'. However, we find several other references to England which must be related with that story. In Simplicius's conversation with a ream of office-paper in the *Cantzley* (obviously a reference to Grimmelshausen's activities as town-clerk at Renchen), a comparison is drawn (vi, 12) between first-class German linen and 'der Mittleren oder Engelandischen Wahre'<sup>3</sup> from which it is separated at Zwoll(e) in Holland. At the end of his report on Simplicius's Robinson-like life on a South Sea Island, Jean Corneliesen (vi, 26 and 27) mentions that, at his departure, he presented Simplicius Monachus with 'eine Englische Brille [= Brennglas], damit er Feuer von der Sonne anzunden konte, welches auch das einzige war, so er von uns bittlich begehrte'—an early reference to English superiority in technical equipment. In the *Continuatio*<sup>4</sup> it is reported that Simplicius used to sell Polish, Swedish, Danish, Spanish and English calendars, obviously for the benefit of the soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> Rose, p. xxiv, also Bobertag, p. xix.

<sup>2</sup> Bobertag rightly suggests that this is a reference to either the battle of Dunbar or that of Worcester. For the simultaneous use of the words *Schotten* (see above p. 40, n. 1) and *Schootland* see Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, ix, col. 1614.

<sup>3</sup> Grimm's *Wörterbuch* says that in the eighteenth century English linen was known as

*Engelszeug*. Already Fischart mentions in *Aller Praktick Grossmutter* (1572) 'Von Nationen und Statzen Thuch in England [see note 3], Salmen in Schotten'. Neudrucke, no. 2, 1891, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Bobertag's edition of Grimmelshausen's works, II, 313.

The nationalist concept of German literature which Hirsch applied to Grimmshausen's work must be considerably modified in the light of the above

Grimmelshausen entnimmt—wir kennen dieses Verfahren schon aus der Dichtung des Hohenstaufenzeitalters [Hirsch refers here, for instance, to *Parzival*]*—die abenteuerliche Handlung allerlei fremden Literaturen, aber sobald er den äußerlichen Stoff innerlich verarbeitet hat, holt jener fremde Stoff auf, für ihn und seine Nation ein Fremder zu sein. Das ist ja das uralte Kriterium deutscher Geistesarbeit, daß, so selten auch die deutsche Phantasie selbständig zu erfinden vermag, der deutsche Verstand und das deutsche Gemut sich den rohen fremden Stoff nur soweit aneignet als er jenen mächtigen Faktoren der deutschen Volksseele zur Unterlage dient, auf welcher sie ein im nationalen Charakter gehaltenes Gebäude aufführt. Die Wände waren fremden Ursprungs, aber die Einrichtung war deutsch* (Op cit. p 484)

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## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

### A PROBABLE ALLUSION TO HENRYSON'S 'TESTAMENT OF CRESSEID'

We have so little precise information about Robert Henryson and his works that any dateable reference to him or to one of his works must necessarily be of value. *The Testament of Cresseid* is of particular interest, and of it G. Gregory Smith wrote, 'On the date of the composition no conclusion can be reached'.<sup>1</sup> The following evidence will suggest that the poem was written before 10 July 1492, or at least eight years prior to the accepted end of Henryson's hazy *floruit*.<sup>2</sup>

The Asloan Manuscript, usually dated c. 1515, contains a prose piece entitled *The Spektakle of luf Or delectatioun of luf of women quhilk Is devydit in viij partis*.<sup>3</sup> The *Spektakle* is a dialogue between an old knight and his son in which the former warns the latter against all but the most regulated and regular manifestations of amorous indulgence. The third part 'schawis ye famous historis & noble examplis in tymes by passit by ye quhilk men suld eschew ye delectatioun of luf'.<sup>4</sup> Among the noble examples, which include Eve, Judith, Delilah, Deianira, Procne, Bathsheba, the Grecian queen who saddled Aristotle (on whose account clerks write evil of women), Virgil's playful and luciferous princess, Enphyla, Helen, Jocasta, Phyllis and Polyxena, we find Cressida.

Or how quyte cresseid hir' tiew luffar troyelus his lang sseruice  
In luf quhen scho forsuk him for dyomeid And yare efter went commoun amang ye grekis  
And syñ deid in great myssere & pane.<sup>5</sup>

This account of Cressida cannot be taken from Benoit or Boccaccio or Chaucer, but it can come from Henryson, and the use of the word 'common' suggests Henryson's lines

Than desolait scho walkit up and doun,  
And sum men says into the Court commoun. (ll 76-77)

The *Spektakle* contains a very precise statement about itself.

vis litle buk quhilk Is entetitlit or callit ye spectakle of luf or delectatioun of women  
translatit out of latyn in to our' vulgar' and maternall tounge at The cyte of Sandris  
The x day of Iulij The 3er' of god ane thowsand four' hundreth nyntyte and twa 3eris  
be ane clerk quhilk had bene in to venus court mar' yan ye space of xx 3eris  
Explicit ye spectakle of luf þer M G. Myll.<sup>6</sup>

Here we have an exact date before which the shameful later life and miserable death of Cressida were known. The difficulty lies in the reference to a Latin original, an original of which no other trace than this statement has been found.<sup>7</sup> If the Latin work really existed, and *Speculum Amoris* is a likely title, we must ask ourselves these questions. Did it contain the reference to Cressida? If so, had the Latin writer read Henryson or had he taken his information from some other and presumably earlier work? If we consider this last to be what occurred, then we obviously accept an unidentified source antedating Henryson for the

<sup>1</sup> *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, 3 vols., Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1906-14, I (1914), xlix.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, I, xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed W. A. Craigne, 2 vols., Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1923-5, I (1923), 271. The work had previously been

printed in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, Edinburgh, II (1836), 121-47.

<sup>4</sup> p. 271.

<sup>5</sup> p. 279, ll 21-4.

<sup>6</sup> p. 297, l 3-p. 298, l 9.

<sup>7</sup> I, viii.

tradition of Cressida's shame and punishment. In all probability the questions can never be answered and the safest, and most satisfactory, solution would seem to be to agree that Master G. Myll had read Henryson's *Testament* sometime before 10 July 1492, and that he could not resist introducing the notable example that it afforded him into the catalogue of female frailties which he was translating.

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'AND CASSIO HIGH IN OATH' ('OTHELLO', II, III, 227)<sup>1</sup>

One type of pitfall to be avoided in providing an 'eclectic' text of Shakespeare is well illustrated by the above point from *Othello*, the textual problem of which is well known. Whatever views are held of Iago, all critics are agreed in regarding him as a masterly opportunist and liar, who in his presentation of a case handles with ease material that ranges from undoubted fact to pure fiction. The problems of interpretation rest largely on the degree of credit to be allowed him. It is important, however, that the full evidence as provided by the dramatist should be available, and some of the 'accepted' texts, still widely used, sin in this respect. For the point in question, the Oxford, Eversley and Arden editions fail, by the omission of an oath, to give all the evidence, and to this slight extent misrepresent Iago. He lies easily and frequently enough: critics and editors should not invent lies for him. The Arden edition confirms its own lapse in a note to this very effect:

This lie so pleases Iago's fancy that he cannot leave it without adorning it. In IV, I, 30, 31, Iago gives another casual stab in the back to Cassio,—as a liar.

This lie? But it is not a lie. The Act of 1606, and the consequent elimination of oaths from the text, should induce particular caution where any question of oaths is involved. The first Quarto text, and in the nineteenth century the Cambridge text, which is not rashly to be ignored, do in fact give Cassio a good mouth-filling 'Zounds' on his re-entrance, 'diving in Roderigo', at l. 137. This oath disappears in the purge, and exaggerated respect for the Folio text means that here the exact shade of Iago's mendacity in reporting is destroyed<sup>2</sup>—as indeed the Folio editors themselves destroyed it. Here is a definite case, detail though it may be, where legislative bowdlerization and casual editing have falsified a dramatic point, and where Folio authority must be ignored. Iago's statement is not in this case pure invention, as the reader and student of such editions are led to think, it is rather that skilful seizing and elaboration of a point provided by the actual circumstances which is a critical commonplace. This very speech contains a perfect example of his invention (l. 222, 'Myself the crying fellow did pursue'), but the bulk of it is misrepresentation of authentic material. Cassio's oath is authentic in all senses, and an editor leaving it out, especially in a version not provided with textual variants, fails in his function.

Baffling indeed are the vagaries of editors. The restoration of oaths is accepted editorial practice, illustrated in various degrees in all the editions mentioned. Then why this exception? One can only suggest the lingering Popean tradition, the passion for a blank verse line without o'erflowing full.<sup>3</sup> Or is it that eclectic

<sup>1</sup> All references are to the Cambridge edition.

<sup>2</sup> Though, ironically enough, the Quarto does ascribe to him a slight falsity of a different sort: it has the plural 'oaths'. But it would be absurd to press such a detail.

<sup>3</sup> The two speeches 'You rogue! You rascal!—What's the matter, lieutenant?', minus the initial

"Zounds, certainly make a good line of a free and vigorous type if one is determined to take the speeches hereabouts for blank verse—though neither Quarto nor Folio lends it any countenance. Capell, using the Folios, did his best in this direction, but modern editors have eschewed this metrical strait-lacing.

editors consider themselves, by definition, excused from consistency' On the general matter of restoration a recent editor, Mr G B Harrison, in his edition for the Penguin Shakespeare, which for this play follows the Folio 'more closely', states specifically 'The oaths have been put back' Even so there are omissions, and that in cases where there is no constraint from significant Folio readings In I, 1 he gives us Iago's 'Sblood' at l 4, but omits his 'Zounds' at ll 87 and 109—all of them effective Lack of effectiveness, in fact, feebleness due to expurgation, is a good reason for deserting the Folio text in all cases of oath-substitution Is this too extreme a claim? Surely 'Zounds' is preferable to the feeble 'Away!' as the exclamation with which Othello leaves the stage at III, iv, 99, the climax of his rage and impatience when the handkerchief is not forthcoming, and even, one may suggest, to the Folio 'What dost thou mean?' at III, iii, 158, where the oath expresses more powerfully his gathering, hardly-pent uneasiness and impatience as Iago's insinuations work The same applies in less degree to the 'If I once stir' for 'Zounds, if I stir' at II, iii, 199, to the weakening of 'Lie with her' 'Zounds, that's fulsome' by simple omission, at IV, i, 35, and more or less to the remaining cases But the Qu 'uds death', Fol 'us'd thee' at V, ii, 73 is the most interesting case, and that in which, seemingly, *all* editors have been seduced by the smoothness of the Folio reading It is not indispensable the Quarto is undeniably striking, and the linking with Desdemona's next words need not be a stumbling-block The idea 'whore' has, in all conscience, been sufficiently impressed on Desdemona's mind, the trend of the argument through the handkerchief, Cassio, token and 'confessed' is unmistakable, and her 'How? Unlawfully?' shows full grasp of the implications of Othello's broken sentence It is this latter difficulty which admittedly caused Mr M R Ridley, a Quarto champion, to desert his authority here in the New Temple text None of the Folio changes in these cases can be claimed as absolute 'improvements', and whatever views are held of the relative authenticity of the Quarto and Folio texts, it can surely be taken for granted that these oaths were uttered in all performances of the play before the 1606 Act came into force It is unfortunate that deference to a quasi-authoritative text should, in the twentieth century, assume the aspect of Bowdlerian coyness, and one concludes this examination with increased respect for Hotspur on Oaths

V WALPOLE

STELLENBOSCH

#### PARZIVAL 183, 9

und arger schützen harte vil.'

In a previous contribution<sup>1</sup> attention was drawn to the low esteem in which archery was held by the knights of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries The inquiry started with a quotation from *Parzival*, but in the toil of the argument a corollary affecting another passage of that story was overlooked

After such phrases as *cent dehors art, qui archiers fu premier* and *roupher* for the archers, and *angesiliche pfele* and *vreisluche wer* for their weapons, we are not surprised to find the adjective *arc* (base) applied to those of the *bovel* (rabble, *Parz* 183, 5) who appear as archers (183, 9). Nevertheless, hypnotized by yet another conjecture which Lachmann had the good sense to relegate to his footnotes, both Martin and Bartsch-Martin print *atgêrschützen* in their editions, a form

<sup>1</sup> *M L.R.* xxxv, 40 'Archery and Chivalry A Noble Prejudice'.

which no MS supports *atgêl* is uncalled for as regards sense, and compared with the fluent *aigei* is an offence to the ear. Let it go the way of other fascinating conjectures more medievalist than medieval.

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#### UZBEK LANGUAGE STUDIES

Until comparatively recently Turkological scholars maintained that the Uzbek language had not been adequately studied. This was true, particularly so of the living Uzbek dialects. But in the past two decades the situation has substantially changed and we now possess adequate data respecting the Uzbek language and its principal vernaculars.

Besides Uzbekistan proper, the Uzbek language is spoken in a number of towns and villages of Southern Kazakhstan (Chimkent, Sarai, Mankent, Karabulak, Ikan) in parts of north-western and south-western Tajikistan (Uratyube, Khodjent, Shahrstan, and in villages in the valleys of the Dushambe-darya, Karagat-darya, Vakhsh, Kyzyl-su, Yakh-su and other rivers), and—outside the Soviet Central-Asiatic republics—in the northern provinces of Afghanistan.

Living Uzbek is divided into a number of dialects and vernaculars, which at times differ considerably in phonetics, morphology and vocabulary. This circumstance has to be borne in mind when considering the problem of a common modern Uzbek literary language. The formation of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic as a national state created an urgent need for a common literary standard.

It might have seemed that the existence in the past of the 'Chagatai' book language should have facilitated the problem, and, indeed, bright hopes were at first pinned upon it. But it was found that this old book language could not be revived in modern times, as the literary movements which arose in the urban centres of Tashkent, Samarkand and Kokand testified. In the newspapers and periodicals of that period and in the language of the poets and the first dramatists local elements of dialect came to the fore as harbingers of the new *komé dialektos*.

It is not surprising that in the past two decades attention should have been devoted chiefly to developing a literary Uzbek language and working out orthographical and grammatical rules.

At first, in the 1920's, Uzbek scholars devoted themselves to simplifying the old Arab orthography and adapting it to the needs of the schools and the press. The reform of the alphabet was partly associated with the problem of a national literary language. But it was only in 1929, at the moment when it was decided to replace the reformed Arab alphabet by a 'Latin' one, that the question of the relation of a standard literary language to the living popular dialects assumed clear shape. The recommendation was made to adopt as the basis for a common standard language the Uzbek-Kipchak dialect (in which the initial *j* of other Uzbek vernaculars is replaced by *z*, e.g. *jaman*—*zaman*, 'bad'). Other vernaculars were also suggested in combination with the old book language. Proposals for 'autonomous dialects' were mooted, i.e. for the independent literary development of various provincial dialects.

Finally in 1929, a common standard language was adopted possessing nine vowels (*i, i, u, u, e, o, o, a, a*), in other words, a 'synharmonic' type, although the urban dialects of Tashkent, Samarkand, Bokhara and Ferghana have six, some-

times seven, vowels (*i, u, e, o, a, ä*) with an alternative (*o, u, a*) in the case of the Ferghana urban dialects. It was decided to adopt the *jatir* form of dialect for the present tense (e.g. *kelayatir*, 'he goes'), the *žak* form for the future tense (e.g. *kelažak*, 'he will go').

But it was soon discovered that the type adopted for the standard language was incompatible with any of the existing vernaculars, and particularly remote from the urban dialects, whose cultural importance was growing. In 1934, an attempt was made to approximate the standard literary language more closely to the phonetic structure of the urban dialects by reducing the number of vowels to six (*i, u, e, o, a, a*). But even this was not enough, as it eliminated the phoneme *ä*, characteristic of the living dialects. Only very recently primary significance has been accorded in the development of the standard literary language to the Tashkent phonetic type, although from the point of view of phonetics, morphology and especially vocabulary, the new combination is in many particulars incompatible with any of the living Uzbek dialects.

It is obvious that the problems connected with the creation of a common Uzbek literary language have heightened the interest of our Uzbekologists in Uzbek grammar and vernaculars.

It was the practice both with administrators and scholars in the past to distinguish between the Uzbek and the 'Sart' languages, the latter being understood by Russian and West-European scholars alike to mean 'exclusively the language of the Turkicized portion of the local settled population' (V. Barthold). Linguistically there is no foundation for such distinction, and it has now been discarded. Nevertheless, the old view made its influence felt in the study of the Uzbek vernaculars.

It is usual, after Professor E. Polivanov, to divide these vernaculars into two large groups: (1) urban 'Iranized', or 'non-synharmonic' dialects of the Tashkent-Samarkand-Bokhara type, and (2) 'non-Iranized', or 'synharmonic' dialects, the 'Uzbek proper', or 'Kipchak' dialects, the 'Turkmenized' dialects, Southern Khorezm, and the 'non-Turkmenized', the rural dialects of Ferghana, Turkestan, Ikan, Mankent and Karabulsk. Between these the 'transitional' group of Ferghana urban dialects holds an intermediate position.

This division is based on the hypothesis that the original settlers in Uzbekistan were Iranian Tajiks, who later became Turkicized, but while adopting Turkic (Uzbek) preserved the ancient 'Iranian' phonetic structure. As a result the urban 'Iranized' dialects have lost their synharmonism (only six of the usual eight Turkic vowels have remained, while the vowel *ä*, which is Iranian in origin, has been preserved). In the course of time these 'Iranized' dialects affected the phonetic structure of the surrounding 'non-Iranized' ('synharmonic') dialects. Hence the 'transitional' dialects.

This hypothesis is alluring. The process of linguistic interaction which is developing from various quarters on the territory of present-day Uzbekistan has long attracted attention. Even in our day we are familiar with bilingual Iran-Tajik populations in various areas, with cases of Central-Asiatic Arabs losing their mother tongue, and of opposite cases of Uzbek villages adopting the Tajik language. The hypothesis that the Uzbek language has an Iranian foundation and that part of the Uzbek urban dialects have lost the synharmonism characteristic of Turkic languages, under the influence of a different language environment, is highly probable.

But however that may be, this hypothesis cannot be regarded as precluding

other explanations of the loss of synharmonism by the Uzbek urban dialects. In particular, I personally am inclined to believe that the development of the phoneme *â* in the first syllable is due, first, to a labialization factor, under the influence of labial consonants (just as Ramstedt attributes the development of the Chuvash *u* to a series of successive labializations—*a* > *â* > *o* > *u*) and, secondly, to the influence of the deep gutturals *g* and *r*. In course of time the quantitative evolution of the vowels of syllables other than the first was bound to lead to the breakdown of synharmonic parallelism (i.e. to a state of affairs where the vowel suffixes, depending on the vowel roots, alternate on the principle vowels of the initial row—vowels of the ultimate row). Hence the Uzbek type of alternation. *â* (< *a*)—*a*, *e*—*a*

This year the Language and Literature Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences has started to collect material for an Uzbek dialect atlas. This will help to broaden our ideas of the Uzbek vernaculars and will provide additional data on which to form a judgement of the Uzbek literary language and its history, a field in which such fruitful work has been done by our eminent Turkologists V. Radlov, P. Melioransky and S. Malov.

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#### THE ATLAS OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

##### *Dialectological Conference of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.*

The Third Dialectological Conference of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. was held recently in Vologda under the presidency of Professor Shcherba, Academician, and Chairman of the Academy's Dialectological Commission and Professor Larin, a member of the Commission. It was attended by Professor Vubukh, specialist in the Ugro-Finnish languages, Professors Georgievsky, Chernykh and Pokrovsky, and others holding chairs of Russian Language in colleges and research institutes in various parts of the country.

The chief item on the agenda was a summary of the work done on the preparation of the atlas of Russian languages and dialects since the war began, and the adoption of a plan for the development and extension of this work in the years to come.

Two former conferences (at Rostov-on-Don in 1938 and at Leningrad in 1939) discussed problems connected with the spreading of a knowledge of the ideas and methods of linguistic geography, and the first steps to be taken in drawing up experimental dialect atlases of separate regions of the country.

These pre-war conferences have already borne fruit. The research institutions and colleges of the country have been active in preparing a full linguistic atlas of the U.S.S.R. The leading research bodies of the Ukraine and of White Russia have taken part in the work in addition to Russian scientific bodies.

The war naturally slowed down the tempo of this work, and in some places it ceased altogether, but in many regions of the country it still continues. The Russian Department of the Molotov Pedagogical Institute in Vologda has been particularly active.

Since the war began the Department has sent out three dialectological expeditions. It has issued two volumes of the *Vologda Dialectological Symposium*, and it has published a small provisional atlas. It has also organized a special section for the study of North Russian dialects.



The twenty-eight papers read at the Vologda Conference show the progress that has been made in Russian dialectological studies and the close relationship between the study of Russian dialects and that of the languages of the other peoples of the U S S R

Major Fedot Silin read a paper on the study of language during the great patriotic war

Papers read by Professors Georgievsky and Gribkova dealt with dialects of the Urals and neighbouring districts which up to now had been little studied

The conference discussed problems of organization in connexion with the compilation of an atlas of the languages of the peoples of the U S S R , and heard reports on the work of compiling the first and second volumes of the linguistic atlas

The first volume covers the North-western dialects and the second the central group of North Russian dialects

Before the war the Leningrad Institute of Language, at the suggestion of the Academy of Sciences, prepared about two hundred maps for a dialect atlas This work has started again, and the Professor and Department of Russian in the Vologda Pedagogical Institute are working on the compilation of the second volume under the guidance of the Academy's Dialectological Commission The collection of material in the Vologda region has been completed, and much material from other regions is now ready

The Vologda Conference gave further impetus to the work, and the gigantic undertaking of producing a linguistic atlas of the U S S R is again making good progress The victories of the Red Army have made such work again possible in our country <sup>1</sup>

MOSCOW

LENINGRAD

VOLOGDA

L V SHCHERBA

B. A LARIN

A G YAGODINSKY

<sup>1</sup> This report was cabled to us from Moscow by Professor L V Shcherba of Moscow University. EDITOR

## REVIEWS

*The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition The Minor Poems*, Vol. 1  
 Edited by CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD and HENRY GIBBONS LOTSPEICH,  
 assisted by DOROTHY E. MASON 1943 Baltimore The Johns Hopkins Press,  
 London Humphrey Milford x+734 pp 43s 6d

This is the first of two volumes devoted to Spenser's minor poems, which follow the six earlier volumes devoted to *The Faerie Queene*. It contains *The Shepheardes Calender*, *Daphnaida*, *Colin Clouts Come Home Agayne*, *Astrophel*, the *Doleful Lay of Clorinda* and *Four Hymnes*. The usual order of the poems has been disturbed so that the volumes should be of approximately uniform size. The re-arrangement, which associates Spenser's minor pastorals with the *Calender*, is obviously advantageous to an edition of this character. The high standard of scholarship and of presentation established throughout the earlier volumes is fully maintained by the special editors Dr Osgood and the late Dr Lotspeich, who had assembled most of the material and partly established the text shortly before his death in 1934.

Spenser's minor poems present problems and topics of interest—historical, biographical, critical and textual—which, while closely akin to those connected with *The Faerie Queene*, have a distinctive character of their own. As a specimen of fine balance between tradition and experiment, of imitation quickened by originality, there is nothing in English to match *The Shepheardes Calender*, and the application of the pastoral idea to elegy, panegyric and personal allegory is further exploited in *Astrophel*, *Daphnaida* and *Colin Clouts Come Home Agayne*. The almost endless possibilities of source-hunting, of identifying allusions and tracing analogues, of technical analysis suggested by these pastorals have busied Spenser's critics from 'E K' onwards and upon all these topics the present editors have been so unsparing and so unbiased in their citation of authorities as to provide what amounts to a comprehensive commentary not merely upon Spenser's pastorals, but upon Renaissance pastoral poetry as a whole. To appreciate this the detailed notes must be correlated with the general commentary and appendices, the latter dealing with 'General Criticism', 'Pastoral Sources', 'The Moral Eclogues' and 'Date and Composition, Language and Style, Design, Metre, Early Fame, Identity of E K, Rosalind'. In such a compilation some overlapping, as the editors acknowledge, is inevitable, but liberal use of cross-reference has tended to diminish it or at least to avoid unnecessary repetition except, perhaps, in some of the detailed notes. The line of criticism suggested by *Four Hymnes* is clearly distinct from that arising from the pastorals, interest here being directed towards subject-matter and style rather than convention or technique. An appendix on 'General Criticism, Date and Retraction, Sources, Form, Style' covers such topics as Spenser's use of neo-Platonic and mystical ideas, the originals from which they may have been derived, the nature and development of his metaphysic and the inspired poetic utterance whereby it is expressed.

As in the earlier volumes, material has been drawn from a vast number of authorities, many of whom are cited at considerable length. The fact that a large proportion of these, especially the more recent, are American is only to be expected and bears witness to an enthusiasm and to a standard of Spenserian scholarship which English readers may well admire, envy and seek to emulate. Under present conditions one is more than ever grateful for copious quotation from recent works now difficult or impossible to obtain. A case in point, so far as I am concerned (others may have been more fortunate), is Collins's *Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age with its Background in Mystical Methodology*, quoted at length in connexion with the *Hymnes*, which, whether its conclusions be valid or not—the

editor is a trifle sceptical—obviously suggests a most interesting line of investigation which might well be pursued. Many similar cases of valuable and carefully chosen excerpts might be mentioned. On the other hand, in some places the editors have been too indiscriminate and might have curtailed their authorities. Reissert's readily accessible article on Spenser and the Renaissance pastoral (*Anglia*, ix, 1886, pp 205–24) is cited too freely, providing, for instance, the whole material of p 257, including twenty lines from Barclay's *Eclogues*. We could likewise dispense with some of Gummere's notes on metre, excerpts avowedly admitted to indicate lack of taste or 'low degree of imagination' in some critics, and some of the biographical notes. In connexion with the last it is curious that no mention should be made of A C Judson's monograph on Spenser and John Young (*Indiana University Studies*, vol xxi, January 1935), though a study by the same writer, on Thomas Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex, is mentioned with approval.

As basic texts the editors have followed Q1 of *The Shepheardes Calender*, the revised 1595 Q of *Colin Clouts Come Home Agayne*, *Astrophel* and the *Doleful Lay of Clorinda*, the 1596 Q of *Four Hymnes* and the 1596 (second) Q of *Daphnarda*, the last-named being preferred to Q1 (1591) on the assumption that as it was published with the first edition of the *Hymnes* while Spenser was in London 'he must have given it whatever measure of attention he gave the Hymns, or, for that matter, *FQ* 1596'. Though generally conservative in their adherence to the earliest editions, they are rather less so than Renwick, particularly with respect to punctuation (e.g. in 'January' 73, 'March' 57, *Astrophel* 16). A good proportion of the earliest readings not accepted are attributable to the rhetorical and metrical character of Elizabethan punctuation (*HL* 120, *HHL* 261, *HHB* 104, 180, *Astrophel* 93), and these might have been retained. Attention is called to one certain variation (a correction) in the six known copies of Q1 of the *Calender* ('September' 257) and the suggestion made that Grosart was persuaded to follow Q5 largely on the score of its reading of 'June' 18, which would appear to support his theory of Spenser's Lancashire origin. The inclusion of the *Doleful Lay* in the canon of Spenser's poetry conforms with the judgement of recent American scholars and is supported by an exhaustive list of parallelisms from authentic works. Some slips have been noticed in the appendix on text. A note on p 694 states that in 'May' 313 F1 corrects by Q1, but no variants appear in the list that follows. On p 720 'seare' ('November' 147) is misprinted 'seares'. A critical note on 'February' 176 (p 716) states that the editors 'accept the reading of Q2–4 because Spenser in this meter does not close the line with two stressed syllables', but the reading actually adopted in the text is that of Q1, and the statement about metre is incorrect, as shown clearly by 'February' 6, 23, 231, e.g. The important variants of 'March' 85 do not appear in the earlier list of variants and the reading here defended (Q5, F) is not the one adopted in the text. In the same section (Critical Notes, 'March') a note inserted under 'Text' (l 17) should be under 'Gloss'. But these are slight defects in a monumental work of scholarship the reading, even the handling, of which is a sheer delight. The achievement is worthy of the great poet who has inspired it. No higher tribute could be paid.

B E C DAVIS

LONDON

*William Shakspeare's Small Latvne and Lesse Greeke*. By T W BALDWIN. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1944. Two volumes, xviii+753 and 772 pp. \$15.75.

The same author's *William Shakspeare's Petty School* (1943) was budded off from this vast organism in the course of its proliferation. To the petty school succeeds

the grammar school, this work has the same general plan as its predecessor—to trace with all the fullness and precision that the material allows the nature, scope and methods of the relevant type of education (including the school-books prescribed or in general use), to establish the Tudor principle of Uniformity in education as elsewhere, so that, if Statutes are missing, the curriculum of a given school (e.g. the King's Free Grammar School at Stratford) can be inferred, and then to apply the results to Shakespeare's plays—or perhaps rather, to apply the plays to the results

There is no proof that Shakespeare's shining morning face ever cheered the inside of the Stratford Grammar School, but there is a well-founded tradition, there are the inherent probabilities of his Stratfordian setting, and there are the lines of early training which research can uncover in the plays. It is the thesis of this work that the small Latin and less Greek with which Jonson credited Shakespeare was that of the ordinary grammar school course, it was small Latin to Jonson, but it constituted an entry into Latin language and literature which (I suspect) not a few undergraduates taking compulsory Latin at a modern university would be glad and astonished to find themselves possessed of. Mr Baldwin takes his stand on his demonstration that the knowledge and familiarity (corresponding to the grammar-school curriculum) are there, however acquired; if not, in the simplest fashion, at school, then 'from the air' as with some other self-made men. Though Shakespeare's digestion for the chameleon's dish was probably abnormal, the grammar-school limits, selection and emphasis observed by the material surveyed in these volumes may, I think, be taken as putting him on the Stratford roll. Shakespeare's thoroughness in some directions (notably, the rhetorical disciplines) leads Mr Baldwin to revive (temperately) the speculations of those who believe that Aubrey had some good foundation for his tradition of an early period of schoolmastering in the country.

It is important to emphasize that though this study is modestly dedicated to 'the great succession of scholars whose work is here compiled', it is not its purpose to re-tell the general history of Tudor education, still less to generalize about Shakespearean and Elizabethan reading and culture. A great deal has been written about Shakespeare's books, his mythology, his knowledge of this and that, his use of individual works like Golding's *Ovid*, and these writings are used where they are helpful and relevant, but they are only relevant where they concern the grammar-school curriculum and its reflexion in the plays. Mr Baldwin does not claim to uncover the whole subject of Shakespeare's education in its full sense—far from it. 'In two or three centuries it may be possible to write a nice little book on Shakespeare's education, it would be mere worthless dabble now.' Such a sentence indicates the scale on which this author works, when patient scholarship meets a patient reader, much profit accrues. It is impossible in reasonable space to offer adequate samples of the range and variety of information and discussion available in these volumes and brought, early or late, to a focus in the Shakespearean word. Citations and references, illustrations and comparisons, are so copious that the work might be called a series of 'chapters of reference'. The sections on rhetoric I thought excellent and a better approach for the student than any general account. The pages devoted to Mantuan and Palingenius are an example of a fresh and stimulatingly firsthand treatment of authors to us mediocre and dull. It becomes clear that Mr Baldwin has contracted a considerable respect for the Tudor grammar-school education. For all its limitations and shortcomings (the Elizabethan human boy would use stronger language here), it was an education founded on a selection of good literature, in the upper school particularly, it compelled a daily study of poetry. If, for the moment, we abstract the necessarily concurrent religious disciplines (the learning of catechisms, the recapitulations of sermons etc., which were dealt with in *William Shakespeare's Petty School*) we see

the Erasmus-founded grammar-school curriculum as the vehicle and safeguard of the Renaissance. In these days of 'Continuity', when the good old terms like 'Renaissance' and 'Humanism' are becoming increasingly difficult to apply, and when 'Elizabethanism' comes more and more to look like a rumbustious medievalism, I found something steadying in watching the persistence through the sixteenth century of the Humanist *grammatica* shaped in the days of Erasmus and William Lilly. Educationally, Mr Baldwin shows himself distrustful of the seventeenth century and he seems to have little liking for the eighteenth century and all its works. In one context, at least, his wrath at John Clarke's criticism of the waste of boys' time at school studying poetry leads him to generalize unfairly 'but the eighteenth century had no rhythm, only metre, no ears, only fingers'.

It is Mr Baldwin's way to fetch a long compass *en route* to his main subject. The touring of the Tudor Grammar schools—Paul's, Eton, Winchester, etc.—will probably seem to most readers to provide the least interesting chapters. When we arrive at Stratford there may seem to be too much pressure on some of the topical material gathered by Fripp and others. Mr Baldwin would like to link Sir Hugh Evans with the Stratford master, William Jenkins, but the pages devoted to this do not seem to me very rewarding. Certainly, after reading the later chapters on school authors, textbooks and methods, I do not feel that Shakespeare's status as a grammar-school scholar needs any topical support.

It is on the tip of my pen to wish that this valuable study could have been made less daunting in sheer bulk. I immediately recall, however, numerous contexts where the writer has, he says, by no means said all there is to say, I recall, too, other cooling remarks to the effect that various Shakespearean problems (about some of which we have been writing happily since writing about Shakespeare became a habit) cannot even be approached until other vast explorations have been undertaken—and I refrain. I put it on sober record that I have stayed the course and have been richly and variously instructed—how variously there has not been space to show.

The volumes have been most carefully prepared for press, printed and produced, paper, type and lay-out are excellent. There is a threefold Index. What is of supreme importance to the writer and his readers is, after all, not the more or less of Latin and Greek, but the greatness and depth of the Shakespearean word when we have learnt enough to read it. Both the author and his Press, in their several departments, have cared worthily for the greatness of their subject.

G. D. WILLCOCK

ENGLEFIELD GREEN

*The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre*, vol. iv. *Le Roman du Fier de Gades* d'Eustache. Essai d'établissement de ce poème du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle tel qu'il a existé avant d'être incorporé dans le Roman d'Alexandre, avec les deux récits latins qui lui sont apparentés, par E. C. ARMSTRONG et ALFRED FOULET, vol. v. Version of Alexandre de Paris. Variants and Notes to Branch II with an Introduction by FREDERICK B. AGARD. Elliott Monographs 39-40 bound in one volume. Princeton: Princeton University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1942. Vol. iv, viii+110 pp., vol. v, vi+250 pp. \$5.00.

The heroic enterprise continues. The vast *Roman d'Alexandre*, its acres of text, its numerous branches, offshoots, versions, manuscripts, are being steadily published, studied, classified, annotated. Vols. i and ii came out seven years ago. Vol. iii is coming. Vols. iv and v are here. Vol. iv largely explains itself in its sub-title. The part of the *Roman* which includes the 'Foray' does not, in its present form, go farther back than Alexandre de Paris, but it contains all that subsists of the

text of an older poem by Eustace This older 'Foray' profoundly influenced not only Alexandre de Paris, but his predecessor Lambert Its contents and, so far as possible, its text must be re-constituted if the successive incarnations of the whole cyclic work are to be fully understood This is done in vol iv (in French, contrary to the practice in the other volumes and as a gesture appropriate to the present heroic times) Vol v presents all the remaining materials available for the solution of the very numerous problems raised by the 'Foray' Both volumes are monuments of erudition illuminating the path of students of Romance and reflecting lustre on the group of American scholars engaged in a high, if laborious enterprise The end is not yet Nor can general conclusions yet be drawn But what is done is done The rest can be awaited with confidence

R L G RITCHIE

BIRMINGHAM

*La Vie de Thomas Becket par Benet, poème anglo-normand du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* Edited by BORJE SCHLYTER (*Etudes romanes de Lund*, iv) Lund Gleerup; Copenhagen Munksgaard. 1941 vii+204 pp 8 Swedish crowns

Three Old French lives of Becket are known to us the great poem of Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, of which we have Professor Walberg's excellent edition, the anonymous life, of which the surviving fragments were published by P Meyer, and lastly the present work, of which no satisfactory edition has been hitherto available An edition of 1844 provided a text of sorts, and Professor Walberg had studied the work from the historical and literary point of view, but Mr Schlyter's new edition gives us for the first time the complete manuscript material and a detailed linguistic study

The work is, for the most part, very competently done. Mr Schlyter (who, incidentally, is a pupil of Professor Walberg) has a very thorough knowledge of the literature connected with Becket, he is obviously familiar too with recent work on Anglo-Norman and on the editing of medieval texts His analysis of the author's phonology, morphology, and syntax is all the more valuable because the data he gives us concern a text that can be dated with certainty (the poem was written between 1183 and 1189, and very likely in 1184) One may regret, however, that the section on syntax is not a little more comprehensive some information about word-order, for instance, would have been useful.

The method by which Mr Schlyter has established his text is open to criticism in some respects, not so much on the score of the main principles adopted as on the way these principles have been put into practice Finding that the study of mistakes that are common to more than one manuscript gives no definite result, Mr Schlyter gives up the idea of a reconstruction of the original text and instead chooses for publication what he considers to be the best of the extant manuscripts Many another editor of Old French texts, from Bédier downwards, has done the same thing, and for Benet's poem, as for many other works, it is doubtless the best method to follow But if this method is to produce sound results, the editor must give clear reasons for his choice of manuscript, and must be chary of changing the text of the manuscript once it is chosen In both these respects this edition leaves something to be desired

Benet's poem has been preserved in six manuscripts, of which two are very incomplete Out of the remaining four, the editor chooses *T* (Phillipps 8113) which he calls 'le plus complet et le plus soigné' (p 14) and 'la version la moins altérée' (p 22) The question of completeness is hardly decisive, as *B* has only five lines fewer than the manuscript chosen, and *D* is described as 'à peu près complet' As regards the relative correctness of the different manuscripts, one feels that more definite evidence should have been presented We are told that

*D* has many incorrect readings, but little evidence is offered in support, a study of the variants for the first five hundred lines certainly shows a good many individual readings, but are they necessarily incorrect? In dealing with a difficult text like this, where no reliable stemma can be constructed and where no manuscript has clear priority on the score of date, dialect or completeness, an arbitrary choice may be inevitable, but one is entitled to rather a fuller treatment of the problem than Mr Schlyter gives us

Having decided which text to print, how is one to print it? Mr Schlyter introduces into the text of *T* a fairly large number of changes. These are of various kinds, few people will quarrel with the correction of obvious slips or with slight changes that affect only the versification, but two types of emendation used in this edition are controversial. In the first place, certain spellings are regularized (*ke* becomes *kz*, ll 94, 97, 1226, 'pour plus de clarté', *vous* becomes *reis*, l 115, so as to provide an eye-rhyme, and so on). In the second place, many perfectly intelligible readings peculiar to *T* have been abandoned in favour of others which have the backing of the majority. Thus in l 1705, the manuscript reading

Les us fermer pas ne devez

becomes

Les us pas fermer ne devez,

which is the reading of all manuscripts except *T*. Again, in l 338 *Sr dit 'Beau fiz'* is emended to '*Beau fiz, ce dit .*', although this reading is only found in two of the other manuscripts. These examples could be multiplied, so that it will be clear that the text offered is a composite one, nearer to *T* than to any other manuscript, but not faithfully recording the text of any manuscript. Many readers will no doubt prefer a closer approximation to the text of one manuscript, for, in the absence of a satisfactory classification of the manuscripts, the construction of a critical text becomes an arbitrary matter: thus, in the example quoted above, for instance, *Les us fermer pas ne devez* may be what the author wrote, even if it is found in only one copy out of six.

The edition contains a very detailed analysis of the versification, a comprehensive glossary, and a table of rhymes. It is clearly and pleasantly printed, and seems free from misprints. Although one may differ from the editor on some of the points mentioned above, it is clear that he has done thoroughly and intelligently a piece of work that needed doing.

B WOLEDGE

LONDON

*Le Secr  de Secrez*, by Pierre d'Abernun of Fetcham, from the unique manuscript BN f fr 25407. Edited by OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE (Anglo-Norman Text Society, no. v.) Oxford: Blackwell, 1944. lviii + 94 pp. 30s.

The pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*, in its various forms, was so widely read in the Middle Ages that it is good to have another version made available. This Anglo-Norman translation is one of the earliest vernacular versions, and was hitherto available only as an appendix to Steele's edition of the works of Roger Bacon. The present edition gives us an excellent text and an interesting discussion of most of the problems connected with the work, wartime restrictions have shortened the Introduction (and account perhaps for the absence of a bibliography), but the editor promises more detailed studies of specific points to be published later.

The Introduction sets out clearly what is known of the author, Pierre d'Abernun of Fetcham; the evidence for and against identifying this author of pious and didactic poems with Pierre de Peckham, a lawyer who is mentioned in a number

of contemporary documents, is very well summed up, the editor reaching the only sensible conclusion that the question cannot be decided at present. We then have a section on the *Secretum Secretorum* in which Mr Beckerlegge threads his way skilfully through the numerous translations and adaptations that exist in various languages, and incidentally adds several items, French, Latin and Arabic, to Steele's enumeration of manuscripts. Pierre's version is shown to be a good piece of translation, though lacking in poetic value. The verse flows most freely in an epilogue, not translated from Latin, in which Pierre warns the reader that the only Latin text he could get hold of is incomplete, and reminds him that the health hints given in the *Secretum Secretorum* were meant to apply to hot countries and may not be suitable for all climates.

An excellent description of the manuscript of Pierre's version is followed by a section devoted to the language of the poem. This contains a good deal of interesting information, but perhaps more discrimination might have been shown in choosing the items to be mentioned. It is hardly worth telling us, for instance, that *jurs* (*durmos*) has no *n*,<sup>1</sup> but on the other hand one would like more details about the suggestion that English influence may have produced *estudie* with stress on the *i*. Latin influence on Pierre's French is a topic that would probably have repaid study, this influence is, of course, most obvious in vocabulary, but it seems to be present in syntax as well (e.g. *les queus*, l. 937, *desquels*, l. 2094). Lack of space is perhaps responsible for the omission of one or two other interesting syntactical points: the use of *un* as a pronoun (ll. 782 ss., 1024), and some foreshadowings of the modern use of the definite article (ll. 406, 2280). There is much to be said for combining the study of morphology and syntax as Mr Beckerlegge does, but the heading 'Morphology' on p. xlv might be changed with advantage. The glossary contains a rich haul of interesting words, one may query the suggestion of the meaning 'lead' for *aferir*, especially as the normal meaning 'belong to' seems quite possible in the passage concerned. The expression *en es ça* ought perhaps to have been included in the glossary.

B WOLEDGE

LONDON

*Alain Chartier. His Work and Reputation*. By EDWARD J. HOFFMAN. New York: Wittes Press. 1942. 378 pp. (No price given.)

This is, as the author claims, an 'état présent des études' on Chartier. It reviews former erroneous conceptions of Alain Chartier and supplies biographical details from archive and other references, some of which are taken too seriously (the evidence for Alain's 'disgrace' in 1428-9 seems very slight, pp. 18-19). The arguments in favour of 1429 as the date of his death are well set out and seem sound. The third, and most useful, chapter analyses the various works which Dr Hoffman believes to be indisputably Chartier's. Occasionally his judgements are a little rash, e.g. poetry in the fifteenth century was not merely a 'frivolous diversion, completely divorced from actuality' (p. 39), witness Chastelain's *Dot de Vérité* and Dr Hoffman's own discussion of Chartier's 'serious poetry'. He brings out (p. 67) the real literary importance of *La belle dame sans mercy* in the anti-feminine struggle, although he takes Chartier's subsequent arraignment by the Court of Love over-seriously.

He limits the French prose-works to the *Quadrilogue* and the *Tratté de l'Espérance* and does not commit himself as to the authorship of the French version of Chartier's

<sup>1</sup> The rhyme *jurs murs* should, however, have been quoted farther on, as a third example of *z s*. On p. xlv, the section headed 'UI' is not very clear: there seems to be some confusion in the

use of the symbols *ui*, *ui* and *ui*. *Li* is treated here as scribal for *lui*, though in the morphology section it seems to be ascribed to the author.



Latin *Curial*, the date of which he successfully establishes as before 2 February 1425, thereby correcting a universal error

The fourth chapter, a collection of references to Chartier, from 1429 to 1617, cited at length, has little to commend it beyond completeness. Many of the references are mere repetitions of 'great names' linked together, part of a formula in a century of formal compliments, but the waning of his reputation from about 1550 is interesting

Of minor points few require mention. The author refers to Jean Castel as the son of Christine de Pisan (p. 85), presumably following La Croix du Maine and Champion and ignoring Quicherat's claim to have demonstrated the falsity of the alleged relationship. Elsewhere, writing of the *Débat patriotique*, he remarks, 'It should be noted that, prior to 1914, estimates of Alain Chartier's merit as a poet did not include consideration of the work under discussion', an unnecessary reminder since he has already pointed out that the *Débat* was not known until 1914. Misprints are few and unimportant (e.g. *to* for *do*, p. 112, *Imavre*, p. 138, n. 3, *Italian*, p. 175).

The book is well-presented, handy and, in spite of repetitions and over-caution where the experts disagree, a useful and conscientious summary of existing information about one of the fifteenth century's most important writers. More than that it does not claim to be.

KENNETH URWIN

CARDIFF

*Ronsard* By D. B. WYNDHAM LEWIS. London: Sheed and Ward, 1944. xi + 340 pp. 12s. 6d.

With characteristic modesty Mr Lewis has said of his book that it 'does not pretend to scholarship—just enjoyment for *l'homme moyen sensuel*'. He perhaps forgets that scholarship, like truth, 'is not one but many', and his own claims to it are not inconsiderable. In the pages of this *Review*, then, he must submit to lay aside the immunities of his self-imposed amateur status and be *chicané un peu* in the cause of true learning. For an academic reviewer, indeed, *Ronsard* might be a direct answer to the prayer, 'O that mine enemy would write a book', for it is a notable addition to the literature of don-bating. Dons and Whig historians—the latter apparently a subspecies of the former—are alike anathema to Mr Lewis; Pater and Macaulay stand together condemned. It is not for me to defend the Whig historians—the Master of Trinity is well able to look after them if need be, but a mere don may at least heap his coal of fire by writing a courteous and, it is to be hoped, an unbiased critique. In fairness, however, to both categories whom Mr Lewis attacks, it should be said that there are times when *il enfonce des portes ouvertes*. Surely few people at this time of day would turn to Pater for informed criticism of the *Pléiade*, the cult of the Renaissance at the expense of the Middle Ages is no longer as universal as Mr Lewis fears. Even the arch-don Matthew Arnold pictured Oxford 'whispering the last enchantments of the Middle Age', not of the Cinquecento.

It will be already apparent that the scope of Mr Lewis's study extends far beyond an account of Ronsard's life and work. He has—and it is one of the major virtues of his book—at every point, deftly and vividly, sketched the religious, intellectual and historical background of the troubled years of the Valois dynasty. Opening with a conspectus of the Renaissance—spirited, witty, even a shade facetious—as seen through the spectacles of the Whig historian, he proceeds to play the *enfant terrible* with great gusto and no little prejudice. But the Renaissance has been the object of so much indiscriminating adulation that one can fairly relish his debunking of the Paradise of the Happy Hedonist.

It is rather on points of detail and interpretation that I feel impelled at times to join issue with Mr Lewis. I confess, for instance, to sharing his dislike of the Abbaye de Thélème as a symbol of 'the ideal human existence portrayed by a universally accepted spokesman of the Renaissance'. Yet is he not being a little unjust in taking Rabelais as whipping-boy for the sins of the Renaissance? For Thélème substitute the Urbino of the *Cortegiano*, and even Mr Lewis might find it difficult to dismiss as summarily as he does the Renaissance formula for the ideal human existence—so far as 'ideal human' is not a contradiction in terms.

But the Renaissance excursus is merely part of the *décor* against which Ronsard is skilfully brought to life through the medium of apt illustration from his poetic experience. Here Mr Lewis's method is excellent: it is that of Sainte-Beuve himself: 'Quand vous avez à parler d'un auteur commencez par le lire vous-même attentivement, prenez bien vos points et venez ensuite lire et dérouler des pages habilement rapprochées de cet auteur, qui va ainsi se traduire et se peindre lui-même.' In plan, the main divisions of the book correspond to the great loves of Ronsard's life, with an illuminating commentary on the poems that they inspired. When we remember the link between love and poetry, how—to quote Laumonier—'les poésies érotiques de Ronsard ont presque toujours leur point de départ, leurs racines dans la réalité et dans la réalité vécue par lui', it is a little disconcerting to find a critic like Mr Desmond McCarthy taking Mr Lewis to task for his scheme. The objection would be understandable if this method of dividing Ronsard's career involved distortion or disproportion or neglect of the other sides of his work. But it is entirely appropriate to one so pre-eminently the poet of love, and, moreover, in some of his most interesting and provocative pages, Mr Lewis has fully brought out the beauty and significance of Ronsard's patriotism, his militant defence of traditional religion in the *Discours*, the impassioned *apologia* of his own faith and conduct in the *Réponse*.

Mr Lewis's documentation is derived from the accepted authorities: naturally Laumonier, and with him Nolhac, Chamaud, the fanciful and stimulating Sorg, and many others. But, all through, his interpretations are his own, and—although I do not invariably agree with his psychology—he has welded them into a plausible, artistic and consistent portrait. He has seen, too, that, apart from his art, one of the qualities that make Ronsard a fascinating study is what he calls his 'schizophrenia'. I should prefer to think of it as the permanently unresolved dilemma of the Renaissance scholar, that breathless tight-rope dance between old and new, faith and paganism, so aptly symbolized by the Church of Saint Michel at Dijon, where Gothic and Renaissance mingle in an inspired but unstable architectural emulsion. How stable the emulsion or the proportions of its ingredients in Ronsard's case we shall never be able to assess, I have more than a suspicion that in the course of his argument Mr Lewis abandons the 'schizophrenic', and substitutes a fundamentally *bien pensant* Ronsard with only a superficial layer of paganism. In other words, he wants to have his cake and eat it, just as no doubt Ronsard thought that he was having his cake and eating it, it was possible for him to think of himself as orthodox, and yet in the *Réponse*, when he says he would gladly be a bishop, cite as typical examples no bishops of the Christian Church but Eumolpus and Orpheus.

Such topics are hardly the concern of *l'homme moyen sensuel*, and Mr Lewis moves discreetly and swiftly on from the opening chorus—in his phrase, the *ballet-divertissement*—to a lively account of Ronsard's early years. His treatment of the Scottish episodes shows an unusually knowledgeable insight and sympathy, apart from an inevitable *odrum theologicum* for the very name of Knox. We find examples of this wide range elsewhere: in the brilliant portraits of the Valois, in the neat and revealing descriptions of Paris and the University (illustrated by an excellent contemporary map), in the picture of Poland at the time of Henri

d'Anjou's brief reign, in that of Venice on his return journey to France. It is largely this roving width and depth of background that makes the book an admirable introduction to the poet, from this *carte du Tendre* the young student may be gently launched on the *mer dangereuse* of the professional *seiziémistes*. For Mr Lewis brushes in an atmosphere which the expert, intent on the methodical elucidation of a specific problem, is often compelled to leave aside as irrelevant.

The biographical data call for no special comment in themselves, except perhaps one specific statement on p. 92.

Starting to learn Greek from scratch, he [Ronsard] swiftly became a passionate philologist, tracking the obscurest Greeks to their lairs and wrenching their treasures from them.

Ronsard's familiarity with Greek literature is unquestionable, but the phrase 'a passionate philologist' suggests a knowledge of the language and a first-hand reading of the texts, which are surely not supported by the evidence adduced by Étienne in his article 'Ronsard a-t-il su le grec?' (*Mélanges Laumonier*, pp. 201-18). Laumonier's own opinion (*ibid.* p. 214) probably approximates to the truth: 'pour ma part je ne suis pas sûr du tout que Ronsard ait su le grec, il a profité de l'érudition de son maître Dorat et de traductions latines'.

From here onwards we are introduced to the succession of the poet's Muses—Cassandre, Marie, Genève, etc. In discussing the identity of Sinope (p. 202) Mr Lewis might have taken into account Laumonier's suggestions (*Ronsard*, S.T.F.M., x, viii-xvii), which dispose of the Isabeau and Marie de Bourguil identifications together with Sorg's Cassandre-Sinope theory, and substitute a plausible hypothesis, supported by internal evidence, of a Parisian Marie.

Once only do I differ widely from Mr Lewis's interpretations. It is in his reading of the character of Hélène. I cannot see her as the priggish, prudish, frigid high-brow he wittily describes, this among other things does not fit convincingly into his picture: 'Vous dansez et ballez à votre aise, le carnaval vous plaist.' I find it even harder to admit that Ronsard suffered either very sharply or very deeply from this autumnal passion. As Laumonier has said, 'Il est un dilettante de l'amour. Or le dilettantisme en amour n'est pas précisément l'amour.' By the time he met Hélène there were few stops that this lyrist of love had not practised, but this was one, befitting his age and hers. When the Queen-Mother bade him celebrate the young court beauty he entered into the spirit of the game with zest, dramatizing himself and playing delicate and dexterous variations on the 'Et nuper idoneus vixi' theme. The Hélène who emerges has much of Célumène in her make-up. She is the eternal coquette, advancing and retreating with infuriating iteration.

Arrivant un mortel de plus fresche jeunesse  
Tu me lassas tout seul pour lui faire caresse

It is the everlasting duel of the sexes, as Ronsard recognizes

Si donc tout à la fois avoir haine et folie  
Sont vrais signes d'amour, nous entr'aimons bien fort

That is why in the end he retires from the unequal fray, candidly admitting the penalty of age.

Grisson et maladif r'entrer dessous la loi  
D'amour, ô quelle erreur

Even so, we shall never know the facts, nor do we need to know them. What we have is Ronsard's imperishable stylization, in which *Wahrheit* and *Dichtung*, experience, art, literary reminiscence and tradition are cunningly blended and perfectly fused, and that is enough.

On every count Mr Lewis has done inestimable service to Ronsard, and through him to the art of France and ultimately to the cause of France and French civilization, in thus making accessible to a wider public the fruits of the great Ronsardisants. At the same time he has given us a fine example of sensitive interpretative criticism.

L. A. BISSE

OXFORD

*Jean-Baptiste Rousseau His Life and Works* By HENRY A. GRUBBS Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press. London H. Milford, Oxford University Press 1941 310 pp 18s 6d

No biography of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau with any pretensions to completeness has appeared since 1863 (Victor Fournel in the *Nouvelle biographie générale*), and there exists no full-length critical study of his works. The best known eighteenth-century accounts, those of Voltaire and Lenglet-Dufresnoy, are malicious to the point of calumny, and even recent articles are unfair or ill-informed. Generations have handed down the unchecked tradition that Rousseau wrote libellous and obscene couplets about his friends in the Café Laurent group, that his evil doings were at length unmasked and that he ended his days in well-deserved disgrace abroad. This is partly due to the natural human tendency to look for the worst, but even more to the absence of any statement of Rousseau's side of the affair. It was said during his lifetime that he had prepared a full vindication to be published after his death, but this document never saw the light of day. Dr Grubbs has discovered in the municipal library of Chartres a 40-page manuscript in which the poet set out all the details of his relationship with Saurin, of the appearance of the scurrilous couplets and of the trial, and such information as he had managed to find in Switzerland about Saurin's past. Evidence is produced in support of Dr Grubbs's contention that this is the missing document. If Rousseau's account is to be believed, he did not write the couplets, but was the victim of conspiracy and false witness on the part of a clique of jealous and unscrupulous rivals. But Dr Grubbs is careful not to go to the opposite extreme of attempting to set Rousseau up as a saint and martyr, for he points out that many of the poet's grievances and sufferings were brought upon himself by the unrelenting hatred with which he pursued all who crossed his path. While he accepts Rousseau's story to the extent of believing him innocent on the main charge, he does not try to hide the offensiveness of the man's general behaviour or to water down the venom of his tongue and pen.

The same nice balance is struck in the chapters on Rousseau's work. Dr Grubbs rightly takes the view that the output of a man who for upwards of a century was ranked by almost everybody as France's greatest lyric poet cannot simply be dismissed as empty rhetoric. He therefore adopts the only reasonable course, which is to examine the eighteenth-century conception of poetry, to assess Rousseau's worth in terms of that conception and to show why that conception has since been superseded and with it Rousseau's popularity. Hence the importance of the analysis of the *Ode au Comte du Luc* (pp 239-42) and of the concluding chapter of this book, which is an admirable survey of the variations of French poetic taste. Dr Grubbs maintains that the poetic taste of the French, until very recently always rational and dogmatic, was never more so than in Rousseau's day. Once it is established that in eighteenth-century France craftsmanship and formal perfection were the measure of poetic values as they were of the value of a chair or a rococo mirror, Rousseau takes his place among the great craftsmen of his age. 'To appreciate his work', Dr Grubbs drily remarks, 'the modern reader must learn his language, not an easy task, but no more difficult than that required to penetrate the obscurity of certain admired modern poets.'

The modern reader's taste is no doubt too much changed for him to be able to enjoy Rousseau without effort, even though he may find delight in the pictures of Watteau, which by purely 'reasonable' standards are as unreal as the *Odes*, but Dr Grubbs's scholarly and entertaining book will help him to find this much maligned poet of great historical interest

L. W. TANCOCK

LONDON

LECONTE DE LISLE *Poèmes choisis avec Introduction et Notes* By EDMOND EGGLI  
Manchester University Press 1943 xxviii+132 pp 5s 6d

This little volume in the Manchester French Classics series is thrice welcome: it is the first anthology of Leconte de Lisle to be published in Great Britain, it is the only such anthology prepared specially for use by students, and it comes at a time when the familiar Lemerre volumes can no longer be found without an arduous search.

The introductory study furnished here by M. Eggh, who has already shown an interest in Leconte de Lisle,<sup>1</sup> is concise and well-balanced, and the present reviewer, for one, is pleased to see Leconte de Lisle treated again as a great poet in his own right, not, as is becoming a practice in some quarters, as a foil for Baudelaire or Hugo. The first part of the *Introduction* is biographical. Pending the appearance of a full-dress biography of Leconte de Lisle (a task which the reviewer has in hand and hopes to complete after the war), M. Eggh has utilized the most authoritative accounts available. For the second half of the poet's life this is satisfactory enough, but a word of reserve upon the earlier years is called for. Much of the information provided by the earlier biographers (notably by Louis Tiercelin, Jean Dornis and Marius-Ary Leblond) was garnered from oral sources and, moreover, at second hand, fifty or sixty years after the event, there is an odour of legend about it, some of it conflicts with documentary evidence which has come to light in recent years. Certain details of M. Eggh's biographical note, therefore, must be received with caution. Study of the juvenilia of Leconte de Lisle reveals no tangible emulation of the poet's great-uncle Parny (p. vi). The best evidence casts doubt on the popular assertion (p. vi) that Leconte de Lisle owed his revolutionary and anti-clerical bias, acquired in early youth, to the radical education of his father, whatever reasons the latter may have had for emigrating to Bourbon in 1816, it is clear from the colour of his letters that he became in his new milieu, if indeed he was not already, a rather timid and conventional bourgeois. The dates for the poet's childhood sojourn in Nantes are also open to question. It is true that the poet himself states that he lived in Nantes from the age of three until the age of ten (i.e. 1821-8), but Lacauassade claims to have been with him in Nantes at the time of the July revolution in 1830; it is not impossible, therefore, bearing in mind that Leconte de Lisle liked for some reason to let it be thought that he was born in 1820,<sup>2</sup> that the correct years of the stay in Nantes may be 1823-30, or from five to twelve years of age. (The point is not purely academic, for if the amended dates were confirmed, it would follow that this 'child of the tropics' spent the first imaginatively formative years of his youth not in the tropics but in a busy French

<sup>1</sup> 'Note sur la source scandinave de l'Épée d'Angantyr', in *Compar. Lit. Studies*, Cardiff, 1941, cf. also in M. Eggh's admirable *Schiller et le Romantisme français* (t. II, 5e Ptie, pp. 489-97), an interesting discussion on the role of Schiller in the evolution of Leconte de Lisle. One observation: 'Rien ne permet d'affirmer', says M. Eggh, 'que Leconte de Lisle ait eu connaissance des œuvres esthétiques de Schiller' (p. 496). In point

of fact there is in one of the poet's short stories of the Fourierist period, *La Mélodie incarnée*, a long quotation from Schiller's essay *Über das Erhabene*, which points the moral of the whole story (*Contes en Prose*, ed. of 1925, p. 113). Cf. also in a letter of the poet to his friend Bénézit (11 October 1846) a judgement on Schiller as dramatist.

<sup>2</sup> This is the date given by most encyclopaedists and biographers during the lifetime of the poet.

seaport also that he made the long ocean journey to Bourbon, and renewed his infant acquaintance with the island, at a much more impressionable age) A number of questions of this kind await investigation One or two small objections to M Eggh's account of the poet's later years may also be raised 'Désormais [i.e. after 1848] il n'a plus pour la politique que des sarcasmes', it is asserted (p. xi) But if sarcastic comment in moments of revulsion is not lacking, and if from 1848 onwards the role of politics becomes altogether secondary to that of pure poetry, the long-cherished political ideas remain virtually unchanged, nor are they allowed to rust unburnished They colour a number of the more important poems (*Qain*, *Le Runoia*, *Le Massacre de Mona*, the anti-clerical poems *en bloc*) The politician published in 1857 a study on *L'Inde française*, and at the collapse of the Empire three pamphlets of not inconsiderable scope (which, even if, as M Eggh says, they add nothing to the poet's glory, one feels that the student should not be discouraged so tersely from reading) His *Histoire du Moyen Age*, published in 1876 and reprinted in 1882, and much used over a long period as a school text despite the justified frowns of professional historians,<sup>1</sup> is all that might be expected of the firebrand of 1848 His letters to Jean Mairas, published by Louis Barthou,<sup>2</sup> should suffice to dispel any lingering doubts concerning the fervour of his interest in politics in later years Leconte de Lisle's imperial pension came, incidentally, not from the government (p. xxvi), but from the private purse of the Emperor, the *Catéchisme populaire républicain*, written actually before the fall of the Empire, was published not after the war of 1870-1 (p. xxvi), but in the midst of the siege

M Eggh 'fixes' Leconte de Lisle in his literary milieu in a few judicious pages which should prove a useful guide to students The difficulty of condensing in a page or two the trenchant and dogmatic aesthetic writings of Leconte de Lisle, which invite development rather than compression, has not overawed him It would have been well, perhaps, to place beside the apt quotations (pp. xiii-xiv) from Leconte de Lisle's literary predecessors one or two quotations showing how clearly the mature Parnassian is foreshadowed in his own early writings, sporadically in Rennes in 1838-40, much more consistently in Paris in 1845-7 This would have served as a corrective to the general but false view that there is an impassable abyss between Leconte de Lisle the romantic and Leconte de Lisle the Parnassian

The question of the influence of Fourierism on the poet has not been treated, doubtless, with the authority of the rest of the *Introduction* Since the only special article devoted to the subject<sup>3</sup> is chaotic and ill-informed, recourse to Fourier himself was advisable, yet one is grateful enough to M Eggh on other counts to spare him reproach for having stuck at the *Théorie de l'Unité universelle* Yet the question needs and is worth elucidation M Eggh himself wavers, after a general negation (p. ix) he is obliged to invoke the Fourierist concept of 'harmony' on pp. x-xi, the cosmogony of Fourier on p. xxiv and Fourier's theory of the passions on p. 117 It is this last aspect of Fourierist thought, unquestionably, that assumes the most important dimensions and the greatest permanency in the poetry of Leconte de Lisle Most of the fantastic trappings of Fourierism with which the *Phalange* poems are decked out were cast aside when, towards 1848, the poet left the service of the Phalansterians, but the optimistic notion that the destiny of man lies in the complete exercise of his passions, that the passions are all in their essence beneficent and are instrumental of unhappiness only in a 'non-harmonian' and repressive society, impressed the poet profoundly and is at the root of much of the bitter soul-searching which characterizes his mature poems. For a corollary

<sup>1</sup> See F Jones 'A Pseudonymical Prose Work of Leconte de Lisle "Histoire du Moyen Age", par "Pierre Gosset"', *MLR* Oct. 1941, pp. 511-14

<sup>2</sup> *R D M* 15 Nov. 1933

<sup>3</sup> E Zyromski, 'Le Fouriérisme de Leconte de Lisle', in *Mélanges Lanson*, 1922

of the theory is, as its inventor affirmed, that 'l'ascétisme, c'est la ruine et la mort de la société humaine',<sup>1</sup> and that to seek repose is a criminal evasion from life itself.<sup>2</sup> Such a belief must have been disturbing to the Schopenhauerian pessimism which various critics have shown, some more convincingly than others, to be the most fully developed side of Leconte de Lisle's philosophy. And in effect the most anguished and the most moving pages of the *Poèmes Barbares* and the *Poèmes Tragiques* are not those which repose more or less placidly upon an accepted pessimistic system, but those in which the prodigious aspirations of the humanitarian romantic, ill suppressed, come into collision with his pessimism and prevent him from finding comfort in a positive and adequate religion of renunciation. The old 'vœux désués' sweep incessantly across the artificial vacuum of his sky.

A few further notes on the *Introduction*. The *Poésies nouvelles* were not a separate volume published in 1856 (p. xii), but a section of the *Poésies complètes* of 1858 (cf. p. 109). The Indian poems in the *Poèmes Antiques* do not belong solely to the age of the Vedas (p. xii). Only *Surya* and *Prrière védique pour les Morts* have Vedic sources, the others are of Brāhmaṇic origin, being drawn from the Purāṇas and the Itihāṣas. On Musset, Leconte de Lisle is not completely silent (p. xvii). In a brief note he sums him up, coldly, as 'poète médiocre, artiste nul, prosateur fort spirituel', and he was wont to illustrate from the poems of Musset how poetry should not be written.<sup>3</sup> The *Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* of Maspéro (p. xx) were published many years after Leconte de Lisle's two Egyptian poems, and there is no evidence that the poet was acquainted with them.

It is perhaps a pity that M. Eggh limits himself to the task of placing Leconte de Lisle in his right setting and does not analyse the sources of the poet's personal inspiration. M. Pierre Flottes has shown, in a fascinating study,<sup>4</sup> that Leconte de Lisle followed his heart much more often and his head less consistently than used to be supposed, and that if what M. Eggh calls 'ce contrôle du moi affectif par le moi pensant' is indeed a salient feature of his method, the control was far less complete and far more flexible than the critics of his 'impassibilité' would have us believe.

Of the selection which M. Eggh has made, one can only regret that a determined effort to present all of the varied aspects of Leconte de Lisle's verse has been defeated by limitations of space. The omission of many of the poet's most characteristic and most remarkable achievements is all too obvious. Poems like *Mille ans après*, *Les Damnés*, *Les Spectres*, *Requies*, *La Tristesse du Diable* and *Épiphanie* one would have thought to find in any anthology of Leconte de Lisle. Nevertheless, the selection bears evidence of careful thought. The most satisfactory anthology for the end in view would trace the poet's career and literary output from first to last, including examples of his early verse and selections from his prose publications and his correspondence. This, of course, would have taken up several times the space at M. Eggh's disposal.

The poems are followed by a fairly full bibliography, to which one would like to add the main collections of published letters. The list of works of reference (pp. 112-13) could be shortened by the rejection of a few studies of dubious value (De Nolva, Zyromski, Falshaw, Smith) and should include the important study by Carcassonne of Leconte de Lisle's Indianism.<sup>5</sup> The volume closes with eighteen pages of very useful notes and variants, the extracts from the *Phalange* poems are welcome and well-chosen, and there is a valuable page (122) on the literary and philosophical ancestry of *Qarn*.

The volume has suffered more than some from publication in war-time condi-

<sup>1</sup> Fournier, *Publication des MSS*, II, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for example, *La Robe du Centaure*, preferably in the version of 1845 quoted (pp. 117-18) by M. Eggh.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. passim Souriau, *Histoire du Parnasse*.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Poète Leconte de Lisle* (Perrin, 1929).

<sup>5</sup> 'Leconte de Lisle et la Philosophie indienne', in *Rev. de Litt. comp.* 1931, t. II, pp. 618-46.

tions, in that the number of small textual inaccuracies and printing errors is inordinately large. In the first stanza of *L'Épée d'Angantyr* (p. 42) verses 3 and 4 have changed places, on p. 48, l. 24, 'la terre noire' should read 'la none terre', *Le Sommeil du Condor* (pp. 66-7), for reasons by no means apparent, has been split up into quatrains which do not even follow the same rhyme scheme. On p. 70, l. 21, 'assoupli' for 'assoupir' is unfortunate, but 'qui' for 'que' on p. 3, l. 23, is more so. 'Soleil' for 'Sommeil' (p. 107, l. 5) tells the poet of his much-desired repose. Clearly if the *Apollonade* was not published until 1888 it could not have been re-edited four years earlier (p. 110). The study on Baudelaire was published not in the *Nain Jaune* in 1864 (p. 110), but in the *Revue européenne* in 1861. The list of translations on p. 111 should include the Aeschylus of 1872. The *Poésies Barbares* of 1862 are wrongly entitled *Poèmes Barbares* in several places (e.g. pp. 124, 125, 128, 129). The task of correcting misprints, in the event of a republication of M. Eggh's useful little volume, may be lightened by reference to the footnote here appended.<sup>1</sup>

FRANK JONES

OXFORD

*The Genres of Parnassian Poetry: a Study of the Parnassian Minors*. By AARON SCHAFER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1944. 427 pp. 24s.

Des deux titres que porte cet ouvrage c'est le second qui le définit le mieux. Il consiste essentiellement en une série d'études sur une cinquantaine de poètes de la période parnassienne, que l'auteur situe entre 1860 et 1885. Ces poètes sont choisis exclusivement parmi ceux qui figurent au *Parnasse Contemporain*, anthologie en trois volumes que Lemerre édita en 1866, 1869-71 et 1876. Parmi les 99 collaborateurs de ces trois volumes M. Schaffer sélectionne 56 poètes ou poétesses aux 'minores' il consacre de substantielles notices quant aux collaborateurs plus connus, qui ont été déjà l'objet d'études spéciales (Leconte de Lisle, Ménard, Baudelaire, Banville, Heredia, Sully-Prudhomme, Dierx, France) il se contente de rappeler leur rôle et leur influence. Ces 56 poètes sont groupés selon les genres qu'ils ont traités et qui sont ramenés à sept: genre descriptif, genre philosophique, antiquité classique et genre exotique, genre satanique, poésie anacréontique et funambulesque, genre réaliste et régionaliste, genre sentimental.

Cette disposition et cette méthode ne sont pas sans inconvénients. M. Schaffer le reconnaît. Je n'insiste donc pas sur cette division en genres, dont on pourrait discuter les détails, ni sur la répartition des poètes dans ces divers cadres tout classement de ce genre comporte inévitablement certaines simplifications ou réductions un peu forcées des complexités réelles. Ce qui paraît plus grave, c'est la décision qu'a prise M. Schaffer de fonder sur le *Parnasse Contemporain* une étude qui sans doute veut se concentrer sur les 'minores', mais qui vise aussi, d'après le titre principal, à caractériser le Parnasse dans son ensemble.

Le *Parnasse Contemporain* est une anthologie, un florilège qui, certes, a son intérêt en soi, mais auquel on peut contester le droit de représenter l'école par-

<sup>1</sup> Corrections. Pictet (p. xx, l. 5), Marmuer (p. xx, l. 8), Barzaz-Breiz (p. xx, l. 9), on a pu (p. xx, l. 29), Khirôn (unnumbered page preceding p. 1, l. 6), houle (p. 2, l. 21), fraas (p. 4, l. 1), expiatoire (p. 10, l. 13), tresses (p. 12, l. 30), ecouteut (p. 21, l. 26), chacals (p. 26, l. 27), souffle (p. 29, l. 22), inversé (p. 31, l. 35), de Hjalmar (p. 44 and Table, cf. p. 124), son (p. 55, l. 29), les forêts (p. 57, l. 16), quelles passions (p. 58, l. 29), fleur (p. 66, l. 9), fraîcheur (p. 68, l. 14).

jeunesse (p. 79, l. 3), la (p. 83, l. 26 and p. 90, l. 26), dormez (p. 84, l. 31), les (p. 91, l. 16), escarcelle (p. 95, l. 18), jaillir (p. 102, l. 8), jeunesse (p. 103, l. 1), Aztèque (éd. déf., p. 104, l. 4), savourz (p. 107, l. 7), Gunaudeau (p. 109, l. 4), Messac (p. 122, l. 12), dernière (p. 123, l. 25), Le Parnasse contemporain, 1866 (p. 129, l. 20), Tragiques (p. 131, l. 12). The note (p. 130) on *L'illusion suprême*, v. 81, does not seem to make sense when compared with the text.



nassienne D'abord pour des raisons de dates Par rapport aux initiateurs du mouvement c'est un recueil relativement tardif le premier volume est postérieur de 14 ans, le dernier, de 24 ans, à la *Préface des Poèmes Antiques* or, dans la poésie du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, les goûts et les idées évoluent vite, et comme on n'y admet que les poètes vivants, d'authentiques précurseurs, comme Bouilhet, plus parnassien que beaucoup des collaborateurs du *Parnasse Contemporain*, n'y figurent pas Par contre il cesse de paraître en 1876 or la tradition parnassienne s'est poursuivie, parallèlement au symbolisme, jusque dans le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, certains de ses représentants, qui purent collaborer au dernier volume, comme Frédéric Plessis, rentrent dans l'étude de M. Schaffer, tandis que d'autres, trop jeunes encore ou trop peu connus en 1876, comme Tiecelin, de Nolhac, ou de Guerne (le futur co-éditeur, avec Heredia, des *Derniers Poèmes* de Leconte de Lisle), restent en dehors de la période considérée

Mais surtout le *Parnasse Contemporain* est une anthologie qui ne manifeste que par ses exclusions que ses éditeurs puissent avoir une doctrine pas de préface, pas d'introduction, et le titre, par lui-même, ne signifie rien, au grand mécontentement de Leconte de Lisle La composition même du recueil atteste des dispositions éclectiques il admet d'authentiques romantiques (les frères Deschamps, Vacquerie), et Hugo y figurerait s'il avait accepté d'en être il accueille aussi de futurs symbolistes, Verlaine, Mallarmé On trouve un peu de tout dans cette anthologie à côté de poètes comme Ménaud, Dierx, Sully-Prudhomme, Jean Lahor, Louise Ackermann, qui n'ont pas moins le goût de la pensée que le souci de la forme pure, voici des fantaisistes, des ironistes, des funambules (Charles Coran, Raoul Gucste, Bergerat), des réalistes (Coppée, Manuel, Delthil), une abondante postérité d'élégiaques lamartiniens, des anacréontiques, des sataniques baudelairiens, des satiriques, des politiques, des femmes de lettres (Louise Colet, Nma de Callias) dont l'admission ne s'explique guère que par leurs relations personnelles avec les parnassiens voici encore des poètes qui plus tard remercieront le Parnasse (Vicaire, Glatigny, Popelin) et même Theuriot, qui déclarait expressément que, bien que fréquentant le cénacle du passage Choiseul, il n'appartenait pas à 'l'école du Parnasse' (Souriau, p. xlv, Schaffer, p. 89) L'ensemble est tellement inégal et hétérogène que M. Schaffer élimine complètement un tiers des collaborateurs, soit comme 'parfaitement insignifiants' (p. 23), soit comme n'ayant à peu près rien de parnassien Le fait que le titre de cette anthologie, rétrospectivement et assez conventionnellement (comme il est arrivé pour d'autres noms d'écoles littéraires), a été adopté pour désigner le groupe de Gautier, Banville, Leconte de Lisle et Baudelaire, parce que, en fait, vu l'absence et l'abstention de V. Hugo, ces poètes s'imposaient et devaient occuper des places d'honneur, n'autorise pas à confondre le florilège avec la doctrine Or cette doctrine existe, depuis 1852, formulée dans la *Préface des Poèmes Antiques*, complétée en 1855 par celle de *Poèmes et Poésies* et par les articles de Leconte de Lisle, en 1864, sur les *Poètes contemporains* elle définit un idéal d'art aussi net et cohérent que les tendances des collaborateurs du *Parnasse Contemporain* sont confuses et diverses On concevrait, certes, une étude spéciale de ce *Parnasse Contemporain*, qui montrerait ce que cet idéal devient, ce qu'il en reste, entre 1866 et 1876, chez des disciples intermittents et moins doués il serait même utile que l'on rééditât cette anthologie, comme on a réédité le *Conservateur Littéraire* et la *Muse Française* des jeunes romantiques mais il paraît peu équitable de caractériser et de juger le Parnasse, en tant que doctrine et école, par le *Parnasse Contemporain*

Or c'est à cela que M. Schaffer en arrive insensiblement Sans doute, dans sa préface et dans sa conclusion, il déclare qu'il distingue les parnassiens des collaborateurs du *Parnasse Contemporain* en fait cependant ces deux termes sont souvent confondus, et sur son étude du *Parnasse Contemporain* il fonde son interprétation personnelle et générale du Parnasse Il prend à partie, à maintes reprises, les

historiens de la littérature, et particulièrement M. Souriau, qui ne reconnaissent comme purs parnassiens que Leconte de Lisle, et tout au plus ses disciples les plus fidèles (Dierx, Heredia), et réduisent Gautier, Banville, Baudelaire, Mendès, Coppée, France, et les 'mineurs' au rôle de précurseurs ou de satellites. A cette interprétation, qu'il juge étroite et simplifiante M. Schaffer oppose sa thèse 'my contention [is] that the parnassian movement was the result of the collaboration of a large number of poets' (p. 410). Peu importe, après tout, la parcimonie ou la libéralité avec lesquelles le titre de parnassien serait donné, si ces appréciations n'impliquaient finalement, sur l'école dans son ensemble, un jugement de valeur. Le danger d'une libéralité excessive est que le Parnasse, en tant que doctrine d'art, perd son originalité et sa signification dans la mesure où l'on étend le nombre de ses affiliés dans la 'période parnassienne'. Or, dans sa conclusion, c'est bien le Parnasse, et non la période parnassienne ou le *Parnasse Contemporain* que M. Schaffer entreprend de définir et de juger lorsqu'il pose finalement la question 'What is parnassian poetry?' Alors ses impressions du *Parnasse Contemporain* déteignent visiblement sur son jugement, qui est sévère.

Ayant constaté qu'aucun des principes posés en 1852, ni l'objectivité volontaire (qui n'est pas l'impassibilité), ni le dédain de l'actualité politique ou sociale, ni la pensée philosophique, ni le goût de l'antiquité classique, ni la curiosité du passé humain, ni l'exotisme, ne se retrouve universellement chez les collaborateurs du *Parnasse Contemporain*, M. Schaffer en conclut que les sujets traités ne suffisent pas à caractériser le Parnasse (p. 400), que le mot 'parnassien' est un terme 'très relatif' (p. 408) et que les parnassiens n'ont eu en commun que le culte de la forme 'la forme prime tout' (p. 410). Or, comme sur la forme même les collaborateurs du *Parnasse Contemporain* ne s'accordent nullement, comme les uns préfèrent les poèmes à forme fixe et recherchent la rime riche, et que les autres se contentent de séquences d'alexandrins et de rimes suffisantes, comme les qualités qu'ils présentent dans la forme sont tantôt la densité et la plasticité, tantôt au contraire l'agilité et la souplesse, il ne reste finalement comme caractéristique générale du Parnasse qu'une répugnance pour le vers facile sans programme positif. Alors évidemment M. Schaffer peut dire (p. 398) que des poètes comme Louis Salles, ou comme Armand Silvestre (dont il admet, p. 390, qu'il est parfois aux antipodes du Leconte de Lisle des *Montreux*) sont aussi parnassiens 'dans leur genre' que Leconte de Lisle dans le sien. Alors encore, à ses yeux, ce souci exclusif de la forme, aux dépens du sentiment et de l'idée, devient responsable du nombre très restreint de grands poètes qu'a produits le Parnasse, et de son impuissance à atteindre le grand public.

C'est bien durement imputer aux initiateurs et aux maîtres l'insuffisance ou l'infidélité des disciples. Rien de moins 'relatif' que l'idéal d'art qu'avait défini Leconte de Lisle. Sa doctrine était exigeante et austère. Il voulait rendre la poésie à sa fonction essentielle en l'affranchissant aussi bien du prosaïsme des finalités utilitaires que des confidences indiscrètes du lyrisme personnel. Pour la régénérer il l'associait à la science : il proposait aux poètes non pas la description réaliste de la vie des humbles, ni les perversités du satanisme, ni les virtuosités funambulesques, ni la recherche puérile de la rime 'rothschildienne', mais l'étude, la méditation du passé, l'histoire de la conscience humaine. L'art pour l'art, à ses yeux, ce n'était donc pas l'idée sacrifiée ou subordonnée à la forme : c'était l'art libéré du futile aussi bien que de l'utile, et voué au culte de la beauté, parce qu'en elle se réalise l'accord parfait de la forme et de la pensée. Les qualités essentielles de la forme devaient donc être les qualités classiques de pureté, de propriété, de sobriété, qui seules donnent toute leur valeur au sentiment et à l'idée.

Faut-il blâmer le Parnasse, en tant qu'école et doctrine, si 'l'art pour l'art', ainsi conçu, est devenu très vite, chez des disciples fantaisistes, 'l'art pour la forme', ou même 'la forme pour la forme'? Dès 1866 un des poètes du *Parnasse*

*Contemporain*, Armand Renaud, que M. Schaffer cite (p. 316), dénonçait cette grossière défiguration 'de la thèse grandiose de Goethe qui ne vise pas à l'exclusion mais au panthéisme de l'idée'. Que cet idéal parnassien fût difficilement accessible, et qu'il eût peu de chances d'être populaire, c'est possible il n'était pas irréalisable, puisqu'il fut réalisé, au moins par un grand poète, et s'il n'a pas atteint le grand public la faute en fut au goût des contemporains. Autant il serait injuste de méconnaître les 'mineurs' du Parnasse, autant il paraît peu équitable de juger finalement l'école d'après des adeptes relatifs qui ne gardaient de la discipline du maître que ce qui était à leur goût, ou à leur portée. Nous ne dirions donc pas que 'le mouvement parnassien fut le résultat de la collaboration d'un grand nombre de poètes' nous dirions que le Parnasse fut une doctrine poétique qui n'eut jamais, dans sa rigueur, qu'un nombre assez limité d'adeptes, et qui, en se dispersant dans la 'période parnassienne', perdit vite l'ensemble des caractéristiques premières qui faisaient son originalité et sa noblesse.

Ces réserves faites, nous devons être reconnaissants à M. Schaffer d'avoir rassemblé, sur ces 'mineurs', sur leur vie, sur leurs thèmes préférés, sur leur technique, tant de renseignements utiles, et de nous donner des extraits caractéristiques de beaucoup d'œuvres qui sont maintenant difficilement accessibles. Il mentionne bien des poètes, dans le genre réaliste, ou anacréontique, ou funambulesque, ou sentimental, que Leconte de Lisle devait médiocrement goûter, même quand tel ou tel de leurs poèmes était admis dans le *Parnasse Contemporain*. Mais on relit avec plaisir, dans son livre, de beaux vers d'un Jean Lahor ou d'un Frédéric Plessis: on y trouve aussi, sous des noms moins familiers, comme Charles Grandmougin ou Augusta-Malvina Blanchecotte, des poèmes d'une sincérité émouvante et d'une technique sûre qui méritent incontestablement, même s'ils ne sont pas spécifiquement parnassiens, de n'être pas oubliés.

EDMOND EGGLI

LIVERPOOL

PAUL CLAUDEL. *L'Annonce Faite à Marie*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by A. LYTTON SELLS and C. M. GIRDLESTONE. Cambridge University Press 1943. xx+128 pp. 5s.

The production of modern language texts in England is very welcome now that we are cut off from continental publications and the editors and publishers deserve gratitude for a well-printed edition of *L'Annonce Faite à Marie* by Paul Claudel. Personally I would have preferred, as an example of Symbolist drama, one of Maeterlinck's plays—*Péleas et Mélisande*, for instance—although they may be out of fashion and out of date, because he did succeed in using the stage in an original manner and, psychologically speaking, brought to drama something new. A play ultimately lives by the truth of its characters—setting, poetry and symbolism are not sufficient—and it seems to me that *L'Annonce Faite à Marie* fails in this respect.

Most critics see *L'Annonce Faite à Marie* as a typically Christian play, but it is Christian chiefly in its external detail. There is talk of the building of cathedrals and of their spiritual significance, and the liturgy and ritual of the Church are used with artistic and poetic effect. But this is surface local colour rather than deep Christian inspiration. It is not Christian in the sense in which *Polyeucte* is or even *Athalie*. In these two plays the unseen presence of God permeates the action which depends on it, but one is never conscious of such a power in *L'Annonce Faite à Marie*. The most Christian aspect of the play is the importance given to suffering. But suffering was one of the great lyric themes of the nineteenth century. For Vigny suffering was an undeserved curse imposed on man by a cruel God, a curse to be endured with stoic resignation, and silent dignity was the measure

of man's greatness Musset believed that suffering hallowed and enriched man and that he who suffered most was privileged and blessed For Baudelaire suffering came neither as a curse nor a benefit from outside Suffering came from man himself, from his awareness of his own guilt, from his remorse Suffering was his tribute to virtue and goodness, it had moral importance In *L'Annonce Faite à Marie* the author is concerned merely with physical suffering If the value of men depended on the amount of physical suffering which was their lot, then the world would to-day be peopled by saints Physical suffering can be a noxious weed or else a plant according to the soil in which it grows Those whose judgement is realistic know well that physical suffering frequently degrades men, turning them into cruel tyrants who bring misery to themselves and to all those who come into contact with them On the other hand, there are those in whom physical suffering has brought out the finest qualities and who seem to have needed this experience to become their true selves We do not know enough of *Violaine* to realize in what way her physical affliction, leprosy, has enriched her We are merely told that because her eyes are blind and her body a wreck her vision has turned inwards, but we are never shown the result

I have always felt that Paul Claudel had chosen for this work the wrong medium, that it would more fittingly have been expressed in a poem As it is, the play contains some of his finest poetry It is true that it gives some scope for a producer of talent who can experiment with lighting effects, with costumes and picturesque 'sets', he can group his characters to look like figures in a religious mural painting, or those carved on the doors of a medieval cathedral It allows also for the dramatic use of the catholic ritual which is effective by itself, it allows for the vivid contrast of folk-song But it does not allow any scope for an actor of genius except the talent of speaking lines well The psychology of the characters is superficial, false and often sentimental, though there is evidence of realistic observation of detail in some of the minor parts Personally I have never been able to feel moved by the main situation *Violaine*, the heroine who is engaged to be married to Jacques Hury, moved by compassion, kisses a leper who has loved her Soon afterwards she discovers that she has contracted the disease In the course of a scene in which there is much fine writing and much false sentiment she allows her lover to declare his passion for her without letting him know that she can no longer marry him—indeed, her own words imply that they are soon to become united Finally she shows him the marks of the disease and allows him to believe that she has contracted it through sinning with the leper, so that he can marry her sister *Mara* who has always loved him

After this, eight years elapse *Violaine* has become blind, disfigured and maimed through the ravages of the disease she lives alone in a cave on food flung grudgingly to her by the village people who resent her presence amongst them *Mara* has married Jacques and has had a child by him who dies Taking the body of her dead child she goes forth to find her sister, the leper, so that she can bring the girl to life again It is not explained why she should imagine that *Violaine* can work miracles, and the attitude of the peasants does not indicate that she has the reputation of possessing miraculous powers For them she is merely '*la Sans-Figure, la d'vouée*' In a scene which owes most of its beauty to a clever use of '*L'Office de Noel*', *Violaine* does, to her own great surprise, perform a miracle, but not the expected miracle It is not *Mara's* child that she gives back to her, but a child of her own and Jacques's, spiritually conceived and born Later she was to tell Jacques that at the moment of the miracle she had felt the rending pain of possession and the agony of the child being torn from her womb, the child she hands back to *Mara* as her dead child, a child whose eyes are now blue instead of black—*Violaine's* blue eyes—and who has drops of her miraculous milk still on its lips I have always felt profound distaste for this spiritual adultery, I have

understood Mara's jealousy and have sympathized with her attempt at killing her sister who has, in this way, come between her and her husband, and whose every word proclaims that Jacques has loved only her

Violaine is not killed outright and she goes home to die. Once more she encourages Jacques to pour out his love for her, and she does not hide from him that it is Mara who has encompassed her death. She reminds him that she had once told him that he would never be able to uproot her from his soul, and tells him that henceforth she will be closer to him in the body of the child they both spiritually conceived. Jacques says that happiness is over for him, and she answers that no one has promised him happiness, that he can work and that she will be near him from the beyond. She dies, leaving him to Mara, and he forgives her for the sake of Violaine. 'C'est Violaine qui te pardonne. C'est en elle, Mara, que je te pardonne.'

The text is well produced and there is a good introduction on Claudel's talent and career. There might perhaps have been some attempt to show the aesthetic aims of the drama of the Symbolist movement. The notes elucidate unusual points of vocabulary and interpret the religious ritual. I regret that there is no note to explain who 'Le grand roi d'Abyssinie et sa femme Bellotte' were (Act III, scene I, p. 63).

But there is one respect in which it seems to me that the notes are open to serious criticism, because they underline the personal interpretation of the editors and do not allow the student to decide for himself. They may be right in considering the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as excessively materialistic and in thinking that what they call 'the declining tempo of European literatures' is due to this, they may also be right in believing that Claudel held similar views and that these are reflected in the play, but they are not justified in stating of a play dealing with the Middle Ages, 'In this indictment of nineteenth- and twentieth-century materialism Claudel himself is speaking'. There is no indication whatsoever that Claudel was indicting his own century, and if he himself is speaking through the mouth of one of his characters, then this is a reflection on his talent for creating independent characters.

ENID STARKIE

OXFORD

*Historia de la literatura dramática cubana*. By JOSÉ JUAN ARROM (*Yale Romance Studies*, xxiii). New Haven: Yale University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1944. 132 pp. 16s. 6d.

This close and scholarly work is a most welcome contribution to the detailed study of the individual American literatures that it is essential to have before any valid generalizations about American literature as a whole can be made. In some respects, this book is a history of the theatre in Cuba as well as of the island's dramatic literature. Two chapters give us a very clear idea of the theatres and productions of the late eighteenth century and the pre-romantic period (chapter II), and of the succeeding period, called by the author *el auge de los teatros* (chapter IV), which saw the building of the once world-famous Teatro Tacón. A preliminary chapter collects all that can be certainly gleaned of earlier theatrical activity and dramatic writing from the sixteenth century onward. One is struck by the devotion of the Cuban public, especially of Havana, to the theatre. For the earlier period as a whole, but referring especially to the late eighteenth century, the author aptly sums up, after showing, in an interesting analysis, that of eighty-six performances in the capital in the year 1791, fifty-one were of plays by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century peninsular writers.

es de notarse el fuerte vínculo entre las actividades en Cuba y España. puede verse también la variedad y abundancia de las representaciones. Que hubiese función

varias veces a la semana durante todo el año es prueba evidente de la intensa vida teatral y el activo interés en aquella época del público habanero por la comedia (p 25)

The remainder of the book deals more strictly with dramatic literature produced by Cuban authors proper. Professor Arrom divides it into four periods: the first is the formative period till 1837; for practical purposes this means a starting-point at about 1814 with the *sarbetes* of Covarrubias, the actor-author, which unfortunately are known only by name and fame; they were preceded notably by the calderonian *El príncipe jardinero* which is of uncertain authorship, but was able to charm the Cuban public for at least sixty years of the eighteenth century, and is still reprinted. The second period is termed *de florecimiento* and runs to 1868. It covers Romanticism and the first copious production of native Cuban dramatists, including la Avellaneda, whom the author has no hesitation in considering a Cuban writer, as well as some interesting *sarbetes* of negro theme. The 'Revolutionary period' brings us to 1901, and covers the Cuban reflexion of the realist drama. Sr Arrom records the depressing effect of political activity on the drama during those three decades, but one wonders how necessary and justifiable is this substitution of political for aesthetic or historical divisions of chronology. The last chapter gives us a picture of the theatre in the 'Republican period'. The literary and cultural preoccupations of contemporary national life everywhere are here reflected in the numerous efforts to maintain a high standard in the Cuban theatre—societies, competitions, repertory companies. As in the earlier sections, the author reviews the principal writers and gives descriptions of some individual plays. The survey is very complete, but less meticulous, as is to be expected for a period where the output is much greater. Professor Arrom, however, includes a brief but interesting account of the *género bufo*, the Cuban *género chico*. This interesting and valuable history has a bibliographical appendix giving details of some 900 Cuban plays that survive in printed form—the bulk belonging to the last hundred years, of course. Several very charming illustrations adorn a well-produced volume.

E. SARMIENTO

SHEFFIELD

*Tristan und Isolde, a Poem by Gottfried von Strassburg*. Edited by AUGUST CLOSS. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1944. lv+185 pp. 8s. 6d.

It is fitting that the third volume of the series of German medieval texts issued under the general editorship of Professor H. G. Fiedler should be edited by Dr Closs, since it serves as a happy companion volume to the prose-poem version of the story by Mrs Hannah Closs.

The book falls into three parts. The introduction consists of a well-classified select bibliography (5 pages), a description of courtly life at the time of Eleanor of Poitou (4 pages), the development of the story and its treatment by Béroul, Eilhart, and Thomas (14 pages), Gottfried's life (2 pages), the manuscripts of his poem (3 pages), Gottfried's originality, especially seen in his moral philosophy (6 pages), his metre, style and language (2 pages). The text and notes follow (168 pages). The last part is the vocabulary (15 pages).

Dr Closs bases his text on Bechstein, correcting any misprints and mistakes he has found. Special mention is made in the notes where he differs in opinion from Bechstein.

Twenty-seven extracts from the poem are given. These extracts are carefully chosen and represent the most interesting parts of the poem. In all there are some six or seven thousand verses, a goodly proportion of the whole.

One may assume that no English student will begin his study of Middle High German with Gottfried. For this reason there are fewer notes of an elementary

character in this volume than in the first volume of the series. In general the student will find all the help he should require. Dr Closs has earned his gratitude.

A. C. DUNSTAN

SHEFFIELD

Thomas Mann's *Tonio Kroger*, edited by ELIZABETH M. WILKINSON (Blackwell's German Texts) Oxford Blackwell 1944 xlv + 112 pp 5s

This edition will be welcomed, particularly by schools, as a serviceable presentation of a popular text, while at the same time the exhaustive introduction is a notable contribution to the study of 'the greatest of living German writers' (as the editor terms him) in the mass of his work. It is well that Thomas Mann should have been interpreted by an unquestioning disciple, for criticism of a living writer in an edition he must have authorized would be awkward. But teachers who take the text in class may feel inclined to question Miss Wilkinson's valuation. If they are to deal with *Tonio Kroger* as a separate masterpiece, they are entitled to ask whether it is a *Novelle*, in the proper sense of the term, at all, actually it is not so much a story as the discussion of an idea. The core of this discussion is the famous conversation piece (more monologue than dialogue) with Lisaweta as patient hearer, and any British sixth-form schoolboy may very well say that this lecture is simply boring. Miss Wilkinson naturally spins out from this early *exposé* the depressing total doctrine of the doomed artist. Our sixth-form boy will naturally say 'O yes, *le poète maudit*, but what about Browning?' The teacher is entitled to disprove Mann's thesis by sketching the career of another old Lubeck lad—Gerbel, *der ernst-heitere Lebensbezwinger*. Gerbel indeed was the exact opposite of Tonio: in the same school he was top boy, he had French (that is 'southern') blood on the mother's side and yet he was blonde (though not bovine), like Hans Hansen he had riding lessons, he hunted, he danced, he was quite at home in the best society, he was anything but 'humanly impotent', he actually proposed marriage to a *Freifraulein*. And when he returned from Munich to Lubeck, instead of being arrested as a suspicious character, he was given the freedom of the city. There is too much of the insistent suggestion in Mann's work that to be blonde is necessarily to be normal, while to be dark-skinned is to be in peril from poetry and music and other poisons. But, of course, there is a broad base of truth in the doctrine of the doomed artist, whether he has the brand of Cain on his brow (see Freilgrath's *Bei Grabbes Tod*), or the look of the asylum (see the face of Eduard Graf Keyserling or even that of Rilke). It is expressed in a thousand poems in all literatures, nowhere with greater tragic intensity than in Platen's sonnet *Tristan*. What we must deny is that the *Künstler* is generally morbidly conscious of his physical or social inferiority: more usual is the contrary attitude of *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo*, the poet may stand apart from his fellows, but he stands above them, and he knows it. Thomas Mann is justified in taking the pathological doctrine for his stock-in-trade, he has kept shop with it and profited to the last ounce. But if there is to be classification, then Thomas Mann—since his characters are ideas and since he works by crude contrasts—continues Spielhagen rather than Gottfried Keller, whose own life is a synthesis of *Künstler* and *Bürger*, but whose characters are flesh and blood. (Miss Wilkinson necessarily shows that in *Tonio Kroger* the characters end as ghosts.) There is 'thought-texture' in Thomas Hardy's novels, but it is not the main thing.

The notes to the text are good and helpful. One might wish for more: e.g. while there is an adequate account of the Scandinavian novels alluded to there is nothing about *die anbetungswürdige russische Literatur*. *Potefohch* is not merely a policeman's attempt to produce the *l mouillé*: the sound is common in North German, and is phonetically intelligible as a substitution of the voiced sound [ʃ]

by the corresponding voiceless sound [ç] There are several awkward misprints or misquotations, particularly (p xli) *des langenden Mannes* (for *langen*), and p xxxii *untergehen* (for *untergehn*), which ruins the form of the stanza

J BITHELL

PENZANCE

*A Polish Anthology* Selected by T M FILIP and M A MICHAEL London Duckworth 1944 405 pp 12s 6d

The ties of Poland with the English-speaking nations grow stronger every day, not only in war and diplomacy, but in the world of scholarship and letters Polish classes flourish in the London School of Slavonic Studies, under the Director, Dr W J Rose A Polish School of Architecture is at work in the University of Liverpool, in alliance with its own School There, too, Professor A Bruce Boswell has made his contributions to the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, and he has lectured (1941) to the Historical Association on 'The Survival of Polish Civilisation' At Birmingham, under the auspices of Professor Konovalov, an 'information service on Slavonic countries' has been active Mr R H Kinvig, the geographer and economist, has produced (1936) monographs on the population and industrial development of Poland Oxford issues at intervals a full and learned chronicle of *Polish Science and Learning* In the United States there is great activity Here it must suffice to mention Professor Samuel H Cross of Harvard, the Editor of the *American Slavonic and East European Review*, and himself a scholar with a long record, and Professor Ernest J Simmons, of Cornell, who directs a large and vigorous school of Slavonic studies One of the most lively centres is in Berkeley, California, where a whole hive of scholars and translators is busy under the leadership of Professor George Rapall Noyes Enough to mention the version of Krasński's *Irdion* (Oxford, 1927) by Mrs Noyes, *Poems by Jan Kochanowski* (Berkeley, 1928) by several hands, and, more especially, Mr Noyes's prose translation of *Pan Tadeusz*, the masterpiece of Mickiewicz (1916, revised for Everyman's Library, 1919) This has become the companion of many an English reader, as well as of professed scholars Also the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America has published several valuable volumes

The *Polish Anthology* now before me is not the product of a university, but is not therefore the less timely or precious It is pleasantly announced, in terms that are unusual in works of scholarship, as having been 'sired by excitement and conceived in indignation'—indignation 'that things so fine should so long have been disregarded' There has, it seems, been no such anthology in English since the *Specimens* of Sir John Bowring, published more than a century ago, and Bowring wrote when Mickiewicz and Słowacki were 'as yet but on the threshold of their fame' The present volume is designed not only to help the British student, but to introduce the unprofessional reader to the Polish poets and to Polish 'thought and manners' The Polish texts are printed, page by page, opposite the prose translations Mr Michael is an English officer who has done his work in the intervals of military duties and has completed it in hospital Mr Filip, described as 'a Polish private', seems to be responsible for the selections and their arrangement He is evidently a most sensitive student of poetry In all, there are 110 separate and numbered pieces, by eleven selected poets There are two main sections, with many subdivisions The first, entitled 'The Muse Azure', is devoted to the poetry of nature and love, and to moral and philosophical verse Part II, 'The Muse Scarlet', to celebrating Poland's troubles and struggles and sacrifices, to her unquenchable spirit of revolt, and to her faith in liberty and in her own past and future greatness

Mr Michael's Introduction (pp 5–31) concisely describes the historical setting, some of the peculiarities of the beautiful and difficult Polish language, and the



work and record of the selected poets. The story begins with the acknowledged founder of the national poetry, Jan Kochanowski, an elder contemporary of Shakespeare, who is perhaps best known for his lovely *Duges (Treny)* on the little daughter he had lost. Then there is a long leap, down to Antoni Malczewski, whose notable poem *Maia* (1825), with its 'colourful word-pictures of the steppe', comes from the very heart of the romantic movement. Next follow the great trio who wrote in the first half of the last century and who became migrants after the futile Rising of 1831—Adam Mickiewicz, whose long poetic career was crowned, and almost closed, by his *Pan Tadeusz*, written in Paris in the years 1832–4, Julius Słowacki (1809–49), the most fertile and imaginative of the Polish masters of lyric, and Zygmunt Krasiński (1812–59), the patriot-mystic, who was inspired by the lofty dream that Poland was destined to be the spiritual deliverer, or 'Messiah', of the nations. Then comes a later generation, many of whom are still alive or within living memory. The highly-wrought, resourceful, and often magnificent 'poetic prose' of Stefan Żeromski (1864–1905) well entitles him to be included here amongst the 'poets'. But at this point, the difficulties of the translator must have increased. The close renderings and happy prose rhythms which he finds for the older masters become less available in the case of Cyprian Norwid (1821–83), of Stanisław Wyspiański (died 1907) and of Julian Tuwim (born 1899). English will hardly bear the heightened, hectic, or tormented style which afflicts some of these writers. The latest poets represented (by a few passages) are Maria Kossak-Pawlikowska (born 1899) and Marjan Hemar (born 1901).

Mr Michael and Mr Filip have worked under war-time difficulties, they could not always 'gain access to the necessary texts'. Still, I must gently echo a protest which has been made by another reviewer. The choice of passages is not always well proportioned. There is really too much of Słowacki and of Tuwim, and too little of Mickiewicz. Except for two stray lines and the famed lyric *To the Polish Mother*, all the extracts are from *Pan Tadeusz*. These, indeed, are of the first rate, but there is nothing from the love-poems, the religious poems, or *Farys*, and, worst of all, nothing from the *Crimean Sonnets*. For some of these we would have sacrificed a few pages from Słowacki's astonishing and unequal *Beniowski*. This said, we can only praise Mr Filip's and Mr Michael's handling of the material. The book is a 'golden treasury' of a fresh and original kind, with a unity and a development of its own.

OLIVER ELTON

OXFORD

## SHORT NOTICES

*The Year's Work in English Studies* (Vol xxii 1941 Edited for the English Association by Frederick S Boas London H Milford, Oxford University Press 1944 245 pp 10s 6d) continues its invaluable survey of scholarship in its great field Dr Boas records the few changes among his collaborators In particular, Professor Tucker Brooke is responsible for the chapter on Shakespeare, in place of Professor Allardyce Nicoll Dr Boas himself deals with the Renaissance, and Elizabethan Drama

The year under review produced few works on a large scale or of the first importance One might perhaps single out two from England, and two from America the excellent facsimile edition of the *Parker Chronicle* by Dr Flower and Dr A H Smith, Vol vii of Heiford and Simpson's *Works of Ben Jonson*, comprising the Masques and Entertainments, the first scholarly edition of these vastly important works, Alfred Harbage's *Shakespeare's Audience*, and G E Bentley's *Jacobean and Caroline Stage* But a great deal of interesting work on a smaller scale continues to call for comment, despite the great calls made by the war upon scholars of all ages in England during this second year of war

It is not possible to overstate the value of the work thus undertaken, and admirably done, by Dr Boas and his colleagues, or our debt to the English Association for this twenty-second volume of an indispensable record of scholarship

C J Sisson

LONDON

The twentieth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. *Essays by Divers Hands*, edited by Gordon Bottomley (London Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press 1943 ix+112 pp 8s 6d), fully maintains the reputation of the series In 'Humanism Past, Present and Future' Dr H V. Routh traces the various meanings attached to the term and urges the necessity for a synthesis of science and literature, both being essential to humanism—'truth is only to be seen in a double light' (p 14) Mr Henry J Cowell, in a series of extracts from their letters, shows something of the relations between Erasmus and His English Friends' In 'Matthew Arnold The Critic and the Advocate', Mr Geoffrey Tillotson takes up Arnold's distinction and in an acute analysis shows the limitations of Arnold's criticism, much of which was really advocacy inspired by 'a Puritan passion for what he saw to be best, and a missionary passion for making what he saw to be best prevail' (p 41) Dr Marcu Beza tells with authority of 'Sacred Legends in Byzantine Art', the late Sir Stephen Gaselee considers the widespread variations on the theme of 'The Sleeping Beauty'—not the Beauty surrounded by briars, but the one who, 'accosted by The Lover, prefers (greatly to his satisfaction) not to wake up' Mr Walter de la Mare writes charmingly and persuasively of the reading of books as 'A Quiet Life'—depending entirely, like any living of life, on what we make of them Mr G R Hamilton finds the distinction between 'Verse and Poetry' in 'the quality of contemplation, which verse in the narrower sense lacks' (p 87) Finally, the late Sir John Martin-Harvey writes, with knowledge and insight, of 'The Player and His Art'

As a tribute to 'a specially beloved Vice-President of the Society', Dr Laurence Bunyon's last poem, 'Winter Sunrise', is printed as a Prelude to the volume

WINIFRED HUSBANDS

LONDON

Mr H S Bennett's admirable lecture on *Shakespeare's Audience* (Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy 1944, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol xxx London H Milford 1944 16 pp 1s 6d) gives good reason why we should keep our eyes on the play addressed to an audience from a stage. And he applies this warning to good purpose in a brief survey of some modern critics who neglect it.

We may find *more* than we gained by watching and listening, but it must not be *other* (p 15)

There is a warning also against considering 'Shakespeare's audience' as a homogeneous, single entity, whether within one theatre, or at various theatres, e.g. the Globe or Blackfriars or the Bull. I am not sure that the extreme opposite view is not equally risky. There is some overstatement, for example, in restricting the enjoyment of 'tricks of style' or 'verbal inventiveness and dexterity' to 'the cultured minority' (p 7). Indeed, Mr Bennett shows cause for caution on the next page. The necessary brevity of the lecture-form doubtless forbade a fuller treatment of this important aspect of the question. The essay is, indeed, pregnant and compressed throughout.

The same reason excluded, we may think, consideration of the capital question of the influence of the audience upon the necessary 'cutting' of the plays as written by Shakespeare, e.g. *Hamlet*, before they became stage-plays. There is much food for thought in Mr Bennett's observations (pp 8-9) on the 'tough fibre' of the Elizabethans, and in the following sentence:

The Elizabethans were trained listeners, where we rely on the eye and the printed book, they relied on the ear' (p 12)

C J SISSON

LONDON

In the midst of war-time shortages all lovers of French literature will be glad to see such an important work as *Pathelin* made readily available in a scholarly edition (*Maître Pierre Pathelin, farce du xve siècle, as edited by Richard T. Holbrook for les Classiques français du moyen-âge* Blackwell's French Texts Oxford Blackwell 1943 x+132 pp 5s). There is one thing, however, that the reader of this useful book may regret, and that is that nothing has been done to bring the bibliography up to date. Holbrook's edition dates from 1924, and in the twenty years since then a considerable amount of work on *Pathelin* has been published, some of it of great interest (to mention only two examples, L. Cons's book *l'Auteur de la Farce de Pathelin*, Paris, 1926, and the long review of this by Mario Roques in *Romania*, LIII, 569-87). Would it not have been possible to add a page to this reproduction so as to give the reader some indication of the work done in recent years?

B WOLEDGE

LONDON

It is to be supposed that the Romantic mood in which Carlyle heard and revealed the message of his favourite Germans infected the considerable number of translators and reviewers in New England who approached the complexities of Jean Paul. In the *New England Interest in Jean Paul Friedrich Richter* (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol xxvii, No 1 Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press. 1943 26 pp 25 c.) Edward V. Brewer points out that the reading public had to wait many years for the appearance in English of the major works, for though selections appeared in Boston in 1836 and 1841, and *Siebenkas* in 1845, Brooks's version of *Titan* was not completed

until 1862. Excepting Hedge, Longfellow, and Margaret Fuller, eminent writers seem to have been handicapped by uncertainty of the language. In spite of Reichenbach's tuition, Russell Lowell was imperfectly equipped for grappling with Jean Paul. (I am puzzled by Brewer's omission of his name, for Lowell made brief but incisive reference in his essays on Carlyle and Lessing of 1866.) Even Emerson, who found much more to say about Jean Paul, laboured under the same disadvantage—and how eagerly he laboured! Yet the response to what was read was ardent even before the great series of Brooks's translations. Brewer is inclined to regret that New England came to know Jean Paul in the 'sentimental years' when readers missed his insight through their own preoccupations. Our generation is equally limited by sensationalism, and total comprehension of one even so little 'time-bound' as Jean Paul is unattainable. Brewer has shown that the hunger for emotion and the new religious bias were reason for a continued warm appreciation, and that in itself ensures the worth of the monograph. There is a not unpleasing personal aidou in the wrestlings of those Transcendental enthusiasts of New England. One detects it in Emerson's progress from disapproval to a somewhat more genial acceptance. He came to see Jean Paul through the personality of his own friends: there is a significant little note which Brewer omits in quoting from Emerson's Journal of 1863: 'Now and then I find a passage like Charles Newcomb'. Newcomb was the friend whom Emerson has described as 'quiet, retreating' yet 'demoniacal', 'wrapt as ever in his great Gothic cathedral of fancies', the 'fathomless sceptic'.

W F MAINLAND

LONDON

# NEW PUBLICATIONS

July—September 1944

With the collaboration of PAMELA GRADON (English), CLAIR BAIER and  
R J McCLEAN (Scandinavian and German)

## GENERAL

- EKBO, S, Studier over uppkomsten av supinum i de germanska språken med utgångspunkt i fornvästnordiskan (Uppsala universitets årsskrift 7) Uppsala, Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1943 Kr 6 50
- FASSBIND, F, Dramaturgie des Horspiels Zurich, Leuen, 1943 Swiss fr 6 90
- HEYL, B C, New Bearings in Esthetics and Art Criticism A Study in Semantics and Evaluation Yale and Oxford Univ Presses, 1944 12s 6d
- RIDER, F, The Scholar and the Future of the Research Library New York, Hadham Press \$4 00
- RYCHNER, M, Zur europäischen Literatur zwischen zwei Weltkriegen Zurich, Atlantis, 1943 Swiss fr 11.
- SUNDÉN, K F, A new etymological group of Germanic verbs and their derivations (Goteborgs kungl vetenskaps- och vitterhetssamhälles handlingar Följd 6 Ser A Bd 1 3) Goteborg, Wettergren och Kerber, 1943 Kr 10
- THORNDIKE, E L, Man and his Works (Wilham James Lectures, 1942-3) Harvard and Oxford Univ Presses 14s
- Trivium Schweizerische Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Stilistik herausgegeben von Th Spoerri und E Staiger Erster Jahrgang Zurich, Atlantis, 1942 Swiss fr 10
- WOLFF, E G, Ästhetik der Dichtkunst Systematik auf erkenntniskritischer Grundlage Zurich, Schulthess, 1944 Swiss fr 30
- ZUMTHOR, P, Merlin le Prophète Un thème de la littérature polémique, de l'historiographie et des romans Lausanne, Payot, 1943 Swiss fr 10

## ROMANCE LANGUAGES

### Spanish.

- ARROM, J J., Historia de la Literatura Dramática Cubana. Yale and Oxford Univ Presses 16s 6d
- GUEVARA, L V DE, El Conde don Pero Vélez y don Sancho el Deseado, ed by R H. Olmsted Minnesota and Oxford Univ Presses 15s 6d
- KIRSCHENBAUM, L, Enrique Gaspar and the Social Drama in Spain Berkeley, Univ of California Press \$1 00

### French.

#### (a) General (including linguistic)

- MALMBERG, B, Le système consonantique du français moderne Études de phonétique et de phonologie (Lunds universitets årsskrift Ny följd Avd 1, Bd 38 5) Lund, Gleerup, 1943 Kr 4
- Mélanges de philologie offerts à M Johan Melander 1943 Uppsala, Lundequistska bokh, 1943. Kr 15
- STUBELIUS, S, Le manuel phonétique de Nyrop à la lumière de recherches plus récentes sur le phonétisme français. (Goteborgs kungl vetenskaps- och vitterhetssamhälles handlingar Följd 6 Ser A Bd 1 5) Goteborg, Wettergren och Kerber, 1943 Kr 2.

#### (b) Old French.

- The Life of Saint Dominic in Old French Verse, ed. by W. F. Manning Harvard and Oxford Univ. Presses \$4 00
- MARIE DE FRANCE, Lais, ed by A. Ewert Oxford, Blackwell 8s. 6d.

WESTBERG, E., La vie de saint Jean l'évangéliste Poème religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, publié d'après tous les manuscrits (Diss.) Uppsala, Appelbergs boktr., 1943 Kr 5

WRIGHT, E. A., Ystoire de la Passion, BN MS fr 821 Johns Hopkins and Oxford Univ Presses 8s 6d

(c) *Modern French*

CORNEILLE, P., L'illusion comique, ed by J Marks Manchester Univ Press 4s 6d

RACINE, J., Principes de la Tragédie en marge de la poétique d'Aristote, ed by E Vinaver Manchester Univ Press 6s

SCHAEFER, A., The Genies of Parnassian Poetry. Johns Hopkins and Oxford Univ Presses 24s

## Provençal

SPITZER, L., L'amour lointain de Jaufré Rudel et le sens de la poésie des troubadours Chapel Hill, Univ of North Carolina 50 cents

SUWE, I., La vida de Sant Honorat Poème provençal de Raimond Feraud Publié d'après tous les manuscrits (Diss.) Uppsala, Lundequistska bokh., 1943 Kr 10

## GERMANIC LANGUAGES

### Scandinavian.

(a) *General (including linguistic)*

LINDBLAD, G., Relativ satsfögoning i de nordiska fornspråken (Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetenskap, 1) Lund, Gleerup, 1943 Kr 6.

LJUNGGREN, K. G., Språkdrag och språkstravanden i Psaltaren 1560 (Lunds universitets årsskrift Ny följd Avd 1. Bd 38 7) Lund, Gleerup, 1943 Kr 1

MODÉER, I., Fornvästnordiska verbstudier (Uppsala universitets årsskrift, 8) Uppsala, Lundequistska bokh., 1943 Kr 5

Vatnsdalers' Saga, The, trans by Gwyn Jones Princeton and Oxford Univ Presses 13s 6d

WESSÉN, E., Svensk språkhistoria 2 Ordbildningslära Stockholm, Filologiska foren vid Stockholms høgskola, 1943 Kr 5 50

(b) *Swedish (Date 1943)*

GYLLENBÄGA, N. H., Kellgrens rytm En litteraturhistorisk undersökning (Diss.) Uppsala, Almqvist och Wiksell Kr 7 50

HAGGQVIST, A., Hjalmar Bergman-studier (Skrifter utg av Samfundet for stulforskning, 12) Stockholm, Geber Kr 4

JOHANSSON, J. V., Verner von Heidenstam Minnestal i Goteborgs kgl vetenskaps- och vitterhetssamhalle den 24 januari 1941 Stockholm, Bonnier Kr 2 25

KULLING, J., Karlfeldts livsproblem Stockholm, Diakonistyr Kr 2 75

Nittotalstudier tillagnade Olle Holmberg den 20 oktober 1943 av Litteraturhistoriska seminariet i Lund Lund, Gleerup Kr 4 50.

SYLWAN, O., Bellman och Friedmans epistlar Lund, Gleerup Kr 4 75

### English

(a) *General (including linguistic)*

EKWALL, E., Studies on the genitive of groups in English (Humanistiska vetenskaps-samfundet i Lund) Lund, Gleerup 1943

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, XXIX, collected by U Ellis-Fermor Oxford, Clarendon Press 7s 6d



## MARGINALIA IN A COPY OF BARTHOLOMAEUS ANGLICUS' 'DE PROPRIETATIBUS RERUM'. A NEW VERSION OF THE NINE WORTHIES

On the margins of a copy of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, printed in 1488, Richard Kaye, who styled himself *sapiens atque doctus*, wrote a series of quatrains, apparently about the middle of the sixteenth century. The book was given to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, by Nicholas Bayly, Fellow, on 2 July 1618, but the presence in it of the marginalia was not noticed in any catalogue till that of the incunabula drawn up by Robert Proctor in 1891. Its early possessors seem to have treated it with respect: it is well rubricated, and the first notes made in it are neat and to the point, but when Kaye had it, it was evidently in a tattered state, and he turned it upside down to inscribe his moralizations on what were originally the lower margins, possibly because these were the widest. The quatrains in Kaye's hand begin on DD7, the last page but one of the printed text, so it may be presumed that the last page had already been torn off: later, two more leaves were lost, DD4 and DD5, with the verses written on them. The first three pages have also gone, and the book seems to have been coming to pieces, as there are a number of verses and remarks in a third hand, that of a disciple of Kaye: of these five out of eight are written on the first leaves of quires. Finally, the book was repaired and bound, being somewhat cut down in the process, with the result that some lines of Kaye's compositions and also several letters of his disciple's, which run down the sides of the pages, have been shaved off. The binding is, according to Mr Strickland Gibson, an Oxford one of the first or second decade of the seventeenth century, so it may be assumed to have been done for Nicholas Bayly before he presented the book to the College: it was certainly after it came into his hands, as his signature on one page has been shaved. The boards over which the leather is stretched are older, but need not have been cut for this book: the most that can be said of them is that they are of oak, and so presumably English.

The early notes, to which reference has been made, are in a good hand of about 1500, and are chiefly medical—for instance, 'hec squancia e e an(gli)ce swynasy' and 'medicina contra morsum canis rabidi'—or English names of plants at the headings of chapters in Book xvii. It is tempting to suppose that the volume came from the wreckage of a monastic library at the Dissolution, or possibly even from the library of the University which was scattered to the winds by the King's Commissioners in 1550, in the latter event it has a companion in adversity in the College library, a MS. which once belonged to Duke Humphrey and was bought by John Dee in 1552 by weight at the price of a groat per pound. In any case, it is clear that Kaye treated it as waste paper, and his disciple did the same: as the latter dated one of his effusions 1572, and had copied some of Kaye's verses at an earlier date, it is likely that Kaye wrote between 1550 and 1570, possibly nearer to the former year, as the book seems to have suffered more dislocation before the disciple got to work on it.

The disciple's compositions, if the writing can be taken as a guide, seem to have



Julius Cesar	I am Julius Cesar that heyght emperor In fryth and in fyeld I bare ever the fame In Rome and in romans I bare aye the flowre Capud mundi I was callyd by my name <sup>1</sup>
Duke Josue	I am iosue gen( ) <sup>2</sup> grow( ) <sup>3</sup> in wyes As fuerse in fyeld as flame all of fyre <sup>4</sup> To recover all that rowt I was chosen onys <sup>5</sup> By the sent of sir seyar that then was my syre
Davyd	I am David that woss <sup>6</sup> dred in drede and in dome I made the psalter boke <sup>7</sup> for my great synnys A score wyvys and concubynes had I at my wyll And yet woss I chosen for cheff of the war
Judas machabeus	I am iudas machabeus that never woss affeyrd Of Ju ne of iure in certayne I wan portyngale <sup>8</sup> spayne <sup>9</sup> and almayne And yet hath morgan me cowardly slayne.
Arthur	I am Arthur of england That conquest <sup>10</sup> walys and scotland I sloe the gyant morbras <sup>11</sup> with my sword colbrand <sup>12</sup> And yet lyff I Arthur in a nother land. <sup>13</sup>
Charls	I am charls the cheff chosen in warre God grantyd me by grace the fair flore deluce And by an angel send yt me doune from hevens towre <sup>14</sup> perfytyl yt woss porturyd in playne paradise

<sup>1</sup> A vague account as compared with that in *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, where his connexion with England is mentioned (Gollancz, op cit ll 407-21).

<sup>2</sup> The top of the line is shaved off. There is space for four letters, and the word is almost certainly 'gentill'. Cf *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, 'gentill Josue' (Gollancz, op cit l 426).

<sup>3</sup> As for n 2. There is space for two or three letters and the word may be 'grewed'.

<sup>4</sup> There is no reference here to the parting of the Jordan, as in *Les Vœux du Paon* (Comments on Joshua's military prowess are common in many versions and related accounts).

<sup>5</sup> The dissyllabic form which remains in some dialects in the sixteenth century.

<sup>6</sup> Occurs frequently as well as the usual form 'was'. If phonetic, it indicates rounding of the vowel at an early date.

<sup>7</sup> Cf Mummung Play, xv (Tanner MS. 407), quoted by Gollancz, op cit Appendix, xiii, 'By me the Sawter than made was', and the version on fragmentary woodcuts of the Hôtel de Ville at Metz (see Pilinski, *Monuments de la Xylographie, Les Neuf Preux*), in which the first line of the account of David is 'Ie trouuay son de harpe & de psalteru—', and the stanzas accompanying mural paintings of the Nine Worthies in the castle of La Manta, Piedmont. Both these versions, as R. S. Loomis points out in 'Verses on the Nine Worthies' (*Modern Philology*, xv, 1917-18, pp 211 ff), show clear dependence on *Les Vœux du Paon*. The latter refers also to David's military prowess, but

there are no other similarities between that and the present version, which also lacks any reference to the slaying of Goliath, which appears in many other versions.

<sup>8</sup> 'b' is written over this word.

<sup>9</sup> 'a' is written over this word. This account of Judas Machabeus has no similarities to any other version, and appears to be only a general one applicable to any hero famed for warlike deeds, without specific reference to apocryphal accounts.

<sup>10</sup> *Sic*.

<sup>11</sup> A reference to the giant slain at St Michael's Mount. He is unnamed in *Les Vœux du Paon*, its Scottish version, *The Buke of the Most Noble and Valiant Conquerour Alexander*, or in Layamon's *Brut*, and is called Dinabuc by Wace. *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* refers to the slaying of a dragon, which, as Gollancz points out, is only seen in a dream.

<sup>12</sup> Cf Layamon's *Brut*, where it is called Caliburn.

<sup>13</sup> References to Arthur's after-life are common in other versions.

<sup>14</sup> A version of the story of the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. Cf the twelfth-century *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. The story of the lily is usually attached to Clovis, founder of the French monarchy, to whom a lily is said to have been given by an angel at baptism. This verse has no reference to Roland, such as is found in *Les Vœux du Paon*, the Scottish version and *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*.

Godfray	I am godfray of bullyn that in batyll was bold	
bullyn	Kyng of Hirusalem I were the crowne of thorne <sup>1</sup>	
	Me thought yt woss better mecull <sup>2</sup> than any crowne of gold	
	For loff of the lord that in bethelem was borne	
	sunt pagani	sunt iudei
novem	Hector Alex Julius	Josue David Machabeus
digni	sunt Chustiani	godfray
	Arthui cum Carolo	Galfridum Inquere nolo

J G MILNE

ELIZABETH SWEETING

OXFORD  
LONDON

<sup>1</sup> This reference is common in many other versions, e.g. *Les Vœux du Paon*

'De Jerusalem ot puis le couronnement  
Et en fus rois clamez j an tant seulement'

*Parlement of the Thre Ages*

'And aftir he was callede kyng and the  
crownn hade  
Of Jer(u)salem and of the Jewes gentill  
togedr.'

Huchowne, *Morte Arthure*

' he corownede kyng, with krysome  
enoyntted'

*Early Mumming Play*

'I was kyng of Jherusalem

The crowne of thorn I wan from them'

While Godfrey was leader of the First Crusade  
and was elected ruler of Jerusalem in 1099, his  
brother Baldwin, who succeeded him after two  
years, was strictly the first king of Jerusalem

<sup>2</sup> An unusual form, with a Northern flavour

## HAS KEATS'S 'EVE OF ST AGNES' A TRAGIC ENDING?

In *The Eve of St Agnes* it is the richness of the sensations, the magic of the place-names and the haunting verbal music that most commonly attract attention. These qualities are displayed in their most exquisite form in the vision-scene which quite naturally remains uppermost in the mind. But we ought not to forget that Keats is writing a narrative poem and that the fate of the lovers is the climax of the story that he has to tell. This point is therefore all-important. Yet we are left in doubt. All that Keats says directly is

And they are gone aye, ages long ago  
These lovers fled away into the storm

Perhaps most readers, with the instinctive desire for a happy ending, are apt to assume that after the escape of Madeline and Porphyro all is well, and that they succeed in reaching the shelter of the castle 'o'er the southern moors'. Nevertheless, it may be wondered whether Keats did not intend to suggest a very different conclusion and whether throughout the poem he did not anticipate that the great adventure of the lovers would culminate in disaster. In this connexion the part played by the elements deserves consideration. At the beginning Keats employs all his resources to convey the intensity of the cold, inside and outside the chapel. Sometimes it is explained that his purpose was to draw a contrast with the warmth of the castle. But in point of fact, this feeling of warmth is confined within narrow limits. We are aware of it only in the vision scene, and even here it is associated only with Madeline—the 'warm gules' from the window reflected on her breast, her 'warmed jewels' and the 'poppied warmth' of her sleep. Certainly there is in this passage a deliberate contrast between the vital warmth of the heroine and the cold about her. However, it should be read in relation to the poem as a whole, and it may be surmised that Keats's general design aimed at something more than this artistic effect. The magnificence of the vision scene ought not to blind us to the dominant impression of bitter cold. Keats devotes the two opening stanzas of a not very lengthy poem to the creation of this atmosphere, and, as the story unfolds, allows it to lose none of its potency. Again and again he speaks of the cold in the castle on this night which has followed a wintry day. The room to which Angela guides Porphyro, the bed-chamber, and even the bed of Madeline are described as chilly, and the waiting Porphyro is 'pallid, chill, and drear'.

Once the storm breaks, the cold seems to become still more numbing. The wintry moon which had shone through the room grows pallid, and before long even this dimness fades away as the moon sets. The extinction of its light coincides with and marks the end of the happiness of the lovers. All is now dark, and the sleet patters against the panes. The wind increases in violence, and 'the iced gusts . . . rave and beat'. Such is its fury that it forces its way into the castle, making the lamp flicker, the arras sway and the carpets rise along the floor. There is an uproar without, and the tempest appears in the guise of an enemy laying siege. It is an agency hostile to mankind, actively at work.

That mysterious beings are lurking abroad has already been indicated by the lines.

Never on such a night have lovers met,  
Since Merlin paid his Demon all the monstrous debt.

Indeed, for all the religious mood evoked by the title and the picture of the pious beadsman in the act of prayer, the poem has a sinister aspect which becomes more and more clearly visible in the course of the narrative. Thus Keats, trying to reinforce this suggestion of eerie peril, through Porphyro depicts the tumult in nature as 'an elfin storm from faery land'—one that has been conjured up by supernatural power. The elves and faeries that wield this power are not to be thought of as the harmless, graceful creatures of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* but as kinsfolk of *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, herself 'a faery's child' who dwelt in an 'elfin grot' and wrought such woe that the dead rose to give warning against her.<sup>1</sup> The storm is 'of haggard seeming', and, as Porphyro himself feels, wears an air of menace.

It is true that at the same time he perceives in it a convenient means of covering the escape, but his light-hearted ignorance is very likely meant as an example of tragic irony. Only a few stanzas earlier the poet has imparted a presentiment that all is not well. Madeline, seeing as she awakens the pallor of her lover, is seized with a sudden fear lest he should die.

For if thou diest, my Love, I know not where to go

On the assumption that both she and Porphyro are soon to perish together, Keats is here once more using tragic irony with marked effect.

Death is never far away in *The Eve of St Agnes*. It appears imminent when Porphyro braves the 'hyena foemen and hot-blooded lords', and in the midst of the vision scene the sound of the clarion and kettle-drum brings an admonition that mortal peril is near, while the flight of the lovers is pregnant with a sense of death in wait at every step. In this last passage the holograph version of the poem, which reads

The Lamps were flickering death shades on the walls  
Without, the Tempest kept a hollow roar;<sup>2</sup>

is still more deeply charged with this atmosphere than the printed text. Through the secondary characters the same effect is conveyed. The beadsman has hardly appeared when, we are told, 'already had his death-bell rung'. Angela speaks of herself as one 'whose passing-bell may ere the midnight toll', and the main figures are likewise touched by this breath from the grave when Madeline cries aloud in sudden anxiety lest Porphyro should be snatched from her. The closing stanza relates that in the course of the night both Angela and the beadsman have passed away. So swiftly has what was hinted at become reality. Is it not probable then that Keats, working upon his readers indirectly, intended them to understand that death overtook the lovers also? It is surely not fanciful to interpret the woe-filled dream of the Baron and the nightmare visions

Of witch, and demon, and large coffin-worm

<sup>1</sup> In most of the poems into which Keats introduces faeries, they undoubtedly resemble those of Shakespeare. But the similarity is by no means uniform. In 1819 especially there are signs of independence in the *Song of Four Fairies*. There is too an indication in *Lamia* that faeries lent their aid in creating the illusion that ended so disastrously for Lycius, and in *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* we again find a close connexion between the fairy world and the harm inflicted on

human beings. In *The Eve of St Agnes* there is nothing to define the nature of the 'legion'd faeries' that 'paced the coverlet' of Madeline, but the way in which the fairy people are mentioned in stanza xxxix is ominous.

<sup>2</sup> Stanza xl, ll 7-8. Cf Keats, *The Poetical Works*, ed H B Forman (Oxford, 1910), p 228 and *The Poetical Works*, ed H W Garrod (Oxford, 1939), p 255.

that haunted his warrior-guests as the unrest occasioned by the fate of Porphyro and Madeline. The macabre grimness of the words here used, closely akin in tone to the original first stanza of the *Ode on Melancholy*, is startling, and the mention of witch and demon may be taken to imply that some baneful force is in motion, the dangerous and malignant force already alluded to by Porphyro. Obviously we are meant to realize that some dire calamity must have occurred to beget such nightmares. They can certainly not have been inspired by the loss of two aged retainers whose decease was to be looked for at any moment. Yet insignificant as these dependants are, one would not expect them to be treated with the neglect that is the lot at any rate of the beadsman who

For aye unsought-for slept among his ashes cold.

Such indifference might be held to savour of callousness, but would be more comprehensible if the death of the beadsman were lost sight of in the major tragedy of the lovers.

However, quite apart from what can be gleaned from *The Eve of St Agnes* itself, the examination of other poems written by Keats about the same time provides support for the view that it ends tragically. Among those which repay scrutiny, as Professor L. C. Martin points out, is the *Dream, after reading Dante's Episode of Paolo and Francesca*, which was composed only a few weeks after the story of Porphyro and Madeline. In the *Inferno* Keats had read how

La bufera infernal, che mai non resta,  
Mena gli spiriti con la sua rapina,  
Voltando e percotendo li molesta.

The emphasis is on the incessant whirling and buffeting of the lovers by the wind, and nothing is said of cold and hailstones accompanying the 'melancholy storm'. Neither in the original nor in Cary's translation is there any hint of the exquisite sensations of Keats's dream—sensations united with a feeling of warmth amid the enveloping cold and darkness.<sup>1</sup> In all this there is a manifest prolongation of the mood of the vision scene in *The Eve of St Agnes*, and if Dante's infernal storm has developed into

the gust, the whirlwind, and the flaw  
Of rain and hail-stones,

the change is clearly to be connected with the description of the tempest in the earlier poem.<sup>2</sup> The storm-motive in the *Dream* is bound up with that of love, the short-lived bliss of Paolo and Francesca which ended in death and the anguish and torment of hell. In the same way *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* takes as its theme the rapture of love, followed by disenchantment and ultimate death, and *Lamia* and *Isabella* deal with love abruptly terminated, just when happiness is unfolding. As a result of the hostility of Apollonius, *Lamia* is banished, and so sombre is Keats's mood that he also makes Lycius fall lifeless, whereas in the source of the poem, Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, he survives the catastrophe

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Keats's letter to George and Georgiana Keats in April 1819: 'I floated about the whirling atmosphere as it is described with a beautiful figure to whose lips mine were joined as it seem'd for an age—and in the midst of all this cold and darkness I was warm' (*Letters*, ed. M. B. Forman (Oxford, 1935), p. 326).

<sup>2</sup> Stanzas xxxvi-xxxvii. It is of interest to

note that in the letter cited above (p. 324) Keats speaks of 'a north wind blowing'. It seems likely that the snowy background of *The Eve of St Agnes* and the mingled rain and hailstones of the *Dream* were suggested by the periods in which they were written—the one in January and February, the other in April.

Lorenzo is murdered by the malice of the brothers, and Isabella dies of a broken heart. The death of Porphyrio and Madeline, when their love burnt most brightly, would therefore harmonize with the trend of Keats's thought as it is revealed in these contemporary poems. It may perhaps be objected that Keats would probably be explicit about the disaster that overtook the lovers, as he was in *Lamia* and *Isabella*. Yet this does not necessarily follow. He may well have decided to proceed as in *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* by suggestion rather than definite statement.

Yet another consideration deserves to be weighed. That is the parallel between *The Eve of St Agnes* and one of Keats's favourite plays, *Romeo and Juliet*. There is a general similarity in the situations confronting the two pairs of lovers. The fierce enmity of rival houses forms the background, and as Romeo ventured to the Capulet ball, so Porphyrio enters the Baron's castle, just as the revelry and dancing are at their height. In addition, though the circumstances may differ somewhat, the foreboding of Madeline may be compared with the 'ill-divining soul' of Juliet when she looks down at Romeo in the garden. It may well be that, consciously or unconsciously, Keats carried the parallel further. If *The Eve of St Agnes* ends with the death of the lovers, as the poem itself and the treatment of similar themes elsewhere in Keats's work justify us in thinking, fate in the shape of the storm blasts the joy of these young people, even as it destroys that of Romeo and Juliet.

It would therefore appear that there are substantial reasons in favour of this exposition of Keats's meaning. And his own love for Fanny Brawne at the time when he wrote the group of poems that has been considered, in the midst of his battle with an untoward fate in the form of illness, would afford a psychological explanation of his repeated choice of the bliss of love thwarted by adverse events as a theme.

There can, of course, be no final answer to the problem under discussion. But there is every indication that *The Eve of St Agnes*, like *Lamia*, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, *The Eve of St Mark* and Coleridge's *Christabel*, is rooted in the strange fascination of sinister magic and superstition.<sup>1</sup> If it be agreed that this magic brings *The Eve of St Agnes* to a tragic close, this interpretation lends to the poem a deeper significance and emphasizes its coherence, structural unity and sense of design. With admirable skill Keats drops hints of the danger that threatens the lovers from mortal hands, but even more notable is the art with which he uses the forces of nature not only as portents, but, in conjunction with the magic of hostile supernatural powers, as the agents of disaster. By a series of subtle modulations the tension is heightened or relaxed, as under Keats's hand these perils are allowed to become more or less insistent. The opening, on a moonlit winter night, is peaceful, though not without a sense of foreboding. The tension increases when Porphyrio steals into the castle. For a while the danger is forgotten after he enters Madeline's room. Yet even here uneasy reminders intrude, and before long the feeling of menace returns with still greater acuteness. The hero grows pale and cold, and simultaneously the moon wanes. Its setting is the signal for the unleashing of all the powers of darkness and the violence of the elements. From now on danger threatens in a continual crescendo. Breathlessly we follow the progress of the lovers down the stairs and out of the door. They escape from the inmates of the castle, but only to be engulfed in the storm. The climax is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Keats's *Poems*, ed. E. de Selincourt (London, 1905), pp. 525-6.

reached, and we know that Porphyro and Madeline are gone for ever. Then the emotion ebbs away, and the fate of Angela and the beadsman, linked as they are by the tale with the lovers in life and death, brings the poem to a close as quiet as its beginning. The tragedy of Porphyro and Madeline, so dramatic in its suspense, is over, and an austere calm descends. Death the omnipotent has come to young and old,<sup>1</sup> and 'the weariness, the fever, and the fret' are ended. Thus *The Eve of St Agnes* is conspicuous for the firmness with which the story is controlled from start to finish. In the verse tale as in the ode Keats had achieved that mastery of form which is the hallmark of his mature poetry.

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<sup>1</sup> Though the way in which Keats expresses himself at the end of *The Eve of St Agnes* about the sorrows and disasters of life is not identical with that in the *Ode to a Nightingale*, stanza IV,

ll. 3-6, there is an underlying similarity in his emotion, as he realizes the grievous destiny of young and old alike.

## COLOUR IN RONSARD'S POETRY

Not least among the differences which strike the reader turning from the poets of the Lyons tradition, with their predominantly 'metaphysical' imagery, to Ronsard is the frequency with which the latter poet has drawn on the perceptions of the five senses. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that with Ronsard French poetry takes to itself a new function: the communication of the data of sense experience. And this in spite of the strong stress laid by the Pléiade theorists on the spiritual and symbolic nature of poetry and on the importance of erudite mythological allusion. A poet may, indeed being human must, span the three Pascalian orders of experience, spiritual, intellectual and sensuous, and elements of all these find their way into his work. Yet, even against his will and intention one will eventually predominate in intensity and frequency and constitute the essential stuff and fabric of his poetry. So Ronsard, in spite of the proud aspirations of the poet 'porteparole de Dieu', turns often from books and meditation to a world of sight and sound and touch.

Puis du lûre ennuyé, ie regardois les fleurs,  
Fueilles tiges rameaux especes et couleurs,  
Et l'entrecouplement de leurs formes diuerses,  
Peintes de cent façons, iaunes rouges et perses. (I, 337)<sup>1</sup>

There must be many of his readers who would readily admit that for them the real charm not only of the Horatian odes and the sonnets but also of the more ambitious Pindaric Odes, the *Hymnes* and the *Poèmes* lies largely if not entirely in the poet's vivid perceptions of the material world and his capacity for communicating his delight to our own duller senses. Yet in spite of all the care which criticism has bestowed on his sources, his Platonism, his Catholicism, his poetic theory and the technical excellencies of his work, little effort seems to have been made to explore the range and quality of his sense perceptions and the manner of their expression (statement, simile, suggestion, etc.), and a considerable number of relevant problems await solution. Bird song, water noises, the music of the human voice: all these he loves, and he has a wide vocabulary to express their diversity. Deaf though he is he prefers always the fainter and more subtle sounds, the treble of small streams rather than the rush of torrents. Yet Ronsard became deaf when he was twenty, not stone deaf indeed but too deaf for such small music as the distant lark's song or the chatter of summer streams. Here evidently we have either recollections in tranquillity of childhood experience or tastes acquired through literature. The problem is not unrelated to the general question of literary sources and poetic genesis. It merits attention.

Again, Ronsard is peculiarly sensitive to perfumes and tastes, the latter usually the pariah of all the senses where poetry is concerned. It is perhaps to his delight in perfume that his love poetry owes its specially sensuous and voluptuous quality.

... ce baiser tout plein  
D'ambre et de musq, baiser d'une Deesse. (I, 23)

Taste, too, is frequently used by Ronsard as a symbol of an emotional experience, as, for example, throughout the whole of the tenth sonnet of the Cassandra

<sup>1</sup> References are to volume and page of the Laumonier edition of Ronsard *Œuvres Complètes*, 1914-19, Paris, 8 vols. in 8vo.



sequence. The present study, however, attempts consideration of only one small corner of the whole field of Ronsard's sense perceptions: his colour vision.

The most frequently mentioned colour in Ronsard's work is undoubtedly green. *Vert, verdoyant, verdelet, verdure*, all these haunt his nature poetry. They have a purely background value. There is no attempt to distinguish one shade of green from another or to emphasize or dwell on the colour by simile or analogy. *Vert-gay* and the daisy plant 'qui l'esmeraude efface de verdeui' (I, 50) appear to be the only exceptions. Yet green is everywhere, all-pervasive but unobtrusive like the green of the Vendômois countryside.

Superimposed on the green background are far more brilliant colour effects. Ronsard is as haunted by gold as any quattrocento painter. Eternity he pictures in a blaze of gold:

Tout au plus haut du Ciel dans vn throne doré  
Tu te siecs en l'habit d'un manteau coloré  
De pourpre rayé d'or (iv, 160)

Victory has 'de grans ailes dorées' (III, 263). Francus in war array is

vestu d'armes toutes dorées  
Des mains d'un maistre artizan labourées,  
Comme le feu d'un tonnerre luisoit (III, 32)

Gold is sometimes combined with bold primary colours in the heraldic manner. Gold and azure are frequent (v, 79). Equally reminiscent of the heraldic tradition is the simple juxtaposition of other colour epithets:

Sa robe estoit de pourpre et à replis bossus,  
Son roquet cramoisi luy pendoit pardessus  
Dessous à plus ondez faict d'une toile blanche  
Son sourpels couloit iusqu'au bas de la hanche (v, 23)

So far we have considered only the simplest forms of colour expression. Both the vision (bold primary colours) and the technique (simple statement) are elementary. None the less effective for that, but with the simple effectiveness of poster work. The same love of bright mixed colours and the same method of simple enumeration can be seen in Ronsard's flower descriptions. Only the range of colour is wider:

Vous amassez dedans vostre giron  
Comme vne fleur entre les fleurs assise  
La couleur iaune, incarnate et la grise,  
Tantost la rousse à la blanche, et aussi  
Le rouge œillet au iaunissant soulei. (iv, 115)

But Ronsard prefers on the whole the more indirect methods of simile and suggestion. So, for example, in his description of the flower-edged fountain of Hylas, where only two colour epithets are used and the effect of many-coloured brilliance is obtained by the enumeration of flower names:

Le lis sauuage, et la rose et l'œillet,  
Le roux souci, l'odorant serpoillet,  
Le bleu gleyeul, les hautes gantelées,  
La pasquerette aux feuilles piolées,  
La giroflée et le passe-velours,  
Et le narcis qui ne vit que deux iours (v, 126)

The same device is used by Shakespeare in *The Winter's Tale* in the passage where Perdita speaks of the flowers of spring (Act IV, sc. III). Here not a single colour epithet is used, yet the whole passage is drenched in colour.

Another device dear to the Elizabethans and frequently used by Ronsard to suggest a bright mingling of colours is the use of metaphors from the enamel worker, the painter and the embroiderer

Ne vois-tu d'autre part les Nymphes en ces prez  
Esmaillez, peinturez, verdurez, diapiez ? (iv, 59)

The rainbow and the peacock may serve a similar end (i, 31, iv, 115) Or precious stones may be pressed into service The following passage from sonnet 23 of the Cassandra sequence affords an interesting example of Ronsard's delight in a haphazard riot of colour, for although each feature of his lady's beauty is evidently represented by a precious stone, the enumeration is deliberately random and uncontrolled by any anatomical order

Ce beau coral, ce marbre qui soupire  
Et cet ebene ornement du souci,  
Et cet albâtre en voûte racourci,  
Et ces saphirs, ce iaspe et ce porphyre  
Ces diamans, ces rubis, qu'un Zephyre  
Tient animez d'un soupir adouci,  
Et ces caillots et ces roses aussi,  
Et ce fin or, où l'or mesme se mire (i, 13)

But the poet who loved many-coloured splendour could also see *nuances* where others would see only one colour He has an eye for the range and variation of whiteness The difference between the white of things and the white of flesh tints is clearly marked by appropriate metaphor The dead white of snow is rendered by the simile of spilled flour

le Ciel pesle-mesle  
Enfarna les champs de neiges et de gresle. (iv, 327)

Breaking waves are 'flots chenus' (v, 13) One may compare Shakespeare's 'hoary-headed frosts' Whiteness suggests sometimes a powdering of early blossom, blackthorn perhaps

Auant le temps tes temples fleuriront (i, 11)

Sometimes a fall of snow

Et seme bien espais des neiges sur sa teste. (i, 292)

For the whiteness of flesh a large number of metaphors are used milk, curds, ivory, marble, white agate, alabaster, mother of pearl, lilies, swans, pearls It will be noticed that all these suggest a shade which is not dead white—all, that is, except lilies and swans, but these add texture suggestions, the fragility of the lily, the shining smoothness of the swan Sometimes these colour epithets are used alone The poet bids the artist Janet paint his mistress's throat

Plus blanc que lait caillé dessus le ionc (i, 122)

Sometimes the colour epithets are combined

Belle gorge d'albastre...  
Tertres d'Agathe blanc, petits gazons de lait,  
Des Graces le sejour, d'Amour et de Cyprine. (i, 321)

Sometimes one metaphor is chosen and given circumstantial development. So Ronsard compares his mistress to a pearl

Sous le crystal d'une argenteuse rive,  
Au mois d'Auril une perle ie vy,  
Dont la clarté m'a tellement rayé,  
Qu'en mon esprit autre penser n'arriue  
Sa rondeur fut d'une blancheur naïue,  
Et ses rayons treluisoyent à l'enui (I, 44)

Here the pearl is used for its own qualities, colour, roundness, translucence, but seen through clear water it gains an added brilliance. The traditional image is revived. Most of the images listed above are the familiar coinage of the Petrarchian tradition, but Ronsard, like Shakespeare, thought it no shame to make them his own. It will be remembered that the whole of the sixty-first stanza of *Venus and Adonis* is a harmony of various shades of white and the Petrarchian images are freely used

A lily prisoned in a gaol of snow,  
Or ivory in an alabaster band,  
So white a friend engirts so white a foe

The pearl image calls attention to that aspect of whiteness which most fascinates the poet: radiance. Almost all the images used for flesh can be distinguished from those used for inanimate objects by just this quality of brightness. 'Lustre' seems for Ronsard to sum up the essential quality of beauty

Ton lustre gay d'ardeur se faneroit (I, 203)

The brow is a 'beau ciel esclairey', a 'front estoilé', a 'muir ardent'

From all this the whiteness of sickness or death is rigorously distinguished and a quite different set of epithets reserved: *palle, cendieux, blesme*. The love-lorn poet is

Palle pensif sans raison et sans ame (I, 248)

This interest in whiteness is extended to all flesh tints. Ronsard is fascinated by the changing colour of the human face under emotional stress. So of Clymène and Hyante in love

Tantost leur ioue en tremblant rougissoit,  
Palle tantost, et tantost blanchissoit,  
Tantost estoit de taches toute pleine. (III, 66)

A fairly wide range of direct colour epithets is used for flesh tints: *rouge, vermeil, incarnat, rosin, pourpre, rousoyant*. But the poet relies for the most part on metaphor. The roses and the carnations of the Petrarchian tradition are freely used

Venus, d'œillets et de roses a peint  
La couleur viue et fresche de son teint. (III, 255)

More interesting are efforts to combine and as it were reset the familiar images. Such a method was used in the case of the pearl. So, in the ode to the painter Janet, we have a rose falling into milk, a lily kissed by the red glow of a carnation (I, 121). In the same poem the pinkness of an ear seen through a veil is likened to a flower in a crystal. Red lips remind the poet

Ou de la rose, ou du cœural vermeil  
Elle flambe au Printemps sur l'espée,  
Luy rougissant au fond de la marine. (I, 122)

Exquisite as are these images, it will be noted that Ronsard's flesh tints have no great variety. There is no effort to distinguish between the colouring of old and

young, man and woman. He is as far as possible from the Dutch painters' capacity for finding beauty in unexpected places, wrinkled apple cheeks or weather-beaten hardness. For him the soft flush of youth alone has charm. Flesh for him is the object of sensuous delight rather than artistic curiosity. Wide as is his range of colour epithets and metaphors, there is little effort to distinguish separate colour values. To us *coural*, *vermeil*, *rosin*, suggest very different shades. Ronsard uses them quite indiscriminately. *Vermeil* is used for lips, for hands, for carnations, for hyacinths. This would seem to suggest concentration of interest on glow and intensity rather than *nuance*. There is other evidence of this lack of discrimination: identification for example of *vert* and *azur* to describe the eyes of the

jeune pucelle  
Qui a les cheveux longs, et les yeux verts et beaux,  
Contre imitans l'azur de leurs propres ruisseaux (iv, 224)

And, in the ode to Janet, the colour of ripening oranges is 'red'. It is interesting to note that a similar confusion between red and orange has been remarked among primitive peoples (J. H. Parsons, *Colour Vision*, p. 160).

Yet at other times there is a careful accuracy. Honey for example is 'roux', the authentic reddish brown of wild honey.

Orateurs eloquens, de qui le beau parler  
Surpassoit la liqueur que rousse on voit couler  
Dans les gaufres de cire. (iv, 233)

Sometimes, though rarely, there is precise discrimination between shades of red.

La Meure teinte au sang des amoureux,  
Avec la Fraize au teint vermeil et beau  
Semblable au bout d'un tetin Damoiseau. (v, 54, 55)

The poet's descriptions of dawn and sunset colours show the same mixture of convention and personal observation as his descriptions of flesh tints. There are graceful examples in the traditional mode: 'l'Aurore à la vermeille bouche' (iv, 315) and 'l'Aube aux doigts de roses' (iii, 25). But Ronsard has seen other dawns:

Vn iour d'Esté qu'encores le Soleil  
N'a ses chevaux deuallez au sommeil,  
Et qu'il se monstre encor plus haut qu'une aulne  
Dedans le ciel tout bigarré de saulne,  
De pers, de bleu. (iii, 421)

And at other times, too, he has watched the Vendômois skies. In storm.

alors que le feu pers  
De tonnerre ensouffré saccage les bleds verts. (iv, 171)

In time of eclipse.

Le Soleil de despit  
Abominant la Terre, en vestit noir habit  
Il se rouilla la face, et la Lune argentée  
De taches eut long temps sa corne ensanglantée (v, 256)

His vision of nightfall is less distinctive, resolving itself through a wealth of traditional metaphor into the two notions of darkness and moon or star brightness. For him there are no blue or purple dusks. Nightfall for him is 'noir' or 'brun',

the latter epithet having not yet taken to itself the special colour meaning now attached to it, but meaning merely dark or dim

la nuit estolée  
Auroit d'un habit brun la terre emmantelée. (III, 217)

More often, though, the stress is on starlight than on darkness, and here again we find the word *brun* used, this time with the sense of bright or shining as in the *Roland* ('fiert Charlemagne sur l'haume d'acier brun,' l cclxii, also l lxxx). So Ronsard writes of 'les yeux brunets' of the stars (iv, 160)

We have been concerned so far with the strictly pictorial uses of colour in Ronsard's poetry. But colour is used by many poets for symbolic as well as descriptive purposes and Ronsard is no exception. Colour symbolism may be personal (Compare Rimbaud's sonnet on the colour associations of the letters of the alphabet: a great many people have colour associations of their own for the days of the week.) Or it may be collective, as in the various folklores or in the liturgical or chivalrous tradition. Any attempt to probe the origins of colour symbolism leads us very soon into the as yet trackless hinterlands of anthropology and psychology. So deeply imbued are we with our own familiar symbolism that we are apt to regard certain associations as inevitable and 'natural'. Thus black we say is 'naturally' associated with mourning. But in China white is the colour of mourning, in Egypt blue, in Abyssinia brown. But if the origins of this or that colour association are hard to seek it is none the less interesting to examine the colour symbolism of a particular tradition and to mark the variations brought by individual poets.

The colour most frequently used by Ronsard in a non-pictorial sense is green, which for him signifies youth and freshness.

Ces mains, ce col, ce front, et ceste oreille,  
Et de ce sein les boutons verdelets, (I, 5)

or again

L'ay veu tomber (ô prompte inimitié)  
En sa verdeur mon esperance à terre (I, 26)

Once only green becomes the symbol of friendship as well as youth and hope (III, 502). In his usual association of green Ronsard is following the custom of his time. So on the occasion of the festivities organized in 1552 to celebrate the ceremonial entry of Henry II into Lyons the allegorical figure of Hope is dressed in green. The chivalrous tradition attached a similar significance to green, ordaining that the neophyte knight should wear green on the day before his dedication.<sup>1</sup> Inevitable as this association between young promise and the colour of spring may seem, it is well to remember that western European folklore tends to regard green as unlucky, banishing it strictly from wedding ceremonies ('Brides in green, sup sorrow unseen'). There may be some connexion between this and its frequent association with lubricity (green sleeves). In poetry, green appears often as a symbol of decay, so in *Romeo and Juliet*, 'the sick green vestal livery of the moon'.

Black for Ronsard has with *brun* the symbolism of death, evil and misfortune. It is generally when contrasted with white that black represents moral evil as opposed to misfortune.

Amour trompeur, pourquoi me fais-tu croire  
Que la blancheur est vne chose noire? (I, 49)

<sup>1</sup> Sainte-Foix, *Œuvres*, f. iv, p. 209

But the contrast is more usually between good and bad luck

cent diuerses fortunes,  
Blanches tantost, tantost noires et brunes (III, 254)

Only once does black take on a pleasanter significance, for in the *Cartel* (III, 501) it is the knight clad in black armour who

Se monstre ferme et constant de nature.

The same association of black with constancy is to be found elsewhere in the sixteenth century in the *Blason des Couleurs* of Brodeau<sup>1</sup> and in *Les Colleurs deschiffrés du temps du Roy François premier de ce nom.*<sup>2</sup> And J. Bouchet, the Portevin rhetorician in the sixteenth century, also makes black the symbol of 'louable constance'<sup>3</sup>

White stands in Ronsard for dignity, integrity, justice. The martyrs are 'de blanc decorez' (v, 444). Justice is clad in white, and in the *Cartel* the knight in white armour

Apparoist iuste et magnanime et franc. (III, 502)

A similar symbolism is largely employed by the French poets of the fifteenth century. All this is in the biblical and liturgical and general European tradition. In the ecclesiastical tradition the transfigured Christ, the angels and innocents are arrayed in white, in the chivalrous tradition the new knight must put on a white robe after the ceremonial bath of the vigil.

Blue is very rarely used by Ronsard in symbolic fashion, but it is for him after white the most 'spiritual' colour associated almost always with heavenly things. So of the knight in blue armour we learn that blue

est signe certain aux yeux  
Que son esprit est fauory des Cieux (III, 502)

More interesting is the symbolism of the following phrase.

vostre esprit et vos yeux  
Ont pour couleur le bel azur des Cieux (IV, 75)

The conception of the 'esprit bleu' has a curiously symbolist ring.

Red for Ronsard is associated with pain and suffering. More rarely it becomes the symbol of mourning. As a result of grief

Toute belle fleur blanche a pris rouge couleur. (IV, 34)

An interesting feature of his colour symbolism is his persistent association of yellow with mourning and grief, and particularly with the sorrows of love. The particular shade of yellow concerned seems to be that of the marigold or orange. So he addresses the marigold

Soit que ma Dame autrefois m'ait donnée  
Ta couleur iaune, ou que l'ame inclinée  
A voir, sentir et contempler ta fleur,

Tu est tout iaune, et tout iaune ie suis  
Pour trop d'amour qu'effacer ie ne puis. (V, 99, 100)

<sup>1</sup> Brodeau, *Blason des Couleurs* (Bib Nat MS fr 2335, f 103 v)

<sup>2</sup> MS fr 24315, f 1

<sup>3</sup> J. Bouchet, *Labyrinthe de Fortune*, 'Comme Sugestion conduit au labyrinthe de Fortune

les mondains, en quelle manière ilz y vont et quelles couleurs ilz portent', 150, Portiers, 1522. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr K. Chesney for this reference and for the references to Brodeau and the 'Colleurs deschiffrés'.

He does not hesitate to join black and orange together as colours of mourning

Sinon du noir, sinon de l'orangé,  
Tristes tesmoins de ma longue souffrance (I, 104)

A similar association occurs in Charles d'Orléans,<sup>1</sup> for whom *tanné* is the colour of 'desplaisance' and in the *Blason des Couleurs* where *tanné* symbolizes *desesperon*. In the 'Couleurs deschiffrées' *jaune doré* is the colour of despair.

Clearly Ronsard is following a poetic tradition, but the association is nevertheless a puzzling one, it has never, like the symbolic values he gives to black, white, blue and green, become part of the stuff and fabric of the European tradition. It is true, of course, that yellow in the Middle Ages was not without sinister associations. A yellow *san benito* was worn by the condemned heretic at his *auto-da-fé*. Yellow was the distinctive badge of Jews, slaves and bankrupts. And from earliest times jaundice has been associated with melancholy and depression. So in the *Roman de la Rose*:

Bien paroit a sa color  
Qu'ele [Tristesse] avoit au cuer grant dolor  
Et sembloit avoir la jaunisse (v, 295)

Some association of a similar type seems to be in Ronsard's mind when he writes of the sorrows of spring

Il deunt en jaunisse, et d'une obscure nue  
La face se voila pour n'estre plus cognue (I, 256)

But this is hardly to be reconciled with the stress on the grief symbolism of the bright colour of marigold and orange and, in the fifteenth-century poets, of *tanné*. It seems probable that some other association is at work. The only similar association which I have been able to discover belongs to the liturgical tradition where orange-coloured candles can be used for requiem masses. Possibly the popular use of orange and black decorations for Hallowe'en celebrations are an echo of some remote association of this colour with mourning for the departed. There appear to be only two exceptions in Ronsard's work to these melancholy associations, but they are flagrant, for yellow appears as the colour symbolizing success in love (III, 494, 502).

The free use made by Ronsard of colour symbolism is perhaps specially interesting in that it serves to underline more fully his debt to his predecessors among the French poets. Such symbolism belongs essentially to the medieval Christian tradition and represents a habit of mind quite alien to the Latin elegiac poets whom he loved and imitated. A detailed survey of Tibullus and Catullus reveals only one example, Tibullus' *hora nigra*. It is rare, too, among the Italian Renaissance poets, who are concerned much more with pictorial description.

The other poets of the Pléiade are all far more sparing of their use of colour symbolism. Neither do any of them reveal in their poems that vivid consciousness of the colourful beauty of the material world which gives a special characteristic radiance to Ronsard's work. Amadis Jamyn and Jodelle do indeed appreciate colour, but it appears far less frequently in their work than in Ronsard. Du Bellay uses colour very sparingly, even in the *Olve* sequence where Petrarchian influence is strongest. Indeed, a comparison between the *Olve* and the Cassandra sonnets throws an interesting light on the actual workings of the Pléiade doctrine of imitation. Du Bellay, deeply influenced by the Italians, draws largely on the

<sup>1</sup> Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, ed. Champion, p. 312

imagery used by the Petrarchists to convey emotional experience (metaphors of burning, freezing, ships, tempests, rivers brimming with tears), but makes only occasional use of those Petrarchian images which are concerned with the lady's beauty. Ronsard, profoundly sensitive to material beauty, takes over, in addition to 'feeling' metaphors, a rich harvest of visual imagery, metaphors from precious stones, gold, ivory, the art of the embroiderer and the enamel worker and, above all, flowers, takes them over because for him they possess that quality of shining inevitability which is the mark of good imagery whether it is used for the first or the thousandth time, and because they express therefore in a completely satisfactory manner his own poetic vision. That this is indeed so can be seen in the frequency of this type of imagery in his verse, in the freshness of new combinations, and above all in Ronsard's capacity to transmit to the reader a rich sensuous impact, not merely a colour but the poet's vivid experience of colour.

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## PROUST, BERGSON, AND GEORGE ELIOT

The primary purpose of this essay is to trace a hitherto unnoticed strain of inspiration in Proust's conception and literary treatment of the affective or involuntary memory<sup>1</sup> and its mode of operation in *A la recherche du temps perdu*. As I hope to show, there are resemblances too striking to be ignored between characteristic and central passages in Proust and passages equally characteristic and central in the English novelist and novel that he knew and liked best—George Eliot and *The Mill on the Floss*.<sup>2</sup> But the name of Bergson has come to be so persistently associated with the organic principle of Proust's work that, to avoid confusion, it will be well at the outset to consider briefly the scope and nature of their relationship.

The influence of Bergson has become an axiom in Proust criticism, and it is no part of the present argument to question its existence. The ideas commonly identified with Bergson's philosophy were very much in the intellectual air during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth. Proust's student days coincided with the first shock and challenge of Bergson's thought, he came, we know, within the philosopher's personal radius,<sup>3</sup> it is clear from his correspondence that they were on friendly terms.<sup>4</sup> And quite apart from such direct contact, in Paris during the nineties a young and sensitive mind could hardly escape the stimulus of this new and exciting analysis of the processes of experience, an analysis of a kind to which he was by nature susceptible. But it would be rash, as his critics seem disposed to do, to confine the explanation of a similar or related train of thought in the younger man's work to the specific influence of the older.<sup>5</sup> In examining a mind as subtle and an art as complex as Proust's, it is particularly easy to fall into the *post hoc, propter hoc* argument; and particularly desirable to test it. The evidence for a clear teacher-pupil relationship is in fact confused and even conflicting. It is significant, though not of course conclusive, that as late as 1921, when Proust's work was practically completed, a reference by Jacques Boulenger to his 'esthétique bergsonienne' called forth the reply: 'J'ignore entièrement les vues bergsoniennes sur l'art dont vous parlez. Quand je serai en état de lire je chercherai dans tous ses livres.'<sup>6</sup> Both the categorical profession of ignorance and the phrasing of the second sentence hardly suggest a close familiarity with Bergson's writings,<sup>7</sup> but, however much, on balance of other evidence, we may be inclined to count or discount Proust's first-hand knowledge of Bergson's thought,

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to draw an absolute distinction between the two types. Miss de Souza says very sensibly 'Tandis qu'en général, les voies de la mémoire affective n'ont rien de très mystérieux, c'est le propre du souvenir involontaire de sortir spontanément du passé pour revenir à la conscience. A coup sûr, certaines manifestations de la mémoire affective chez Proust apparaissent comme des approximations du souvenir involontaire' (*La Philosophie de Marcel Proust*, p. 44). Cf. also Blondel, *La Psychographie de Monsieur Proust*.

<sup>2</sup> E. Jaloux has already noted the existence of George Eliot's influence on Proust, and sketches briefly that of *Middlemarch*, cf. *Homages to Marcel Proust*, pp. 157-8.

<sup>3</sup> Bergson married Proust's second cousin on his mother's side.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Corr. gén.* III, 82. M. Pierre-Quint produces no evidence in support of his rather cryptic statement 'C'est à la Sorbonne qu'il devait connaître ce philosophe Bergson' (*Marcel Proust*, p. 33).

<sup>5</sup> The question of Bergson's influence on Proust has been dealt with by S. de Souza, *La Philosophie de Marcel Proust*, pp. 49-61.

<sup>6</sup> *Corr. gén.* III, 236.

<sup>7</sup> For our purpose, *Les Données immédiates de la conscience*, 1889, *Matière et mémoire*, 1896, *Le Rire*, 1900.

the point of real importance is that, although the fundamental similarities between these two are striking, the fundamental differences are equally so.

The virtual identity of their conception of time is beyond question 'La durée toute pure est la forme que prend la succession de nos états de conscience quand notre moi se laisse vivre, quand il s'abstient d'établir une séparation entre l'état présent et les états antérieurs'<sup>1</sup> So runs Bergson's formula, and it contains not only the premisses of much of his philosophy but also those that are at the root of *Le temps perdu*. Yet even on this cardinal point Proust's indebtedness is not fully proven—whether he found his formula in Bergson or whether, as his brother tells us, he owed his conception of time to Darlu, his philosophy master at the Lycée Condorcet<sup>2</sup> It is just possible that the resemblance is fortuitous, that neither at first nor even at second hand was Proust's time-formula derived from Bergson<sup>3</sup>

Equally central and equally similar are their conceptions of art. Like Proust, Bergson insists that its function is to reveal 'le réel' 'l'art n'est sûrement qu'une vision plus directe de la réalité'<sup>4</sup> For him the artist is the exceptional being who has a direct vision of reality, where mankind in general sees it through a veil. So far the two are apparently in agreement, the broad likeness between them has been thus summed up by Benjamin Crémieux:

Bergson a certainement aidé Proust à s'orienter décisivement et c'est le langage bergsonien qui rendra le mieux compte de son genre de mémoire: ce n'est pas le cours du temps, c'est le cours de la durée que remonte Proust et ce qu'il veut restituer, ranimer, ce n'est pas le déroulement spatialisé de ce qui a été, c'est le réel lui-même, l'intuition la plus intégrale possible du réel abol.<sup>5</sup>

Crémieux's conclusion is echoed more faintly by Miss de Souza: 'Il se pourrait, cependant, que ce soit Bergson qui a aidé Proust à orienter ses recherches littéraires du côté de son passé.'<sup>6</sup> But when this often-noted resemblance was pointed out to Proust, he was, rightly, careful to qualify it, and his qualification clarifies the nature of the Bergson-Proust equation. The divergence, as he saw, has its roots not in their attitude to time but in their conception of memory.

Proust's most categorical statement on this point occurs as early as 1913, in the now famous interview by Élie Bois for *Le Temps*:

A ce point de vue mon livre serait peut-être comme un essai d'une suite de 'romans de l'inconscient' je n'aurais aucune honte à dire de 'romans bergsoniens', si je le croyais, car à toute époque il arrive que la littérature a tâché de se rattacher à la philosophie régnante. Mais ce ne serait pas exact, car mon œuvre est dominée par la distinction entre la mémoire involontaire et la mémoire volontaire, distinction qui non seulement ne figure pas dans la philosophie de M. Bergson, mais est même contredite par elle.<sup>7</sup>

Yet, it will be noted, even as he insists that the difference in their thought is fundamental and profound, Proust uses Bergson's terminology to distinguish the two types of memory. The accuracy of his interpretation of Bergson's teaching will be considered in a moment, meantime it is important to see where, in Proust's own artistic experience, his conception of memory leads.

Pour moi, la mémoire volontaire, qui est surtout une mémoire de l'intelligence et des yeux, ne nous donne du passé que des faces sans vérité, mais qu'une odeur, une

<sup>1</sup> *Données immédiates*, p. 76

<sup>2</sup> *Hommages à Marcel Proust*, p. 25. But even Dr Proust suggests a subsequent Bergson influence: 'cette influence de Darlu fut certainement sur lui considérable, comme...ultérieurement celle de Bergson.'

<sup>3</sup> It is true that the references to Bergson in

*Sodome et Gomorrhe*, II, III, 37-8, suggest an acquaintance with the Bergsonian 'durée'.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Rire*, p. 161

<sup>5</sup> *Hommages*, p. 191

<sup>6</sup> Souza, *op. cit.* p. 51

<sup>7</sup> *Le Temps*, Nov. 1913, quoted by Miss de Souza, pp. 55-6, cf. also Vial, 'Le Symbolisme bergsonien dans l'œuvre de Proust', *P. M. L. A.* vol. LV.

savoir retrouvées, dans des circonstances toutes différentes, réveillent en nous, malgré nous, le passé, nous sentons combien ce passé était différent de ce que nous croyions nous rappeler, et que notre mémoire volontaire peignait, comme les mauvais peintres, avec des couleurs sans vérité. Voyez-vous, ce n'est guère qu'aux souvenirs involontaires que l'artiste devait demander la matière première de son œuvre.<sup>1</sup>

A letter to René Blum, written in the same year, 1913, reveals how Proust's mind was dwelling on the difference in value that Bergson and he attached to the two kinds of memory. In terms almost identical with those recorded by M. Bois, he expresses his passionate recognition of the secret and hidden springs from which flowed all that was truest in his own painting of life.

C'est un livre extrêmement réel mais supporté en quelque sorte pour imiter la mémoire involontaire (ce qui selon moi, bien que Bergson ne fasse pas cette distinction, est la seule vraie) la mémoire volontaire, la mémoire de l'intelligence et des yeux ne nous rendant du passé que des facsimilés inexacts qui ne lui ressemblent pas plus que les tableaux des mauvais peintres ne ressemblent au printemps.<sup>2</sup>

Six years later, in a letter to M. Camille Vettard, Proust's conviction that a peculiar vision of the past was 'the master light of all his seeing' has lost nothing in fervour, and he finds a still more precise image for its mode of operation.

Ce que je voudrais que l'on vît dans mon livre, c'est qu'il est sorti tout entier de l'application d'un sens spécial qu'il m'est bien difficile de décrire à ceux qui ne l'ont jamais exercé. L'image (très imparfaite) qui me paraît la meilleure pour faire comprendre ce qu'est ce sens spécial c'est peut-être celle d'un télescope qui serait braqué sur le temps, car le télescope fait apparaître des étoiles qui sont invisibles à l'œil nu, et j'ai tâché de faire apparaître à la conscience des phénomènes inconscients qui, complètement oubliés, sont quelquefois situés très loin dans le passé.

So far he is intent on his own experience, then the old association recurs in a sentence that Miss de Souza interprets as a recognition of Bergson's influence upon him.

C'est peut-être, à la réflexion, ce sens spécial qui m'a fait quelquefois rencontrer—*puisque l'on le dit*—Bergson, car il n'y a pas eu, pour autant que je peux me rendre compte, suggestion directe.<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to read much personal sense of affiliation into that sceptical 'puisque l'on le dit', the whole sentence is a more balanced willingness to admit an intellectual affinity with Bergson than the earlier categorical denials, but it is not much more.

When his statements are considered more closely, the rightness of Proust's instinctive recoil from any identification of his views with Bergson's becomes apparent. It is, of course, not true that Bergson denies the existence of 'la mémoire involontaire', or that he fails to distinguish it from that other, and to Proust, inferior kind of memory, 'la mémoire de l'intelligence et des yeux, (qui) ne nous donne du passé que des faces sans vérité'.<sup>4</sup> The fundamental opposition between them of which Proust is conscious springs from the curiously utilitarian attitude revealed in *Matière et mémoire*. Bergson sees action, if not as the sole end, at least as an inevitable function of human existence. 'Vivre c'est agir'. C'est n'accepter des objets que l'impression utile.<sup>5</sup> The right use of memory is an indispensable process in satisfactory human conduct, the man of action consults his memory

<sup>1</sup> *Le Temps*, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> L. Pierre-Quint, *Lettres de Marcel Proust*, p. 60. For the comparison with the 'mauvais peintres', cf. *Guermites*, I, 11, quoted from memory in this letter.

<sup>3</sup> *Corr. gén.* III, 194-5, quoted by Miss de Souza, op. cit. pp. 55 and 134.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Souza, op. cit. pp. 56 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Rire*, pp. 154-5.

*consciously* and voluntarily before acting, selecting precisely those memories that have a direct bearing on a particular situation

Ce qui caractérise l'homme d'action c'est la promptitude avec laquelle il appelle au secours d'une situation donnée tous les souvenirs qui s'y rapportent, mais c'est aussi la barrière insurmontable que rencontrent chez lui, en se présentant au seul de la conscience, les souvenirs inutiles ou indifférents <sup>1</sup>

Again, in the same strain, he writes

Vivre dans le présent tout pur est le propre d'un animal inférieur. Mais celui-là n'est guère mieux adapté à l'action qui vit dans le passé pour le plaisir d'y vivre et chez qui les souvenirs émergent à la lumière de la conscience sans profit pour la situation actuelle <sup>2</sup>

In Bergson's view, then, the secret of right action lies in the conscious invoking of memory as a guide, in the skill and resolution with which man learns to oppose 'une barrière insurmontable' against the rush into his active consciousness of the flood of 'souvenirs inutiles ou indifférents'. As a natural corollary to this selective process and principle, which should and does govern human action, he sees the manifestation of involuntary memory as a characteristic accompaniment of sleep and 'la vie de rêve'—and so describes it in a sentence that comes very close to Proust's technique in the opening chapter of *Swann* 'des souvenirs qu'on croyait abolis reparassent alors avec une exactitude frappante, nous revivons dans tous leurs détails des scènes d'enfance entièrement oubliées' <sup>3</sup>

This is, indeed, to recognize the existence of the involuntary memory, of that there can be no question. Yet Proust was right in maintaining that Bergson makes no real distinction, in his sense, between the two kinds of memory, and that his whole philosophy is opposed to a distinction that was of the first importance in Proust's experience and on which all his work as a creative artist is based. To Bergson, intent on the nature of human action, on the functioning of consciousness in the 'active man', the processes of involuntary memory are irrelevant or dangerous. In mentioning them his tone is one of indifference, or deprecation, or even censure; they are an aberration from the normal and proper function of the memory, a hindrance to right action, a pathological symptom or a concomitant of sleep. He gives little sign of recognizing their subtle, incalculable power in the strange dynamic of the individual consciousness, and none at all of seeing in them what Proust saw, the 'matière première' of the artist.

At this point it becomes illuminating to transfer Bergson's insistence on voluntary memory from the field of action to that of art,<sup>4</sup> where it would seem to lead to the *reductio ad absurdum* that the true aesthetic technique—diametrically opposed to that of Proust—would work by the conscious remembering, selection and reproduction of the fleeting sensory impression, visual or auditory. It is the technique of Kipling, who puts it into a characteristically neat and uncompromising formula.

Even now I can at will recall every tone and gesture, with each dissolving picture inboard or overside—Hinchcliffe's white arm buried to the shoulder in a hornet's nest of spinning machinery; Moorshed's halt and jerk to windward as he looked across the water.<sup>5</sup>

This is not the recapturing of 'le temps perdu', and certainly not the recreating of 'le réel abol', it is a masterly selection from the *disjecta membra* of sensory

<sup>1</sup> *Matrène et mémoire*, p. 166

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 161

<sup>4</sup> It is, of course, not suggested that Bergson does so.

<sup>5</sup> 'Their lawful occasions', *Traffics and Discoveries*, p. 130

impressions noted in an aesthetic idiom that is almost too faithful an interpretation of Horace's 'ut pictura poesis'

Proust would certainly have condemned such a technique as giving a false and misleading evocation of the past

Pour moi, la mémoire volontaire, qui est surtout une mémoire de l'intelligence et des yeux, ne nous donne du passé que des faces sans vérité ne rendant du passé que des facsimilés mexacts qui ne lui ressemblent pas plus que les tableaux des mauvais peintres ne ressemblent au printemps

He would have found the resulting work of art, in Carlyle's favourite word, a 'simulacrum' and not the true embodiment and recreation of any living experience whatsoever. For to Proust, the vast storehouse of personal memories, lying dormant and wholly irrecoverable *at will*, yet starting into life and motion at the touch of the unforeseeable, uncontrollable stimulus, gave substance and texture, as it were, and shape and continuity to the whole consciousness of the individual, and through that consciousness to the world of space and time and humanity of which it is a part, and which exists for each of us only in our awareness of it. For him, for the artist, he held, the clue to some pattern in the chaos of that awareness lay in the unforced, *unwilled* awakening, by some sensory stimulus, of 'forgotten' memories of past experiences, 'en nous, malgré nous'. These memories were the artist's 'matière première', that state of receptivity, without effort of conscious will, without interference of what Wordsworth called 'the meddling intellect', was the essential preliminary to the work of creation. If this were Proust's own experience—and there can be no doubt that it was—it is small wonder that he recoiled from the facile identification of his conceptions with those of Bergson. From all his pronouncements, slight as they are, it is clear that we must accept as significant the emphasis with which he deprecates the suggestion that the paths of their thought converge as a result of direct influence or conscious emulation. Bergson's philosophy of action in the present must have been profoundly repugnant and painful to one whose life had been anchored by circumstance in the past, one for whom the future could hold no meaning more certain and no inducement more insistent than the prospect of his own mortality.

On any reading of the thought of these two men it is important to remember the distinguishing fact that in Proust's work we have the application of what are primarily metaphysical concepts to the activity of the artist, to the creation of literature. This shift of 'order' bears out the possibility, even the likelihood, of a more immediate and sympathetic suggestion in the literature of imagination. It was there for Proust to find in the work of George Eliot.

He was early an admirer of her novels, two of which especially made a deep impression on his mind in their very different ways. *Middlemarch* is mentioned twice in his letters to Mlle Nordlinger<sup>1</sup>—the first time as early as 1899, elsewhere he quotes extensively from it.<sup>2</sup> But he tells us himself that *The Mill on the Floss* stirred him more profoundly still. 'Il n'y a pas de littérature qui ait sur moi un pouvoir comparable à la littérature anglaise... deux pages du *Moulin sur la Floss* me font pleurer'.<sup>3</sup> Thus he wrote in 1910, giving us definite evidence that George Eliot was much in his mind during the first decade of this century, the very years when his great work was maturing and taking shape. It would therefore not be

<sup>1</sup> *Lettres à une amie*, pp. 5 and 50.

<sup>2</sup> And from *Adam Bede* and *Scenes from Clerical Life* as well: *P et M*, pp. 105-6.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to R. de Billy, 1910, in *Hommages*,

p. 38. Cf. also M. Proust to Lucien Daudet, circa 1916: '[le] livre qui j'ai le plus aimé le *Moulin sur la Floss*'.

surprising if some impress of her were to be found in *A la recherche du temps perdu*, and in *The Mill on the Floss* Proust can hardly have missed a poetic statement of the functioning of the involuntary, the 'affective' memory that has much in common with his own. There, not once but several times, she dwells on the unsought reawakening, not the conscious remembering, of the experiences of childhood, when the distant past, in all and more than all its early significance, floods into the present at the touch or sight of some object with which, it may be unconsciously, that past was linked. As to Proust, so in some degree to George Eliot, that state seemed to hold meaning, to unite and illumine the swift, chaotic stream of personal consciousness.

This experience is explicitly described in three passages especially of *The Mill on the Floss*, and these will serve to show how striking is their counterpart in Proust. The first is the opening chapter, which, it will be remembered, contains a picture of the Floss and Dorlcote Mill as they appeared on the February afternoon on which the story begins, described as if they were even then present before the watching narrator. As the beloved scene of her own childhood is thus brought beautifully into the service of George Eliot's artistic purpose and method, some interesting points emerge. Memory gives both the 'matière première' of her novel and its technique, and further, her 'memory' is, as she describes its operation, Proust's 'mémoire involontaire'. For she has not tried to remember the past by an effort of conscious will or by a process of selection, it has returned unbidden, released by an unsought, unexpected stimulus. As the afternoon closes in, it is time for the little girl in the watcher's vision to go indoors.

It is time, too, for me to leave off resting my arms on the cold stone of this bridge. Ah, my arms are really benumbed. I have been pressing my elbows on the arms of my chair, and dreaming that I was standing on the bridge in front of Dorlcote Mill as it looked one February afternoon many years ago.<sup>1</sup>

It is obvious that there is a marked resemblance between this introduction and the much more fully developed one in the first book of *Swann*, here, too, is the 'livre supporté pour imiter la mémoire involontaire' of Proust's letter to René Blum. Here, in George Eliot as in Proust, the physical sensation (the numbness of the down-pressed arms), with its at first imperfectly recognized stimulus (the arm of the chair = the parapet of the bridge), releases in a living and present flux an uncontrollable train of images from the experience of long ago. So Proust describes a similar half-waking, half-sleeping state:

Mon côté ankylose, cherchant à deviner son orientation, s'imaginait, par exemple, allongé face au mur dans un grand lit à baldaquin et aussitôt je me disais 'Tiens, j'ai fini par m'endormir quoique inaman ne soit pas venue me dire bonsoir' et mon corps, le côté sur lequel je reposais, gardiens fidèles d'un passé que mon esprit n'aurait jamais dû oublier, me rappelaient la flamme de la veilleuse de verre de Bohême dans ma chambre à coucher de Combray, chez mes grands-parents, en des jours lointains qu'en ce moment je me figurais actuels'.<sup>2</sup>

Benumbed arms and 'côté ankylosé', the particular, present cause in accustomed chair and equally accustomed bed, the swift, unconscious substitution from the 'past'—the parapet of the bridge over the Floss and the 'grand lit à baldaquin' in Combray—the involuntary switch-over into a stretch of previously lived experience. the parallel is exact.

Both Proust and George Eliot are seeking to fix and describe a kind of waking dream, and, though the details and the sequence of stages in the process differ,

<sup>1</sup> *The Mill on the Floss*, Book I, Chapter I.

<sup>2</sup> *Swann*, I, 12.

the experience is essentially the same. Her statement of it, superficially simple but cunningly proportioned and ordered, is beautiful and impressive, but Proust's description in the first fourteen pages of *Swann*, incomparably the richer, subtler, more complex of the two, repays the closer consideration. It will be remembered that he is analysing the awakening from sleep, the sleep of the invalid, in the darkness of night, and the surge of memories that restore the outline of the all too familiar bedroom and the awareness of his normal existence. All through his account there is the explicit, insistent recognition that these instantaneously relived experiences are different in essence from the life of active consciousness, present or past, immediate or voluntarily recalled. 'Un homme qui dort, tient en cercle autour de lui le fil des heures, l'ordre des années et des mondes'. But in the instant of waking 'leurs rangs peuvent se mêler, se rompre', the sleeper awakes to a state of 'néant', 'les mondes désorbités', his mind hesitating 'au seuil des temps et des formes'. From this void, 'le souvenir', in Proust's phrase, 'comme un secours d'en haut', restores the mind to consciousness of its place in time and space, vast stretches of racial and personal experience are traversed with the swiftness of dream, until the magic carpet settles in one point of space, one moment of time, and the sleeper is his 'present' self again, brought back to his accustomed surroundings and the conditions of normal existence. But the spell of this other mode of being is not yet wholly broken. The awaking is followed by 'longues rêveries'—Bergson's half-contemptuous 'vie de rêve'—in which the purely personal memories evoked in those swift moments of transition, memories of other awakenings in other beds and scenes and times, persist and reshape themselves with a life, a depth and tempo of their own. On Proust's concluding paragraph rests the vast edifice of his book.

Certes, j'étais bien éveillé maintenant, mon corps avait viré une dernière fois et le bon ange de la certitude avait tout arrêté autour de moi, m'avait couché sous mes couvertures, dans ma chambre, et avait mis approximativement à leur place dans l'obscurité ma commode, mon bureau, ma cheminée, la fenêtre sur la rue et les deux portes. Mais j'avais beau savoir que je n'étais pas dans les demeures dont l'ignorance du réveil m'avait en un instant sinon présenté l'image distincte, du moins fait croire la présence possible, le branle était donné à ma mémoire, généralement je ne cherchais pas à me rendormir tout de suite, je passais la plus grande partie de la nuit à me rappeler notre vie d'autrefois, à Combray chez ma grand'tante, à Balbec, à Paris, à Danciers, à Venise, ailleurs encore, à me rappeler les lieux, les personnes que j'y avais connues, ce que j'avais vu d'elles, ce qu'on m'en avait raconté.<sup>1</sup>

The subtle pattern, the labyrinthine interweavings of Proust's analysis in those early pages have beauty and value in their own right, but their peculiar importance is the disclosure of his inspiration and his technique as an artist. In those involuntary memories, which he has 'isolated' as a symptom of his awakenings from sleep, he found the 'matière première' of his picture and interpretation of life, 'recollected in tranquillity' during the long hours of reverie, they nourished his imagination and inspired him to the work of creation. Neither Proust in his enormous, complicated tapestry, nor George Eliot in her work of smaller compass and more direct design, nor any of their readers, could tell where involuntary memory is charged and strengthened with memory of another sort, deliberately sought and selected, and both become transformed in the immense energy of creative art. In the first pages of Proust's narrative, he passes insensibly from his starting-point, the 'involuntary' image of his Combray bedroom, to the delicate reconstruction of the family group discussing whether, on a rainy day, he should

<sup>1</sup> *Swann*, I, 14

be sent to read in his room or allowed to stay out of doors, and thence, by an imperceptible transition, to the unforgettable picture of his defeated grandmother, walking quickly along the paths of the empty garden, 'de son petit pas enthousiaste et saccadé', her grey locks tossed back to let the wind and rain beat on her brow—an eternal symbol of the free human spirit at one with the elements and in revolt against the imprisoning safety of cautious human kind. So, too, George Eliot, having 'lived' again the scene she knew so well, and described it with all the conscious power at her command, sweeps boldly on into a realm of imagination where dream and creation are one 'I was going to tell you what Mr and Mrs Tulliver were talking about, as they sat by the bright fire in the left-hand parlour, on that very afternoon I have been dreaming of', and from there the strange alchemy proceeds until Tom and Maggie Tulliver die together in the flooded waters of the Floss.

Close as the parallel is, with all the differences of experience and notation between them, it is not likely that Proust consciously imitated and developed George Eliot's beautiful revelation of her inspiration and technique. But it is much less likely, indeed it is hardly possible, that he failed to perceive the deep affinity between his own habit of mind and creative method and those which, though they are present in some of her other novels, give a distinctive, a poetic quality to *The Mill on the Floss*. Two passages elsewhere in the book serve to emphasize the peculiar correspondence between the English novelist and the French. The first of these, in an idiom that closely recalls that of Proust, occurs in Chapter v, where George Eliot is describing one of many happy mornings when the two children, content with each other and their pastimes in the only scenes they know, have 'no thought that life would ever change much for them'.

Life did change for Tom and Maggie, and yet they were not wrong in believing that the thoughts and loves of these first years would always make part of their lives. The wood I walk in on this mild May day, with the young yellow-brown foliage of the oaks between me and the blue sky, the white star-flowers and the blue-eyed speedwell and the ground ivy at my feet—what grove of tropic palms, what strange ferns or splendid broad-petalled blossoms, could ever thrill such deep and delicate fibres within me as this home-scene? These familiar flowers, these well-remembered bird-notes, this sky, with its fitful brightness, these furrowed and grassy fields, each with a sort of personality given to it by the capricious hedgerows—such things as these are the mother tongue of our imagination, the language that is laden with all the subtle inextricable associations the fleeting hours of our childhood left behind them. *Our delight in the sunshine on the deep-bladed grass to-day, might be no more than the faint perception of wearied souls, if it were not for the sunshine and the grass in the far-off years which still live in us, and transform our perception into love*<sup>1</sup>

In this comment and in the passage of narrative that inspires it, is the clear recognition of the past that lives in the present, or, rather, of their continuity, the time-continuum, 'la durée toute pure' of Bergson's formula. And this is not stated as a metaphysical concept, a scientific abstraction, but evoked as a felt, familiar experience. The shift from Tom and Maggie to the confession of the narrator intensifies here the resemblance to Proust and the personal mode of narration in *Swann*, and in the passage to be quoted next, where she again develops her theme of the 'unconscious intercourse', in Wordsworth's phrase, between the sensitive child and his earliest surroundings, this strong general resemblance is suddenly and sharply defined by the mention of the particular object in George Eliot's

<sup>1</sup> *The Mill on the Floss*, Book I, Chapter v.



experience that acts as the unexpected, affective stimulus, 'the elderberry bush that stirs an early memory'

There is no sense of ease like the ease we felt in those scenes where we were born, where objects became dear to us before we had known the labour of choice, and where the outer world seemed only an extension of our own personality, we accepted and loved it as we accepted our own sense of existence and our own limbs. Very commonplace, even ugly, that furniture of our early home might look if it were put up to auction, an improved taste in upholstery scorns it, and is not the striving after something better and better in our surroundings the grand characteristic that distinguishes man from the brute? But heaven knows where that striving might lead us, if our affections had not a trick of twining round those old inferior things—*if the loves and sanctities of our life had no deep immovable roots in memory*. One's delight in an elderberry bush overhanging the confused leafage of a hedgerow bank, as a more gladdening sight than the finest cistus or fuchsia spreading itself on the softest undulating turf, is an entirely unjustifiable preference to a nursery-gardener, or to any of those severely regulated minds who are free from the weakness of any attachment that does not rest on a demonstrable superiority of qualities. And there is no better reason for preferring this elderberry bush than that *it stirs an early memory*—that it is no novelty in my life, speaking to me merely through my present sensibilities to form and colour, but *the long companion of my existence, that wove itself into my joys when joys were vivid*.<sup>1</sup>

It would be superfluous to labour the similarity of thought and even of language in these two passages to Proust's infinitely more sustained, more subtly analytical, and surely more richly poetic development of his thesis all through *Du côté de chez Swann*. It is apparent everywhere, emerging strong and inescapable in the incident of the 'petite madeleine',<sup>2</sup> in the passage dealing with the 'aubépine'.<sup>3</sup>—Proust's 'elderberry-bush'—and, with a still more precise correspondence in detail, in the following less quoted sentences at the end of Part I of the first volume

Les fleurs qui jouaient alors sur l'herbe, l'eau qui passait au soleil, tout le paysage qui environna leur apparition *continué à accompagner leur souvenir de son visage inconscient ou distrayant*, et certes quand ils étaient longuement contemplés par cet humble passant, par cet enfant qui rêvait, ce coin de nature, ce bout de jardin n'eussent pu penser que ce serait grâce à lui qu'ils seraient appelés à *survivre en leurs particularités les plus éphémères*, et pourtant ce parfum d'aubépine qui butine le long de la haie où les églantiers le remplaceront bientôt, un bruit de pas sans écho sur le gravier d'une allée, une bulle formée contre une plante aquatique par l'eau de la rivière et qui crève aussitôt, mon exaltation les a portés et a réussi à *leur faire traverser tant d'années successives*. C'est surtout comme à des gisements profonds de mon sol mental, comme aux terrains résistants sur lesquels je m'appuie encore, que je dois penser au côté de Méséglise et au côté de Guermantes. C'est parce que je croyais aux choses, aux êtres, tandis que je les parcourais, que les choses, les êtres qu'ils m'ont fait connaître, sont *les seuls que je prenne encore au sérieux et qui me donnent encore de la joie*. Soit que la foi qui crée soit tarie en moi, soit que la réalité ne se forme que dans la mémoire, les fleurs qu'on me montre aujourd'hui pour la première fois ne me semblent pas de vraies fleurs. Le côté de Méséglise avec ses lilas, ses aubépines, ses bleuets, ses coquelicots, ses pommiers, le côté de Guermantes avec sa rivière à têtards, ses nymphéas et ses boutons d'or, ont constitué à tout jamais pour moi la figure des pays où j'aimerais vivre. et les bleuets, les aubépines, les pommiers qu'il m'arrive quand je voyage de rencontrer encore dans les champs, parce qu'ils sont situés à la même profondeur, au niveau de mon passé, sont immédiatement en communication avec mon cœur.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever we are disposed to make of it, the resemblance is startlingly close, both in the objects noted and in the train of thought. 'The sunshine and the grass in the far-off years which still live in us', the elderberry bush which 'stirs an early memory' and is 'the long companion of my existence', are exactly balanced by 'les fleurs qui jouaient alors sur l'herbe, l'eau qui passait au soleil, tout le paysage

<sup>1</sup> *The Mill on the Floss*, Book II, Chapter I.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* I, 106-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Swann*, I, 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* I, 170-1.

qui environna leur apparition continue à accompagner leur souvenir de son visage inconscient appelés à survivre en leurs particularités les plus éphémères` In its turn comes the idea of joy associated with these objects and memories 'the long companion of my existence, that wove itself into my joys when joys were vivid' has its echo in 'les choses, les êtres qu'ils m'ont fait connaître, sont les seuls que je prenne encore au sérieux et qui me donnent encore de la joie', and, just so, her delight in the familiar flowers—'the white star-flowers and the blue-eyed speedwell and the ground ivy' which are dearer far than any 'grove of tropic palms, strange ferns or splendid broad-petalled blossoms'—appears again in 'les fleurs qu'on me montre aujourd'hui pour la première fois ne me semblent pas de vraies fleurs Le côté de Méséglise avec ses lilas, ses aubépines le côté de Guermantes avec ses nymphéas et ses boutons d'or, ont constitué à tout jamais pour moi la figure des pays où j'aimerais vivre' And even that simple closing phrase—'les pays où j'aimerais vivre'—has its counterpart in *The Mill on the Floss*, where 'Tom thought people were at a disadvantage who lived on any other spot on the globe'<sup>1</sup>

All through the later volumes Proust is following, with intent, preoccupied gaze, the almost invisible threads that join the figures that move in his larger world to the unconsciously absorbed experience of a small boy in Combray, that is the clue provided by his own sensibility, giving form and pattern to all the chaos of sensation and feeling But though Proust does not forget, and indeed does not let us forget, this deep, ordered rhythm in the experience he describes, for long stretches the reader may lose sense and sight of it, unless his submission is complete to what may well prove to be the greatest single imaginative interpretation of life in the fiction of our time As we follow the tortuous social ramifications of his vast work, it is therefore a corrective at times to come back to these early chapters, with their clear and definite reminder that the roots of imagination in this most sophisticated of writers are in 'des phénomènes inconscients situés très loin dans le passé', and that chief among these phenomena are the simple sights and natural objects of the countryside of his childhood The way in which this experience operated in Proust's mind, its conjunction with other modes of apprehending his world, the validity of the resulting picture—all these are large questions that lie outside the present inquiry, the main purpose of which was to consider one probable and hitherto unregarded strain in his formation, the influence of George Eliot

When we remember the multiple accretions that go to make up Proust's mind and art, it is unlikely that the resemblances and echoes we have noted are wholly fortuitous, and George Eliot would seem to have her incalculable share in the making of *À la recherche du temps perdu* It would be to strain the evidence to be dogmatic about the connexion, or probable connexion, between her influence and that of Bergson, a suggestive passage in Pater perhaps comes near the truth His theme—that the abstract speculations of the old Ionian physicists reached Marius through Aristippus of Cyrene, who 'translated them into terms, first of all, of sentiment'—would seem, on the evidence, to indicate the natural operation of related ideas in minds so dissimilar as these three, Bergson, George Eliot, Proust

It has been sometimes seen, in the history of thought, that when thus translated into terms of sentiment the abstract ideas of metaphysics for the first time reveal their true significance The metaphysical principle, in itself, as it were, without hands and feet, becomes effective, impressive, fascinating, when translated into a precept as to how it were best to feel In the reception of metaphysical formulae, all depends,

<sup>1</sup> *The Mill on the Floss*, Book I, Chapter V

as regards their actual and ulterior effect, on the pre-existent qualities of that soil of human nature on which they fall—on the company they find already present there, on their admission into the house of thought.<sup>1</sup>

In Proust's experience George Eliot came out of her chronological order, succeeding his first contact with the new metaphysics, and, it would seem, helping to give the ideas that, directly or indirectly, he had derived from Bergson a different form and colouring in his mind. She is the Aristippus who translates the Bergsonian formulas of time and memory into terms of lyric sentiment for the young Marius, Proust. Awaiting him on the threshold of her novel that moved him most was the stimulus to reject what was alien and, to the artist in him, sterile in the Bergsonian metaphysic, the depreciation of the involuntary memory, there, too, was the positive impulse to turn his life of dream into the work of creation. But this would not have acted on him had his nature not chimed in unison with hers in precisely those primal experiences from which the vision, the poetic power of Proust's work derives—the habit of unforced, unwilling response to the memories that belong to the dawn of his awareness, memories that bound all his days together in a natural piety. Influence is a term too 'gross and palpable' for the subtle process by which Proust took and used the matter he found in art and thought—in Ruskin on Venice and Madame Léon Daudet on cookery, in Bergson, Baudelaire, Tolstoi, Dostoevsky, and countless others. Their action upon him is like the gentle corrosion of the etcher's acid, or, rather, the deposit of a fine patina on an object, attenuating and modifying its outline, giving it a new texture, a delicacy of tint and surface beyond the power of conscious human agency. For all their deep affinity in experiences at the root of their life and art, George Eliot's 'influence' may be no more than this, but surely it is no less. If Proust had never read *The Mill on the Floss*, *À la recherche du temps perdu* would be substantially what it is, but its evocation of the eternal memories of childhood would lack some touches of exquisite simplicity, some freshness of beauty and bloom.

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<sup>1</sup> *Marius the Epicurean*, I, 146.

# ON THE DATE AND IDEA OF FAUST'S FIRST MONOLOGUE IN 'FAUST II' vv. 4679-4727

Faust's monologue at the beginning of *Faust II* has often been admired as one of the most beautiful poetical descriptions of a sunrise and a rainbow in German literature. As is well known, it is written in *terze rime*, and this fact, together with the result of various scholars' *Quellenforschung*, is our only help in determining the date of the monologue, since the whole of the first scene exists only in the complete MS H.<sup>1</sup> Two widely different dates—1797-8 and 1826—have been suggested as the time when the monologue was written. It will be the main purpose of this analysis to support the later date by suggesting an additional argument, but first of all it may perhaps be best to sum up what evidence there exists for either date and what conclusions scholars have drawn from it.

Goethe's first interest in *terze rime* can be traced back to the beginning of 1798. In a letter to Schiller,<sup>2</sup> dated 'Weimar, am 21. Februar 1798', he writes

Sagen Sie mir doch Ihre Gedanken über die Versart, in welcher der Schlegelsche Prometheus geschrieben ist. Ich habe etwas vor, das mich reizt, Stanzen zu machen, weil sie aber gar zu obligat und gemessen periodisch sind, so habe ich an jenes Silbenmaß gedacht, es will mir aber bei näherer Ansicht nicht gefallen, weil es gar keine Ruhe hat, und man wegen der fortschreitenden Reime nirgends schließen kann.

The reference is to A. W. v. Schlegel's poem<sup>3</sup> 'Prometheus', which was written in *terze rime*. Schiller answered two days later, in a letter<sup>4</sup> dated 'Jena, den 23. Februar 1798'

Was Ihre Anfrage wegen des Silbenmaßes betrifft, so kommt freilich das meiste auf den Gegenstand an, wozu Sie es brauchen wollen. Im allgemeinen gefällt mir dieses Metrum auch nicht, es leiert gar zu einformig fort.

So much for Goethe's first interest in *terze rime*. That neither he nor Schiller was quite satisfied with Schlegel's poem is evident from two passages<sup>5</sup> in their correspondence during the previous year. From Goethe's remark in the letter quoted above it is reasonable to suppose—with Witkowski<sup>6</sup>—that he did not then compose Faust's monologue in a metre which he did not consider suitable for his purpose.<sup>7</sup> It has nevertheless been suggested that he wrote it soon after his third journey to Switzerland, which he undertook in 1797 (July to November). This view is based on Goethe's interest in the metre and on a passage in his *Gespräche*.<sup>8</sup> On 6 May 1827, Eckermann reports the following conversation with Goethe

Ich machte bemerklieh, daß es mir vorkomme, als ob die in Terzinen geschriebene prächtige Beschreibung des Sonnenaufganges in der ersten Szene vom zweiten Teile des Faust aus der Erinnerung jener Natureindrücke des Vierwaldstätter Sees entstanden.

<sup>1</sup> Otto Pinner, *Goethes Faust. Zeugnisse und Exurse zu seiner Entstehungsgeschichte*, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1899, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe*, 2 vols., Jena, Eugen Diederichs, 1905, II, 57.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. v. Schlegel's *Samtliche Werke*, ed. E. Böcking, Leipzig, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1846, I, 49-60.

<sup>4</sup> *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe*, II, 58.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. I, 404 (28 July 1797) and p. 453 (25 September 1797).

<sup>6</sup> *Goethes Faust. Herausgegeben von Georg Witkowski. Zweiter Band. Kommentar und Erläuterungen*, Leipzig, Hesse and Becker, 1924, p. 277.

<sup>7</sup> G. v. Loeper, in his edition of *Faust II. Zweite Bearbeitung*, Berlin, Hempel, 1879, p. xxv, suggests that Goethe may have the 'Zueignung' to *Faust I* in mind.

<sup>8</sup> *Goethes Gespräche. Gesamtausgabe. Neu herausgegeben von Flodoard Frhr. von Biedermann*, Leipzig, F. W. v. Biedermann, 1910, III, 393.

sein mochte — Ich will es nicht leugnen, sagte Goethe, daß diese Anschauungen dort herrühren, ja ich hatte ohne die frischen Eindrücke jener wundervollen Natur den Inhalt der Terzinen gar nicht denken können

Hermann Henkel was the first who, combining these two facts, suggested<sup>1</sup> February 1798 as the date of the composition of Faust's monologue, and he has been followed by Calvin Thomas<sup>2</sup> in his notes on that scene Duntzer<sup>3</sup> and Pniower,<sup>4</sup> while disagreeing with one another about the date, both believe that Eckermann is mistaken here This need not necessarily be so, because neither Eckermann nor Goethe affirms expressly that the scene was written soon after the journey to Switzerland What they are both saying is that the memory of the impressions received during the visit to the Lake of Lucerne was a most important contributory factor in the composition of the monologue.

There are other reasons for assuming a much later date Between 1824 and 1826 the poet and translator A F K Streckfuss (1779–1844) had published his translations of Dante's *Divina Commedia* in the metre of the original, i.e. in *terze rime*. Goethe was acquainted with these, as Zelter had sent him the first part of the translation already in February 1824 He mentions Streckfuss's works on several occasions<sup>5</sup> in complimentary terms, and studied them particularly in 1825 and 1826 While Dante's world did not appeal to him<sup>6</sup> because it deals only with life after death, the metre attracted him considerably, and Streckfuss's translation is now generally assumed to have been the direct source for the metrical form of the poem 'Bei Betrachtung von Schillers Schadel', which was written in September 1826 This renewed and (this time) sympathetic interest is important to remember in our consideration of the problem

A further factor that must be taken into account is the style of the monologue Pniower<sup>7</sup> is certainly right in saying that it is written in Goethe's *Altersstil* To his examples (*Farb' an Farbe, Schaum an Schaume, Hinaufgeschaut!, des bunten Bogens Wechseldauer*) there should be added *regst und ruhst* in v. 4684 (Goethe's predilection for the simple word in place of the compound becomes very marked again in his old age We would now say *erregst und ruhst auf*), and *in jugendlichstem Schleier* in v. 4714

We must now consider the monologue with regard to its underlying ideas and to its possible sources and influences Witkowski,<sup>8</sup> in his note on vv. 4702–3, quotes from a New Year's letter written by Goethe to Carus and d'Alton

Wenn ich das neueste Vorschreiten der Naturwissenschaften betrachte, so komm' ich mir vor wie ein Wanderer, der in der Morgendämmerung gegen Osten ging, das heranwachsende Licht mit Freuden anschaute und die Erscheinung des großen Feuerballs mit Sehnsucht erwartete, aber doch bey dem Hervortreten desselben die Augen wegwenden mußte, welche den gewünschten gehofften Glanz nicht ertragen konnten

This letter, Witkowski and Philip Stein<sup>9</sup> suppose, was written at the end of 1825 or on New Year's Day, 1826, and it is indeed dated 'Weimar, 1826' On 1 February

<sup>1</sup> In *Schnorrs Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, 1879, viii, 164–6

<sup>2</sup> *Faust II*, edited by Calvin Thomas, Boston, 1897, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> H. Duntzer, *Zur Goetheforschung*, 1891, p. 261

<sup>4</sup> Pniower, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> For a summary see *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, viii, 1887, p. 130 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the following poem from *Zahme Xenien*, *Dritte Abtheilung*

'Modergrun aus Dantes Holle  
Bannet fern von eurem Kreis!  
Ladet zu der reinen Quelle  
Freundlich Naturell und Fleiß'

<sup>7</sup> Pniower, loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Witkowski, loc. cit.

<sup>9</sup> *Goethe-Briefe Mit Einleitungen und Erläuterungen herausgegeben von Philipp Stein*, Berlin, Otto Elsner, 1905, viii, 129.

1827, however, Eckermann relates a conversation with Goethe in the course of which there is such a striking repetition of the thought and phrasing of the passage just cited that one cannot help feeling that the date 'Weimar, 1826' means the end of that year and that the letter was written for New Year's Day, 1827. Thus the interval between the two occasions on which these two very similar thoughts were expressed would be narrowed down to no more than one month. The passage<sup>1</sup> runs as follows:

Jetzt werden Fortschritte getan, auch auf den Wegen, die ich einleitete, wie ich sie nicht ahnden konnte, und *es ist mir wie einem, der der Morgenröte entgegengeht und über den Glanz der Sonne erstaunt, wenn diese hervorleuchtet*.<sup>2</sup> Unter den Deutschen nannte Goethe bei dieser Gelegenheit die Namen *Canus*, *d'Alton*,<sup>3</sup> Meyer in Königsberg mit Bewunderung.

Pniower's assumption<sup>4</sup> that vv 4715-25 were inspired by Lord Byron's *Childe Harold* (Canto IV, stanzas LXX-LXXII) is doubtful, and we agree with Professor Boyd<sup>1</sup> that 'the resemblance is vague enough to be accidental'. Reminiscences of v 4727

Am farbigen Abglanz haben wir das Leben

can be found in various earlier writings of Goethe.<sup>5</sup> The importance of the influence of Goethe's *Farbenlehre* on the monologue cannot be over-estimated. Transparent bodies—like water, for instance—which Goethe called 'trübe Mittel', produce colours as a result of the reciprocal effect of light and darkness. But colour was something much more important to Goethe: it is the characteristic of the physical, real, living world, and in the colours the original powers of light and 'Nichtlicht' reveal themselves: 'Die Farben sind Taten des Lichts, Taten und Leiden'.

One more step must be taken to determine the date of Faust's monologue. That vv 4725-7 definitely contain a philosophical application of the preceding description of the rainbow is obvious, even at first reading, and the same can be shown to be true of vv 4701-2 and 4713. Of the first passage Loeper<sup>6</sup> says:

Der Schlußvers 'Am farbigen Abglanz haben wir das Leben' giebt den Gedanken des das ganze Werk beschließenden und auf dessen Symbolik hinweisenden mystischen Chors wieder: 'Alles Vergangliche ist nur ein Gleichnis'. Es ist ein Platonischer Gedanke, daß, wer die Ideen sieht, im Stande sei, in die Sonne selbst zu schauen, der Anblick der Dinge dagegen, wie sie erscheinen, dem Anblick der Sonne im Wasserspiegel entspreche (*Phädon*, Kap. 48).<sup>7</sup>

Concerning the other three lines Edmund O. von Lippmann says:<sup>8</sup>

Erwähnenswert ist auch eine Stelle im VII. Buch Cap. 2 (von Platons Dialog *Der Staat*): 'Und wurde er nicht, so thut man ihn in das Licht (der Sonne) selbst zu blicken,

<sup>1</sup> *Goethes Gespräche*, etc., III, 347.

<sup>2</sup> My italics.

<sup>3</sup> Pniower, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> James Boyd, *Goethe's Knowledge of English Literature*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1932, p. 194.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. (a) 'Pandora', vv 957-8.

mein Geschlecht,  
Bestimmt, Erleuchtetes zu sehen, nicht  
das Licht.

(b) 'Versuch einer Witterungslehre'. 'Das Wahre läßt sich niemals von uns direkt erkennen, wir schauen es nur im Abglanz, im Beispiel, Symbol, in einzelnen und verwandten Erscheinungen'. This essay was finished by January 1819 (see Boyd, op. cit., p. 126), and published in 1825.

(c) 'Proomion', vv 7-10.

'Soweit das Ohr, soweit das Auge reicht,  
Du findest nur Bekanntes, das ihm gleicht,  
Und deines Geistes höchster Feuerflut  
Hat schon am Gleichnis, hat am Bild genug  
Written in Weimar, March 1816.

<sup>6</sup> *Faust. Eine Tragödie von Goethe. Mit Einleitung und erläuternden Anmerkungen von G. v. Loeper. Zweiter Teil*, Berlin, Hempel, 1870, p. xi.

<sup>7</sup> I, 99D-100A in Stephanus's numbering of Plato's works.

<sup>8</sup> *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 1894, xv, 268. F. M. Stawell and G. L. Dickinson in *Goethe and Faust*, London, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1928, p. 127, express the same trend of thought: 'We remember also, and no doubt Goethe with his feeling for Plato, meant us to remember, the Platonic myth of the cave'.

an den Augen Schmerzen empfinden, und sich wegwendend nach den Gegenständen kehren, die er anzusehen vermag?' Wem kamen hierbei nicht die Verse ins Gedächtniß 'Sie tritt hervor!—und leider schon geblendet, keh' ich mich weg, vom Augenschmerz durchdrungen' (*Faust*, vv. 4701–2), und 'So daß wir wieder nach der Erde blicken (ebd. v. 4713)?'

To anyone acquainted with Plato's *Phaedo* and the famous 'Simile of the Cave' at the beginning of the seventh book of the *Republic* the resemblance is indeed striking

If these parallels are to be more than mere coincidences, the question arises whether Goethe knew these passages at all. Not everyone is familiar with the *Phaedo* and the *Republic*, and not everyone will link ideas contained in the *Phaedo* with those from the opening chapters of Book VII of the *Republic* unless he is almost simultaneously confronted with the two.

Research shows this to have been the case. Goethe's own philosophical library contained but few works by ancient philosophers.

Von antiker Philosophie besaß Goethe eigentlich wenig. Einige (zum Theil nicht einmal aufgeschchnittene) Dialoge des Plato, die aristotelische Politik, eine Schrift über Empedokles, den Neuplatoniker Proklus und das vielbenutzte Handbuchlein Epiktets.<sup>1</sup>

This being unhelpful, we now turn to an examination of the records of the Weimar Library.<sup>2</sup> There are two entries concerning Goethe borrowing works by Plato from the library. The first<sup>3</sup> dates back to 1801 and is of no value for our investigation. The book borrowed on that occasion was the ninth volume of Henri Estienne's edition of Plato which contains Books IX–XII of the *Laws*, the *Epinomis* and the *Timaeus*, and was returned in 1803. The second entry<sup>4</sup> is of great interest and importance. From 27 to 31 May 1826, Goethe borrowed *Plato Auselesene Gesprache, übersetzt von Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg T. 1–3 (2 Bde)*.<sup>5</sup> The first two parts contain I, *Phaedros, Gastmahl, Ion*; II, *Theages, Gorgias, Erster Alcibiades, Zweiter Alcibiades*. The third and last part contains *Apologie, oder Vertheidigung des Sokrates, von Platon; Apologie, oder Vertheidigung des Sokrates vor seinen Richtern, von Xenophon; Kriton, ein platonisches Gespräch, Phaedon, über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele, ein platonisches Gespräch, Anfang des siebenten Buchs der Republik des Platon, als eine Beilage zum Phaedon*.

There cannot be any doubt that Goethe was familiar with the passages we have mentioned. The beginning of Book VII of Plato's *Republic* translated by Count Stolberg covers the first three chapters,<sup>6</sup> and it is safe to assume that the insistence on the effect of darkness and sudden light upon the human eye, which the 'Simile of the Cave' contains, proved to be of great interest to Goethe. In the simile, it will be remembered, men in a cave are chained in such a manner that they are only able to look straight ahead, while behind them, in the distance, a fire is burning; thus they can only see on the wall facing them the shadows of those that pass by between the fire and themselves. Here are some extracts, in Count Stolberg's

<sup>1</sup> Karl Vorländer, *Goethe und Kant in Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 1898, XIX, 181. To this list there should be added *Aristoteles, Politik und Fragment der Oekonomik*, übers. Schlosser, 1798 (with its pages uncut), *Oeconomica*, ed. Gotting, Jena, 1830, and *Plato, Briefe*, übers. Schlosser, 1795 (also with its pages uncut). See reference in n. 5 below.

<sup>2</sup> E. v. Keudall and W. Deetjen, *Goethe als*

*Benutzer der Weimarer Bibliothek*, Weimar, 1931.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. no. 270.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. no. 1718.

<sup>5</sup> A copy of this work is among the *einige* (zum Theil nicht einmal aufgeschchnittene) Dialoge von Plato which Goethe possessed; its pages are uncut. Cf. Karl Vorländer, *Kant/Schiller/Goethe*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, F. Meiner, 1923, p. 283.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. Stephanus, II, 514–518 B.

translation,<sup>1</sup> of the effect upon the human eye when these men are suddenly released from their fetters and forced to turn round

Jedesmal, wenn man einen losete, ihn plötzlich das Haupt umzukehren, zu gehen, und zum Licht aufzusehen zwange, wurd' er bei diesem allen Schmerz empfinden, und des blendenden Glanzes wegen die Gegenstände selbst nicht erblicken, deren Schatten er vorher sah

And further down

Zwange man ihn nun zum Feuer selbst hinaufzuschauen, wurden ihm die Augen dann nicht schmerzen? wurd' er nicht, diesen Anblick meidend, sich umkehren zu jenen Gegenständen, die er sehen konnt'?

And lastly

Und zuvorderst wurd' er die Schatten am leichtesten sehen, dann im Wasser die Scheinen der Menschen und andrer Dinge

Hence it will be appropriate also to quote from Count Stolberg's translation of the *Phaedo*, c 48

Nach diesem schien mir ich müsse mich hüten, daß mir nicht etwa widerfahre, was denen zu widerfahren pflegt, welche eine Sonnenfinsternis beobachten. Denn einige verderben sich die Augen, wenn sie nicht das Bild der Sonn' im Wasser oder sonst worin betrachten. Solches erwog ich, und fürchte, meine Seele möchte gänzlich erblinden, wofern ich mit Augen die Dinge betrachtete, oder mit jedem andern Sinne sie zu berühren suchte.

Thus Goethe's acquaintance with the two passages—of which the extract from Plato's *Republic* is easily the more important—is definitely established. Furthermore, the date on which he borrowed the work is significant, and allows us to confirm once more our assumption of the year 1826 as the time of the composition of the monologue. As is known—and as Goethe's diary proves in part—the poet was occupied with the fifth act of *Faust II* in 1825, and he only turned to other parts of the tragedy (apart from *Helena*) in the spring of 1826. This is made abundantly clear from his diary of that period.<sup>2</sup> *Helena*, which had for a long time claimed his attention to a large extent, neared completion towards the end of May, and on 6 June the diary records *Helena abgeschlossen*, and again two days later, on 8 June *Volliger Abschluss der Helena*. If Goethe read Plato towards the end of May and *Helena* was completed at about the same time, we shall not be far wrong in supposing June 1826 to have been the date for the composition of *Faust's* monologue, if, as there is good reason to believe, our preceding analysis is correct

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<sup>1</sup> No original copy of this work exists either in the British Museum or in the Bodleian Library. We quote from the *Gesammelte Werke der Brüder Christian und Friedrich Leopold Grafen zu Stolberg Neunzehnter Band Hamburg, 1825, bei Perthes und Besser*. This volume contains the third part of Count Stolberg's *Auserlesene Gespräche des Platon*, including the

original *Zueignungsschrift an meine Söhne* which still bears the old date *Euhn, den 30sten July 1796*. The three quotations from the *Anfang des siebenten Buchs der Republik des Platon* come from p 299 f and the one from the *Phaedon* from p 231 f

<sup>2</sup> Frouwer, op cit pp 150–4.



## HERDER AND MASARYK: SOME POINTS OF CONTACT

No more instructive or illuminating approach to Herder can be found than in the writings of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, the philosopher-President.<sup>1</sup> There are similarities that are at times breathtaking. That is not to say, however, that the one is a mere metamorphosis of the other. There is more—and less—in Masaryk than a restatement of Herder. He knew Herder, understood him, and protested that, like Lessing, he had been unjustly overshadowed by Goethe,<sup>2</sup> but his own outlook was derived, not from Herder, but from the latter's Czech heirs, Dobrovský, Jungmann, Kollár, Šafařík, Palacký, Havlíček, whose teachings were added to a sound philosophical schooling in which Hume and Comte played a prominent part, it was coloured, too, by a familiarity with Musset and the Romanticism of which Musset is the characteristic representative, and, above all, Masaryk led that active life of public service that was Herder's elusive dream. It was Masaryk's view that the heritage of the great Bohemian thinkers Hus and Comenius reached Leibniz and Herder, from whom it was retransmitted to the leading spirits of the Czech Renaissance.<sup>3</sup> This view has been disputed,<sup>4</sup> but in any event it is clear that Masaryk embodies a development of Herderian thought leading to more coherent and practical conclusions. A confrontation of the two men enables us, therefore, to see what Herder might have achieved, with greater precision and more exactness of method, and, accordingly, to understand what German thought has missed in Herder's and subsequent times. We feel that a Herder, with Masarykian consistency, might well have occupied a position of eminence equal, if not superior, to that of Kant, and had that been so, the whole post-Classical outlook of Germany might have been different. Read side by side with Masaryk, Herder's merits as well as his flaws, the positive nature of his philosophy as well as its shortcomings, stand out in greater relief, and he slips more easily into his real position in German thought. Comparison with Masaryk, as with Pascal,<sup>5</sup> gives greater unity and cohesion to Herder's arguments. In short, the mirror that we hold up to him, by showing us what he might have been, helps us to understand him more fully.

The theme of the two men was fundamentally the same—the diagnosis and cure of modern ills. Both were tirelessly engaged in a battle against scepticism, both saw that their respective ages were tormenting themselves in agonies of doubt and despair, clutching at straws, muttering shibboleths, indulging in empty dreams and restless yearnings in a hopeless effort to make up for the insecurity that loss of faith had engendered. Masaryk fought against that *mal du siècle* which Herder, as *Sturmer und Dranger*, in part precipitated and then, as the prophet of *Humanität*, resisted. In the eyes of each man the remedy was the same—the doctrine of

<sup>1</sup> There are available in English translation *The Spirit of Russia*, 2 vols., London, 1919, *The Making of a State*, London, 1927, *Modern Man and Religion*, London, 1938, and *The Ideals of Humanity and How to Work*, London, 1938. In addition, the reader is referred to K. Čapek, *President Masaryk tells his Story*, London, 1934, and *Masaryk on Thought and Life, Conversations with K. Čapek*, London, 1938. W. Preston Warren, *Masaryk's Democracy*, London, 1941, contains

a bibliography. Attention is also drawn to Masaryk's *The New Europe (The Slav Standpoint)*, London, 1918 (for private circulation), especially pp. 4, 17, 19, 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Man and Religion*, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> *The Making of a State*, p. 424.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. K. Bittner, *Herders Geschichtsphilosophie und die Slaven*, Reichenberg, 1929, p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Modern Language Review*, xxxvii, 56–63.

*Humanität*. It is *Auch Eine Philosophie*, the *Ideen*, and the *Humanitätsbriefe* in more modern dress that we read when we study the writings of the liberator-president

Herder is frequently mentioned in significant contexts in Masaryk's books *Modern Man and Religion* contains a lengthy characterization of Herder,<sup>1</sup> this, taken by itself, adds nothing to our knowledge, but, when we remember that sustained and favourable judgements of German thinkers are conspicuously absent in Masaryk's writings, this one is quite notable. Masaryk stresses four obvious major points in Herder, his doctrine of *Humanität*, his view of the continuity and divine purpose inherent in history, his vision of the future of the Slavs, and his statement of the idea of nationality, which includes such subsidiary topics as the folksong, the relativity of cultural manifestations, and the integration of nationalism and internationalism.

These points may be supplemented and illuminated by reference to other passages in Masaryk's works. The President's idea of humanity has been concisely described as 'the continual doing of what men need in specific circumstances for maintaining and for maximizing their distinctive possibilities and values'.<sup>2</sup> At every stage we are reminded of Herder's remark: 'Jeder strebe also auf seinem Platz, zu sein was er in der Folge der Dinge sein kann',<sup>3</sup> and of his definition of *Humanität* as 'der Charakter unsres Geschlechts das Ziel unsres Bestrebens, die Summe unsrer Übungen, unser Wert der Schatz und die Ausbeute aller menschlichen Bemühungen'.<sup>4</sup> Masaryk's aim to 'make men more effective agents in the social cosmos', by means of aiding them to formulate a complete understanding of all nature and culture and their place within it<sup>5</sup>, is no more and no less than Herder's too. When we proceed to details, the parallel becomes more striking than ever. Masaryk desired the cultivation of the whole man, in every sphere of life, and would hear nothing of the development of any one aspect to the detriment or neglect of another.<sup>6</sup> He believed man to be at the top of a rising scale of being, nature moving from simple beginnings to ever more complex forms. In this opinion he was as non-Darwinian as the *Ideen* themselves.<sup>7</sup>

It is clear that Masaryk's *Humanität* might well be open to the same reproach as Herder's—namely that it involves a conflict between free will and determinism. Is man merely a 'passive pupil of nature' and of history—to refer to Comte's objection to Herder—or is his will to function within the historical environment in

<sup>1</sup> Pp 121-4

<sup>2</sup> W. Preston Warren, p 205.

<sup>3</sup> *Weile*, ed Suphan, xiv, 149

<sup>4</sup> *Weile*, xvii, 138 Cf *Modern Language Review*, xxxix, 261

<sup>5</sup> W. Preston Warren, p 224

<sup>6</sup> *Masaryk on Thought and Life*, p 38 f, gives us this from an epistemological approach: 'My own standpoint—above all, as I have said, not to forget that in every act of knowledge the whole man is concerned. I accept reason and the senses, I recognize also feelings and will, altogether the whole of experience, also through feeling, sympathy, and effort a reasonable man finds the kernel of truth, sometimes more than a kernel. But the duality of reason and the senses, not that Reason and experience are complementary to each other. True, experience of the senses is unreliable, but it is supervised and checked by reason. Reason might err, but

it is again checked by experience'. Exactly the position of *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden*. Cf below, p 126

<sup>7</sup> President Masaryk tells his Story, p 106: 'I believe in the idea of life, by which I understand that life is one, but is incarnate in a multitude of forms, each creature is, as a creature, like all the others in something because, like them, it is alive. And yet each differs from all the others. By means of their similarity I can build up from that multitude of creatures the whole scale of created things from the simplest form to man. This gradation, this hierarchy, we encounter in every sphere, whenever we compare, arrange, appraise. If you ask how these diverse forms and species originate, I answer that I do not know, but I do not accept Darwin's theory of mechanical evolution, I do not accept his principle of selection in the struggle for life.'

which he finds himself? Masaryk saw the difficulty and solved it. His solution says exactly what Herder ought to have said, but did not, because of his methodical insufficiency. It is a lengthy statement, but amply merits quotation, not only for its own sake, but—if one may put it so—as a vicarious filling in of an awkward gap in Herder's doctrine. In the light of it Herder's thought reveals itself to us as being quite coherent, as it undoubtedly was to Herder himself, although his way of stating it did not make it appear to be so. In a conversation with Čapek, Masaryk says <sup>1</sup>

I do believe, I must believe in Providence which governs the development of the world and of humanity, and of any one of us. Once I acknowledge God the creator and director, I must see in everything some order, plan, and reasonable aim.

*Or determinism?* (Čapek.)

Yes, that's understood. Determinism means a fixed order in Nature, in man, in society, and in its development everywhere exact law. We find it in matter, we discover the beautiful order of the atoms; more and more we shall be able to see this obedience to law in the life of the man, in the history of states, nations, and of humanity, sir, and we shall be able to collaborate with it consciously! The more knowledge we shall acquire the clearer will the aim and purpose of everything be revealed to us, knowledge itself is the ascertainment of laws, and the bringing of facts into lawful order, and that is only the beginning.

*When you say determinism you raise with it the old problem: what then happens with the freedom of the will? If our actions are directed, whether by Providence or by natural causation, is not our supposed will and moral freedom only an illusion?* (Čapek.)

It is not. We can choose—after all, experience itself guarantees us this. Only in the causal world can we anticipate, act with forethought, prepare for the future, consistently, with real will. Determinism excludes not freedom, but caprice, fancy and instability, it leads to perseverance and consistency—without determinism, without the exact concatenation of cause and effect there would be no responsibility. There would be mere fortuity; we should not be responsible for our deeds, and the motives for our actions would rise up in us without reason by mere chance. The freedom and predestination of man is given by his relation to God, omnipotent and omniscient, knowing the past and the future, determining this future. Man is after the divine image, God could not create man except after the likeness of his own image, from this follows for man a conscious synergism, collaboration, with the divine will. In acquiring knowledge of Nature, and of man, in revealing the natural laws, spiritual and historical, in accepting and fulfilling those laws we participate in the divine creation and direction of the world. Synergism with the divine will gives man his measure of freedom and of determinism, the stronger and the more conscious he is, the more of both. . . . Along with God, and under God, we are autonomous beings; we have the right of initiative, and we bear also the burden of responsibility. Hence the duty of activism, and of striving, of resoluteness, and of courage. Determinism does not mean the absence of freedom, on the contrary. An immature man who does not understand the order of the world and its grandeur, a man in his primeval weakness and lack of judgement sees in the world and also in his own life a kaleidoscope of single, unconnected phenomena, everywhere he sees the unreasonable caprice of spirits, gods, of chance, and of blind fate. An indeterminist is a slave: he is bound blindly by customs and superstitions, he is subject to instincts, he has no free will. A man has only as much reasonable freedom, as much determinism as he can understand in himself and in the order of the world. To me determinism is a consequence of theism, of the acknowledgement of the teleological order in the world. We also are fulfilling universal laws and are acting causally.

*Even in our mistakes?* (Čapek.)

Of course.

Nothing (in spite of some un-English expressions in the translation) could state more adequately Herder's views on this important point. There is the same belief

<sup>1</sup> *Masaryk on Thought and Life*, pp. 73-7.

in a Providence that progressively reveals itself in nature and human actions, the same teaching that man's proper destiny is to co-operate with God, the same rejection of habit and immaturity and consequent praise of striving in the Faustian sense,<sup>1</sup> the same conviction that only knowledge of the truth, reason acquired through experience, can lead man forward and give him freedom,<sup>2</sup> and the same acceptance of the idea that man can learn even through error.<sup>3</sup> Herder's books and sermons contain ample evidence of all this, but he never possessed the degree of systematic thought necessary to set it down in unified and cogent form. Here Masaryk says no more and no less than what was in Herder's mind.

Several further points emerge. First of all, we are shown that such a relationship of the individual to the universe implies an anti-pantheistic religion. Notwithstanding much that has been said to the contrary, Herder was not a pantheist, his *Gott* provides ample proof of that, despite the fact that his thought contains something of the outer framework of pantheism.<sup>4</sup> Masaryk, like Pascal, enables us to grasp this more clearly, to understand that it would be loading Herder with far too much inconsistency to suppose that he ever believed in any other than a transcendental God. Masaryk's *dicta* serve as catalytic agents to precipitate the matter which is held in the fluid bulk of Herder's thought. He regards pantheism as an error that has grown up because of the subjectivistic trend of modern thought, particularly since the time of Kant.

I know [he says] that pantheism is modern, and I can understand that. But it is impossible to explain the world by pantheism, all experience speaks against it. I repeat I can understand why people in our times are delighted with pantheism. People want order and unity in the midst of chaotic multifariousness, for modern people pantheism does not suffice, they have artistic aspirations, and these can be satisfied by pantheism, all that I understand, but nevertheless I cannot accept pantheism.<sup>5</sup>

In making this observation on historical lines, Masaryk causes us to reflect at the same time that if only Herder's transcendentalism had been accepted as such, if only its externalities had not been seized upon to the detriment of its real doctrinal kernel, the world would have been able to make use of a fertile alternative to the pantheism that was inherent in Hegel and all the aberrations of one kind or another that derive from him.

Masaryk's religion is as anti-ecclesiastical as Herder's. The pernicious effects of intolerance and obscurantism which are referred to at all times, from the *Fragmente* to the *Adrastea*, the rejection of the belief that man is inherently evil, the primacy of the moral content of faith, the refusal to accept happiness as a motive in human behaviour, the ardent belief in immortality, both earthly and heavenly, is amply evident in both men's works. On the latter point, Masaryk's statement in his conversations with Čapek represents an almost exact reproduction—even down to the image of the asymptote—of the contents of the fifth book of the *Ideen* and the conclusion of the essay 'Über Liebe und Selbstheit'. It runs

I don't know how to believe that after death we shall pass into some divine primary substance, as monism, pantheism teach. I want to be myself also after death, I don't want to dissolve into some metaphysical jelly. Perhaps after death we shall be given fuller and more complete knowledge, also knowledge of God. It may be that life after death is an asymptote approaching to God; always and always nearer, eternally nearer—

<sup>1</sup> *Werke*, XIII, 190, XIV, 567, XIX, 324.

<sup>2</sup> *Werke*, XIII, 145, 191 f., XVI, 360.

<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, XIII, 148.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Modern Language Review*, XXXVII, 61.

<sup>5</sup> *Modern Man and Religion*, p. 194 f. Cf. also p. 98.

well, yes, this also is a continuation of life upon earth, because God is the chief and foremost object of our thinking, knowing and striving<sup>1</sup>

This is precisely the content of the final scene of *Faust*

Masaryk's study of history was animated, as was Herder's, by the desire to trace the self-revelation of the divine, and to arrive at a means of understanding the present and guiding the future<sup>2</sup> He distinguished this carefully from what he called the subjection, by the modern age, of the 'whole world and life to deterministic causality', the 'foresight, calculation, preciseness' that is evident as 'people are beginning to be more concerned about their future'<sup>3</sup>—which is not dissimilar to what Goethe means by the Care that blinds Faust 'I am not, he says, against history, but I am against historicism, by that I mean that the past is not a decisive argument in itself, because in the past there is good and bad I base myself only on what is good in the past History is the teacher of life, but of all the historians we have had, how many have been real teachers?'<sup>4</sup> This is just the same approach that led Herder to deal selectively with history in his *Humanitätsbriefe* and *Adrastea*, to pick out only that which illustrated and embodied the eternal, divine truths of the universe—difficult task that that is!—and to present it for the edification of his fellow men

An enlightened outlook, itself the product of an understanding view of history and of the individual's place within it, will be the mainspring of that endless effort, work, striving, that rejection of the 'thralldom of habit',<sup>5</sup> which is Masaryk's ideal We are back again in the midst of the Herderian philosophy of life This striving, born of dissatisfaction, is sublimated into the ideal of an endless endeavour to fulfil the divine purpose of history, of an understanding co-operation with God's intentions, such as we have already noticed in the long extract above The course of history teaches not only individuality, but collaboration as well 'In Nature life does not exist, only living individualities'<sup>6</sup> 'History tends not towards uniformity,

<sup>1</sup> Masaryk on *Thought and Life*, p 70 Cf Herder, *Werke*, xv, 325 f. The image of the hyperbola and the asymptote is taken from Hemsterhuis Herder's remarks, which merit quotation, may be further compared with Masaryk's views on 'The Religion of Love' Herder writes 'Nur auf unserm eignen Dasein und Bewußtsein ruht die Existenz anderer, so fern sie durch Liebe und Sehnsucht mit uns verknüpft sind, verloren wir jene, so hatten wir auch von diesen keinen Genuß mehr Notwendig wird unsre Existenz von Stufe zu Stufe immer freier und wirkender werden unser Genuß wird weniger verderben und zerstören, wir werden immer mehr Freuden schmecken lernen, indem wir geben und tun, als indem wir nehmen und leiden Indessen scheint das gegenseitige Verhältnis nie ganz aufhören zu können, das die Summe dieses ganzen Glücks macht Um zu geben, müssen immer Gegenstände sein, die da nehmen, um zu tun, andre, für die man tue; Freundschaft und Liebe sind nie möglich, als zwischen gegenseitigen freien, konsonen, aber nicht unisonen, geschweige identifizierten Geschöpfen Und was endlich den Genuß des höchsten Wesen anbetrifft, o, da bleibt's immer "Hyperbel mit ihrer Asymptote", wie unser Autor sagt, und muß es bleiben. Die Hyperbel

nahert sich der Asymptote, aber sie erreicht sie nie zu unsrer Seligkeit können wir nie den Begriff unsres Daseins verlieren, und den unendlichen Begriff, daß wir Gott sind, erlangen' Masaryk (*ibid* 100) defines love in Herderian terms as 'activity, work, collaboration, creation for others and for oneself It is not sentimental—sentimentality is egoistic, and indulges in its own feelings Love of one's neighbour is not only compassion in misfortune, it is not only commiseration, it is also shared pleasure Love of one's neighbour is in the scheme of the world (it) must express itself in work, in collaboration, in creation, and by this in the perfecting of the world that is given to us' The whole content of Herder's essay is reproduced.

<sup>2</sup> Masaryk on *Thought and Life*, p 72 'In natural development I seek purpose and order, sense in historical progress, I enquire for what purpose it all happened and where it is leading to' Also *The Spirit of Russia*, II, 555

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Man and Religion*, p 236

<sup>4</sup> *President Masaryk tells his Story*, p. 216

<sup>5</sup> *Making of a State*, p 397, Masaryk on *Thought and Life*, pp 17, 75, 152, *Ideals of Humanity and How to Work* (a whole book being devoted to the latter theme!), p 129

<sup>6</sup> Masaryk on *Thought and Life*, p 15

but towards variety, towards organized variety, which very often is misrepresented as barren, monotonous, indiscriminate uniformity',<sup>1</sup> it reveals, as the *Humanitätsbriefe* put it 'eine unendliche Verschiedenheit, zu einer Einheit strebend, die in allen liegt, die alle fordert'.<sup>2</sup>

This brings us to the question of nationalism, a central feature in the outlook of both men. Nationality—that much abused thing!—is for Masaryk and Herder one of the facts of nature. It is not to be frustrated, but intelligently—understandingly, humanely, morally—fostered, for to do otherwise would be contrary to the will of God, of whom nature is the 'living garment'. From Masaryk's nationalism, as from Herder's, is derived that hatred of the state, as a non-national growth, and consequently, since the state was scarcely anything but non-national in Herder's time and only slightly less so in Masaryk's, of the state generally. The fateful doctrine of self-determination follows as matter of course. It is required that the state shall represent the nation—the theme that fills Masaryk's celebrated inaugural lecture at King's College, London, and is to be found equally, if not so precisely set out, in the *Ideen*. Such nationalism as the two men have in mind, resting upon national self-knowledge and national self-respect, contains within itself the real basis of internationalism, the respect of nationalities for one another, and anyone who wishes to see how the one is integrated in the other cannot do better than read Herder's *Humanitätsbriefe* and Masaryk's *Making of a State*, or indeed any other work by this writer. For both men, 'between the love for one's nation, the love for one's country, and humanity there is no disagreement'.<sup>3</sup> 'The "national idea" thus conceived is a noble and worthy political force that welds individuals into a self-sacrificing whole, and humanity is made up of organized national wholes'.<sup>4</sup>

We are not surprised to find in Masaryk's works a series of thumb-nail sketches of European nationalities, arising out of his reading and travels, on the same lines as Herder's, revealing the same breadth of outlook and the same fertile gift of generalization, while in *The Spirit of Russia* we have a full-length study, entirely in the Herderian temper, of the civilization, history and historic function of a country. In regard to his own country, Masaryk was well aware of the debt that Czech nationalism owed to Herder, particularly to his vision of the Slav future in the sixteenth book of the *Ideen*.<sup>5</sup> In his own measures for fostering Czech nationality Masaryk was inspired with the same spirit and proceeded in the same manner as his predecessor had done for Germany. The sense of being cut off from the real elements in the national past by a gulf of two or three centuries of foreign cultural hegemony is an obvious common starting point.<sup>6</sup> There is the same stress on the educative function of literature. Nowhere, we are told by both thinkers, does the national spirit reveal itself so clearly as in art and literature.<sup>7</sup>—indeed, in Masaryk's case there was little appreciation of literature apart from its sociological function.<sup>8</sup> In view of this, aesthetic values take second place to ethical values. Masaryk

<sup>1</sup> The Problem of Small Nations in the European Crisis', Masaryk's inaugural lecture at King's College, London, reprinted in R. W. Seton-Watson, *Masaryk in England*, Cambridge, 1943, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Werke*, xviii, 300.

<sup>3</sup> *Masaryk on Thought and Life*, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Making of a State*, p. 426, the same work contains other significant statements on this point at pp. 390 and 409. Cf. also *Ideals of*

*Humanity*, p. 17 f., *Masaryk on Thought and Life*, pp. 174-6, 202; *Masaryk in England*, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to Bittner, referred to above, p. 120, n. 4, cf. R. Schierenberg, *Der politische Herder*, Graz, 1932.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. W. Preston Warren, pp. 174-6 and *President Masaryk tells his Story*, pp. 157, 186 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> W. Preston Warren, p. 137.

will hear as little of *l'art pour l'art* as Herder would hear of the later works of Goethe and Schiller. Finally, in a passage such as the following, can we fail to catch the echo of Herder's voice, declaiming not only on creative genius but on the dramatic nature of history and his favourite topic 'Bildung der Menschheit'?

Politics contain an element of poetry, in fact they have as much poetry in them as they have creative force. I think that we can consciously form and fashion our own lives and those of the people near us to a considerable extent. Life can and must create, life itself is drama, just as Shakespearean drama is life. And what are politics in the best sense of the word but the conscious forming of people, the fashioning and transforming of real life?<sup>1</sup>

Parallels could easily be multiplied.

Masaryk's criticism of German culture—which should be read in the same light as Herder's criticism of French culture, except that it is incomparably better informed than Herder's—is of value in assisting us to assess Herder's place in it. We are brought back to our starting point, the *mal du siècle*, the crisis in modern civilization, which he was for ever striving to overcome and which he saw to be more acutely present in Germany (and Russia) than anywhere else. Masaryk found its origin in scepticism and revolution, in the heritage of Hume and Kant and in the destruction of all accepted authority by the French Revolution, itself, as Herder had said as well, the continuation and completion of the Reformation. Against Kant he directed blows as bitter as Herder did. He attacked his excessive intellectualism and consequent neglect of the complete man, his theory of knowledge assailed the Kantian *a priori* categories with as much vigour as the *Metakritik* had done, and finally he held Kant responsible for the elevation of the human ego to a position of such supremacy as to lead to that solipsism, that titanism, which he saw as the root cause of Germany's subsequent ills, in just the same way as Herder ascribed to Kant the guilt for all the evils of the end of the eighteenth century. To Čapek Masaryk said

What Copernicus achieved in astronomy Kant did in epistemology. Knowledge does not conform to the objects, but the objects conform to our knowledge, what we take to be the external world, reality, is the product of our subjectivity. It is only a step in time from subjectivism to solipsism. Only myself, *solus ipse*, I alone am the creator of the world, the world is my idea. Kant and the German idealists overtrumped the superman and created the supercreator. All Kant's apriorism is phantasy, myth; that dualism of pure and impure reason is the old dualism of reason and the senses based on the wrong psychological analysis of the process of perception. . . There is reason, and there are the senses, but they are not in conflict. I ask you [he says, and in so doing sums up the tenets of *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden*], why should pure reason give better and more certain knowledge than impure reason which is connected with the senses and which forms our experience?<sup>2</sup>

In *The Making of a State* he went further and affirmed.

He [Kant] built up a whole system of *a priori* eternal truths, and thus opened the door to all the fantastifications of German subjectivism, or 'Idealism', which necessarily led to egomaniac isolation, or 'solipsism', to aristocratic individualism and to supermanishness based on force. . . His followers held fast to his earlier subjectivism and, in the name of 'Idealism', gave themselves up to arbitrary constructions of the Universe, to a metaphysical Titanism, or cult of the gigantic, which necessarily led the

<sup>1</sup> *President Masaryk tells his Story*, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Masaryk on Thought and Life*, pp. 36-7 and 51.

German subjectivists into moral isolation. The fanciful imaginings of Fichte and Schelling brought forth the nihilism and pessimism of Schopenhauer. The Titans grew angry and ironical—though anger and irony in a Titan are a contradiction in terms—and finally fell into despair. Subjective individualism, which becomes intensified into superior self-sufficiency and Titanic pseudo-godlikeness, ends by being unbearable. In the last resort, men of this temper do violence either to themselves or to their neighbours, and commit suicide or murder. The German 'Nation of Thinkers and Philosophers' had the greatest number of suicides, developed the completest militarism and caused the world war.<sup>1</sup>

It may be argued that this titanism appeared in the *Sturm und Drang* period, before the major works of Kant were published, but is it not equally clear that Classicism was just evolving a solution that was to appear in the writings of the maturing Goethe and in the *Ideen* of Herder, when the *Critiques* gave to Classicism a new twist which led to the remarkable extravagances of the Romanticists?<sup>2</sup> Can we be astonished at Goethe's hostility to the Romantic movement, which obscured the balance he had so painfully striven to achieve?

Masaryk does not say as much, but his annihilating analysis of the evils of the nineteenth century leads us to ask ourselves, without further ado. Was not Herder right in his attack on Kant?<sup>2</sup> What would have happened, had he succeeded, if not in demolishing the Kantian system, at least in producing a cogent and accepted alternative to it? Is it not a tragedy that the value of his work was lost in a welter of bitterness and imprecision? Is it not deplorable that his doctrine of *Humanität*, his warmth of human sympathy, his breadth of outlook, should have been swamped beneath all the results of Kantianism? Were not Herder's contemporaries nearer the mark than they could know when they thought him so important a thinker as to nominate him as a candidate for a seat in the Institut, and to refer to him as the 'Plato' of the Christian world? Dare we whisper the words of philosophical heresy, 'Close your Kant, open your Herder!', to those who would seek for one of the most notable 'might-have-beens' of modern cultural history? Whatever one may think of Masaryk's charge, the fact remains that Herder was displaced from a position of major prominence.

This is not to say that Herder's influence on his own country was not great. Only it might have been so much greater. He taught the Germans to be self-conscious and to think historically, he led them to a new conception of literature, he left them a belief in the infallibility of emotion, which has welled up from time to time, and he provided them with a faith that is not unlike a modern re-statement of Mysticism. All this, in addition to the encouragement he gave to various special fields of human thought, such as linguistics, education, biology, criticism, psychology, theology, etc. But how much has been obscured and lost! How little he is recognized and read! Kant supervened, and Herder was swept from view.

<sup>1</sup> *Making of a State*, pp. 309-10, 315 and 318. On Masaryk's view of this historic function of Kantian philosophy, cf. further, *Masaryk on Thought and Life*, p. 53, *Modern Man and Religion*, p. 97 f., *Spirit of Russia*, i, 205 f., 210-13 and ii, 469, 554. With Masaryk's thesis that the crisis thus brought about in modern philosophy led to suicide as a mass phenomenon one may compare Léon Daudet's characterization of the nineteenth century as 'le siècle du suicide en commun' (*Le Stupide XIXe Siècle*, 33rd ed. Paris, 1929, p. 272).

<sup>2</sup> On Herder and Kant, cf. not only Haym, *Herder*, ii, 651-718, Berlin, 1983, but also G. Jacoby, *Herders und Kants Asthetik*, Leipzig, 1907, T. Litt, *Herder und Kant als Deuter der geistigen Welt*, Leipzig, 1930, H. Meyer-Benfey, *Herder und Kant*, Halle, 1904, R. Neumann, *Herder und der Kampf gegen die Kantischen Irrlehren an der Universität Jena*, Progr. Berlin, 1911, A. Tumarkin, *Herder und Kant*, Bern, 1896.



A fanciful imagination may discover some significant symbolism in the fact that it was the S.S. *Herder* that carried Masaryk to America to join his bride,<sup>1</sup> and that, having discharged the task of placing him in the land which was to contribute so decisively to the fulfilment of his own and his country's destiny, this ship proceeded to sink on her next voyage. That has been Herder's fate to carry others and then be lost. It does not need the equivalent of deep-sea diving to salve the treasures that he holds, in spite of changing and deceptive currents. The reward is well worth the effort.

A. GILLIES

HULL

<sup>1</sup> *President Masaryk tells his Story*, p. 118.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

### SIR HENRY PARKER, LORD MORLEY AND ALBRECHT DURER

When I edited Lord Morley's translation of forty-six lives from Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* for the Early English Text Society, I omitted to mention that a drawing of him by Durer still exists in the British Museum. A reproduction was included by Lionel Cust in *The Paintings and Drawings of Albrecht Durer*, 'The Portfolio', London, 1897, p. 92. The drawing bears the date 1523, which shows that the two men must have met when Morley visited Nuremberg in that year at the head of a mission which was to confer the Order of the Garter on the Archduke Ferdinand. Morley had arrived by 19 November and the ceremony took place on 8 December. At that time, some four and a half years before Durer's death, the artist was at the height of his powers. The portrait of Morley, who was then forty-seven, exhibits all Durer's mastery of detail. The gown of rich material with an elaborate floral pattern, the fur collar and the gold chain about Morley's shoulders are all admirably drawn. But it is the face that holds our attention. It is an ascetic face with a sensitive mouth, the slightly drooping corners of which impart a faint suggestion of melancholy. The general impression of gravity is confirmed by the eyes. These are thoughtful and gaze ahead with concentration, as if in profound meditation.

It is remarkable to see how closely the quiet, scholarly personality revealed by Durer answers to the dominant characteristics of Morley as we find them in his writings. The portrait is of interest not only because it is the vivid creation of a great artist but also because it is obviously a speaking likeness of an early English man of letters.

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### COWPER'S 'RETIREMENT' AND BALZAC'S 'ENTRETIENS'

There is a passage in Cowper's 'Retirement' which calls for explanation, but which, so far as I am aware, editors have not commented on. The lines in question are

I praise the Frenchman, his remark was shrewd—  
'How sweet, how passing sweet, is solitude'  
But grant me still a friend in my retreat,  
Whom I may whisper, solitude is sweet.'

To this Cowper adds in a footnote 'Bruyere'. One is at first inclined to assume that he means La Bruyère. However, the sentiment of the above lines is in no way characteristic of La Bruyère. He regards the solitude of retirement as a dignified means of escape for anyone who has fallen into disgrace at court or as a natural resource for those who have been revolted by the artificiality of court life, and he thinks it normal enough for the monastic orders, but he clearly believes that human society, with all its defects, is best suited to the ordinary layman. There is indeed nothing at all resembling Cowper's lines in La Bruyère.

Apparently Cowper's memory played him false. It was Balzac to whom he was alluding. In the first of his *Entretiens*, which deals with 'Les plaisirs de la vie

retirée', he says 'La solitude est certainement vne belle chose, mais il y a plaisir d'avoir quelqu'un qui sçache respondre, à qui on puisse dire de temps en temps que c'est vne belle chose'

There was more than one reason why Cowper should feel attracted to Balzac. The older writer, because of ill-health, withdrew into the country and found pleasure and tranquillity in the company of his books and of nature. He was also a master of the epistolary art and in the seventeenth century won a great reputation in England as well as in France. It is therefore interesting to see that in the latter half of the eighteenth century his work was still known to one of the greatest of English letter-writers.

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'Teseillun' in the 'VITA S. WILLELMI NORWICENSIS'

In his description of the tortures inflicted on the boy-martyr, Thomas of Monmouth<sup>1</sup> commences (i, 5) 'Quibusdam etenim eum a tergo tenentibus, alii aperto ori tormentum quod vulgo *teseillun* dicitur intromiserunt, atque per utrasque fauces ad posteriorem colli partem reductis corrigis firmissimo astrinxerunt nodo'. On the occasion of the second discovery of the body we are told the finder 'ligneumque uidit in ore tormentum' (i, 11) and lastly, combining the two items of information, we learn of a priest that he had in his possession 'ligneum illud martiris tormentum quod vulgo *Teseillun* dicitur' (v, 5).

There are several allusions to the saint's beneficiaries speaking in the vernacular (e.g. v, 16, *et materna lingua ait*, v, 17, *anglica lingua mater ait*, vi, 12, *lingua patria Patrem, patrem clamabat*), and in each instance the speaker is of humble origin. This probably explains why the translators adopt the rendering 'in English' in each instance, and the same line of thought seems to have led them to take 'teseillun' as an English word and to translate it as 'teazle'. Of course, the absence of such a use from the *O E D.* does not invalidate the translation, but it does raise doubts which are not assuaged when we note that the form used by Thomas of Monmouth is not easily to be reconciled with the *O E* forms.

Another series of expressions used by the author suggests that these doubts are justified. We read that a dreamer saw 'pre pedibus [deor]sum lumina inclinantem [pis]cem qui vulgo *lucius* dicitur' (i, 1), that a sufferer seeking relief at the tomb supported himself 'duobus quos vulgo *potentias* uocant baculis' (vii, 11), and that a deformed girl is brought by her father 'in uehiculo rotatili quod *cueriam* appellant' (vii, 16).<sup>2</sup> Now the remarkable thing is that these vernacular expressions are Romance in origin, which suggests that the same may be true of 'teseillun'. Looked at in this light the word falls into place as a derivative ultimately of *tensus*, whether we regard it, with Gamillscheg (*E W F.* s.v. *étrésillon*), as formed from *O Fr.* *teser* parallel to *O Fr.* *estesillon* < *esteser*, or, with Meyer-Lubke (*R.E.W.* 8649c) as formed from *tensicula* (> *trésaille*), and denotes some kind of gag.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich* (Cambridge, 1896), ed. A. Jessopp and M. R. James.

<sup>2</sup> Later in the same section a deformed boy is brought by his father 'in *cueria* rotatili'.

## PRIMER-VERSIONS OF LITURGICAL PRAYERS A CORRECTION

In my article in the *Modern Language Review*, xxxix, October 1944, p 329, lines 21 ff should read as follows

Of these feasts the Church of England retained the first (now St Michael and All Angels), second, third (now called St Peter's) and the fourth. Only for the feast of St Michael and All Angels has the ancient Collect (in the Roman Missal used for both feasts of St Michael and for the Votive Mass of the Holy Angels) been preserved, in a free translation, in the Prayer Book. (The version quoted by Blunt, 1903 ed, p 338 f from the Primer published by Maskell in his *Monumenta* differs from that in the Primers Brit Mus MSS 17010 and 17011 and Ashmol 1288—ed Littlehales, II, 18—only in the spelling, see also Michael Warren, *The Sarum Missal in English*, 1911, II, 517.) For the three other feasts, as indeed for all the other feasts of the Saints (except for those of the B V M) new Collects were prescribed in 1549.

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## REVIEWS

*The Conflict of Homonyms in English* By EDNA REES WILLIAMS (Yale Studies in English, vol 100 ) New Haven Yale University Press, London Humphrey Milford 1944 xii + 130 pp 15s 6d

It has long been considered possible that a word may be lost from a language because it has become identical in sound with another word belonging to the same category of thought and associated with a similar syntactic usage Robert Bridges (who, by the way, appears consistently as Sir Robert Bridges in the book before us) went too far in his famous S P E Tract *On English Homophones*, for he ignored these two conditions He even predicted the doom of such a verb as *knou* with its infinitive pronounced like the negative adverb *no*, the third person singular of its present tense like the substantive *nose*, and its past tense like the adjective *new* Certainly he was looking far ahead and envisaging English as the universal auxiliary language of to-morrow 'The whole inconvenience is too radical and perpetual to be received all over the world' The more cautious inquirer will naturally look to the past Is the loss of any one word in the English language as the result of homophony scientifically demonstrable? That is the question Dr Williams attempts to answer in this dissertation, which consists of two quite separate parts, called Introduction and Studies The Introduction, the first and shorter part, is comprehensive and circumspect The theory or principle of 'homonymic conflict' is accurately defined and objections to its validity are carefully weighed Other factors may account for the loss of a word, and more than one cause may be responsible for one and the same loss 'Seldom are circumstances so simple and obvious that we may say, without possibility of debate, that one cause alone was responsible for the loss of a word' Too much attention is here paid to the writings of Jaeschke, Hemken, Teichert, Oberdorffer and others, whose conclusions were based upon a manifestly inadequate knowledge of the vocabulary of Old English On the other hand, the fruitful investigations of Gilléron and Edmont into the linguistic geography of France are worthily assessed and praised The student of English has the *New English Dictionary* and Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* to guide him, as well as many competent dialectal glossaries and monographs, but he finds no complete picture of English dialects for his purpose, no linguistic atlas, no English counterpart of the *Atlas linguistique de la France* On the whole, the materials at his disposal are more historical than geographical in their attitude and emphasis The Studies comprise the second and larger part of the book, and in them the authoress works along the lines indicated by Professor Robert J Menner in his important article contributed to *Language*, xii (1936), on 'The Conflict of homonyms in English', and she follows the suggestion there made that illustrations of this 'conflict' might profitably be drawn from the Middle English period, more especially from the thirteenth century when the importation of French words was frequent Fifteen examples, some accompanied by maps, have been carefully selected They are *ear* (*near*), *gate*, *lean*, *lease*, *heal* (*hele*), *breed* (*brede*), *bread*, *queen* (*quean*), *weigh*, *tray*, *fawn* (*feign*), *sway*, *garn*, *straw*(gh)t and *churn* (*churm*)

It is almost inevitable that the specialist, working for a long time in such a field as this, should come to rely more and more upon the irrefragable evidence of place and time (and even frequency) which he will find so readily displayed in the pages of the *N.E.D.* That evidence is so accessible, so attractive and so authoritative, that, in spite of every self-imposed discipline, he will nevertheless finish up by attaching excessive significance to the place of this earliest ascertainable appearance or to the date of that latest recorded instance He will, in other words, be using the Dictionary for a purpose different from that for which it was intended It would

be easy, but obviously very unfair, to take exception on these grounds to many statements made by Dr Williams here and there in her dissertation. We detect, however, yet more serious flaws in the process of illustration, and we think that it may be profitable to cite and examine one specific instance. From the list of words given at the end of the preceding paragraph of this review it will be observed that these studies are concerned with substantives, adjectives and verbs. It is in the demonstrations of verbs that these flaws are apparent. Let us consider one single instance of the loss of a verb in Middle English and see how misleading an argument may become if it is concerned too closely with the infinitive or 'dictionary form' of that verb, which may or may not be the form most frequently used in the language of everyday life and therefore likely to 'conflict' with other words of the same sound. In the section on 'Lean and its Homonyms' we learn that the Old English verb *lēan*, 'to blame', was one of six which 'became, or would have become, M E *lēne(n)* in the 12th and 13th centuries' (p. 75), the others being *hleowan*, 'to lean, bend, rest', *hlēanan*, 'to cause to lean', *hlānnan*, 'to make or become lean', *lānan*, 'to lend', and *lāman*, 'to reward'. Since no record of *lēan* is known after the Norman Conquest, the M E form is rightly started as *\*lēn* on p. 73 and at 1.4 on p. 74. But in the diagram on p. 74 we meet the form *\*lēn(e)* without any explanation. This infinitive, monosyllabic since the earliest period of Old English (*\*laxan* > *leahan* > *lēan*), has suddenly developed an extra syllable, an optional -e. By the time we reach the table on p. 75, this optional -e has become obligatory and *\*lēne* from *lēan* stands with *\*lēne(n)* from *lāman* and the other four assumed homonyms. This is very perverse. The juxtaposed forms should be *\*lēnen* and *\*lēn*, *\*lēne(n)* and *\*lē(n)*, or *\*lēne* and *\*lē*. Even supposing that a disyllabic infinitive may have developed from the dative *tō lēanne*, it would not be used in such an expression as *Wilt þu lēne him?* (p. 74) and this would therefore not signify *Will you blame him?* at any period of the language. Still more divergent are the non-infinitive forms of *lāman* and *lēan* in M E. So, for example, the forms of the first person singular and plural of the present indicative in the southern dialect would certainly be *\*lēn(1)e* and *\*lēn(1)eþ* as compared with *\*lē* and *\*lēþ*. In the past tense the corresponding forms would be quite different, *\*lēnede* and *\*lēneden* but *\*lōȝ* or *\*lōuȝ* or *\*lōw* and *\*lōȝen* or *\*lowen*. Clearly there could be no 'homonymic conflict'. *Lēan* was lost from our language for a reason other than this. This criticism is also applicable to other verbs.

Further, it is too much to postulate (p. 74) that 'the substitute *blame* (from Old French) begins to appear at the very beginning of the thirteenth century and very soon, apparently, replaced the native verb *entirely*' (italics ours). The notion here insisted upon with such emphasis that the vocable *blame* or *blamen* thus ousted the vocable *lēan* or *lēn* from the speech of men at this precise point in the history of the language is not supported by the evidence. There were other native words to express this concept, such as the related weak verb *leahtran*, as well as *tēlan* and *witan* with its compound *ætewitan*, to name no others. These all survived into Middle English. Then there was *lasten* from Old Norse. 'Preise him, laste him al him is ilche leof' will occur at once to the student of the *Ancien Riwle*. Therefore it cannot be proved that *blame* supplanted *lēan*. The importation of the one word may have had nothing whatever to do with the loss of the other.

Nevertheless, this book is a most interesting study and it may be said to fulfil its purpose. It sheds new light on several intriguing linguistic problems and it contributes very much indeed to our knowledge of the vocabulary of Middle English. With skill and patience the authoress has completed a task beset with many dangers and pitfalls. Future investigators in this field will find her work both stimulating and valuable.

SIMEON POTTER

*The English Strong Verb from Chaucer to Caxton.* By MARY McDONALD LONG Menasha, Wisconsin George Banta 1944 xvi+314 pp

One of the gaps still left in available studies of the history of the English verb has now been filled by this doctoral dissertation. Some forty texts, representing various 'levels' of speech, have been scrutinized. The book thus covers the period between recent fourteenth-century studies and Hereward T. Price's important monograph, *A History of Ablaut in the Strong Verbs from Caxton to the end of the Elizabethan Period* (1910). As might have been expected, no striking discoveries are recorded. Facts, already known and accepted, are corroborated and amplified. Nevertheless, the task has been justified. Such a fully documented account of about fifteen thousand verbal forms is very useful for reference. Many will regret that the printers were unable to supply adequate types for æ so that this symbol rarely appears in its usual form, but more often as *ae*, for which, indeed, there is historical precedent. But æ and *ae* and, in its lengthened form, *ǣ* and *ǣe* and *ǣē*, varied capriciously, give this survey an untidy and amateurish appearance for which the authoress is not responsible. She should certainly have furnished her completed work with a list of corrigenda, for misprints are numerous: 'Alphabetum Narrationem' for 'Alphabetum Narrationum' (p. ix, l. 2), 'Searjeantson' for 'Serjeantson' (p. xiv, l. 12), 'guttural g' for 'guttural g' (p. 26, l. 38), 'Jordon' for 'Jordan' (p. 46, l. 6), 'sceufan, sceafan' for 'scēufan, scēofan', with a wrong reference to Cook's *Sievers* (p. 53, l. 38), 'wedyn' for 'wegyn' (p. 133, l. 22), 'verses' for 'version' (p. 143, l. 36), and many others. The cautious reader will detect that a dangerous little twist is sometimes given to statements cited from such authorities as the *New English Dictionary* and Sweet's *History of English Sounds*. He will soon learn to interpret expressions like 'N E D states' and 'Sweet believes' with a certain latitude. One or two isolated details may be noted. Rare O E *dengan* (p. 69) would be N E *dinge* rather than *ding*, even as *sengan* and *twengan* give *singe* and *turnge*. That for normal infinitive *finden* 'one of the York Plays has the unusual *fande*, possibly by analogy with the preterite form' is a bad guess (p. 73). The context shows clearly that this form derives regularly from the (ultimately related) weak verb *fandian*, 'to try', and it should therefore be omitted from the present study. In discussing M E *rinne(n)* and *renne(n)*, mention should be made (p. 110) of O E. unmetathesized *rimnan* as a possible antecedent, as well as O N *renna*. On the other hand, the 'geminated consonant', a plosive in the texts cited, in such forms as *liggeth*, *luggith* and *liggs* (third person singular) must surely be related (p. 152) to O N *ligr* and not to O E *li(ge)þ*, even on the analogy of the infinitive *licgan*. There is no evidence for an O E strong verb *stecan* (p. 165), and so it is too much to assume that the 'confusion' of this verb with *stican* is 'shown clearly by the forms in Chaucer'. Can 'confusion' be 'shown clearly'? Certainly the O E strong forms should be asterisked as hypothetical. It is unlikely that 'the past participle *yslave*' arises by analogy with *drawen* (n), *gnawen* (n) (p. 172), since it is a normal phonological development. Indeed, the correct explanation is given later (p. 201). The opening paragraph on *flay* is misleading (p. 190). 'The prevailing infinitive *flay(e)* from the O E. contract verb *flēan*, by analogy with the past participle, represents the long stem vowel *ā* by adding the *y(e)* symbol of the North ...'. If *flay* is pronounced [ *fla* ], then it is from O N *flā* and has 'the long stem vowel *ā*'. If it is pronounced as a diphthong, then only is it 'by analogy with the past participle'. The statement that 'the geminated consonant of the O E verb *hebban* is simplified and represented by the symbol *v*' is a misconception (p. 193). It is unsatisfactory to refer the numerous fifteenth-century forms of the verbal prefix *again-* to the O E *ongegn-* (p. 207), since there were two possible series of developments, from *ongēan* (earlier *ongeagn*) and from *ongēn* (earlier *onsegn*). That *fott* in the *Towneley Play of Noah* is the past tense of *fonge* and that it 'may arise by analogy with the preterite *gott* of similar meaning' (p. 233) is unsupported by any

evidence *Fott*, 'fetched', is a different verb altogether and has no place in this section, as the most casual reading of Mak the thief's words will reveal. Again, analogy is an unconvincing expedient in the explanation (p. 241) of the infinitive *grew*, which is, by the way, inaccurately cited for the dissyllabic *grewe* rhyming with *tieve* in the *Yowl Play of the Weavers*. *Grewe* is a genuine Northern infinitive, and no 'analogy with the preterite' need be assumed. It shows a vowel development similar to the fairly frequent (Northern and Scottish) *grufe*, for which we look in vain in Miss Long's thesis, although it is the form used by Noah's wife in a well-known passage, 'Then begynnys to grufe to vs merv chere', in the *Touneley Play* just mentioned.

SIMEON POTTER

SOUTHAMPTON

*Charlemagne and Roland: A Study of the Source of Two Middle English Metrical Romances*, *Roland and Vernagu* and *Otuel and Roland*. By RONALD N. WALPOLE (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 21 No. 6) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, London: Cambridge University Press, 1944. 67 pp. 75c.

In this study Dr R. N. Walpole's main purpose is to trace the common source of two of the English Charlemagne romances, *Roland and Vernagu* and *Otuel and Roland*. These two comprise part of the Charlemagne tradition in England, represented by seven other metrical and three prose romances. *Roland and Vernagu* deals with Charlemagne's journey to the East and disjointed episodes of his expedition to Spain, *Otuel and Roland* with the theme of the converted pagan, from the French *Ötinel*, and further episodes of the Spanish wars. Both were thought by Gaston Paris to form part of a cycle in which the second part of *Otuel* was the necessary complement to *Roland and Vernagu*. After examination of the subject-matter and its method of presentation, Dr Walpole confirms this opinion and suggests a possible source. This may well be the early thirteenth-century fusion of an abridged version of Pierre de Beauvais's French translation of the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquis Granitulerit, qualiterque Carolus Calvus hec ad sanctum Dionysium retulerit* with the Johannis translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*. This compilation in French, gaining credence by proclaiming its Latin source, helped to spread the ecclesiastical legend of Charlemagne at the expense of the profane, to strip Charlemagne of his feudal qualities and make of *li bers* a saint. In the fact that the English versions are derived from this decadent source may lie the explanation of their lack of vigour as compared with the *chansons de geste*, and lack of charm as compared with the treatment of classical, oriental and Celtic history and legend. Dr Walpole then traces the progress of this ecclesiastical version *via* direct translation of the whole *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, with its interpolation, to the English romances. He offers an interesting conjecture about the split into two complementary parts by reference to an early fourteenth-century London bookshop, in which 'translators, scribes, illuminators and binders worked together at the publication' of the fifty-seven items originally contained in the Auchinleck MS. While one scribe worked at *Roland and Vernagu* in this MS, another may have given to *Otuel and Roland* in the same workshop the form in which it has come down to us in the Fillingham MS. This suggestion is prompted by an article by Professor Laura Hibbard Loomis, and may account for the relation between the subject-matter of these accounts. Dr Walpole supports his arguments throughout with detailed collation, notes and bibliography, and includes a family tree of the manuscripts of the *Johannis Turpin*. The whole is a useful addition to the study of the English Charlemagne story.

ELIZABETH J. SWEETING

LONDON



*Marlowe's Imagery and the Marlowe Canon.* By MARION BODWELL SMITH Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania 1940 vii+213 pp

This thesis is a careful piece of work which applies Professor Caroline Spurgeon's method of investigating Shakespeare's imagery to that of Marlowe and records, as a result, some findings which should be of service to students of Marlowe's style and thought and of the Marlowe canon. In her own field the author's reading and deductions are sound, and if one would sometimes differ on a statement of fact or deduction from fact, it is on textual or biographical grounds. The classifying and sifting of material is done faithfully, but, what is not so common, the best chapters are those in which the author is freer to exercise a gift for sound psychological and literary judgement.

The arrangement of the investigation is straightforward. In the first part there is a good survey of modern research in poetic imagery (except for the unfortunate omission of the work of Wolfgang Clemen), followed by a series of chapters that analyse and estimate Marlowe's imagery quantitatively (and to some extent qualitatively) under headings adapted from those used by Miss Spurgeon for Shakespeare: Learning, the Body, Domestic Images, Daily Life, Nature, Animals, the Arts. There follows (Chap. ix) a readable and interesting reconstruction of Marlowe's personality, in which the evidence of the images is tested by that from other sources, a brief but just account of 'Marlowe's Image Style' and a survey of the image sources. The second part is concerned to apply the test of imagery to the Canon and opens with a discriminating note (Chap. i) on methods of application and on the relative significance of different types of imagery. The problems of authorship within the Canon are next considered, and here the tests (of proportionate distribution of subjects, frequency of parallel and similarity of image sources) bear out the assumptions of general criticism. In one case, that of the comic scenes of *Faustus*, they tally strikingly with the findings of textual and bibliographical criticism: it is gratifying to learn that, 'In the three hundred and thirty-nine lines of the comic scenes of the 1604 edition of *Faustus* only two true images are to be found'. (Thus, against 93 in the 1146 lines of the non-comic scenes.) The plays variously attributed to Marlowe are next tested, and, as a result, *The Troublesome Reign*, *Selimus*, *The Taming of A Shrew*, *Lust's Dominion*, *The Contention* (and *II Henry VI*), *Richard III*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Titus Andronicus* are rejected outright or with modifications, while for four plays (*Arden of Feversham*, *A Larum for London*, *I Henry VI* and *The True Tragedy* (with *III Henry VI*)) the test 'establishes the probability of Marlowe's total or partial authorship'. Though one may not hold the author's opinion on the textual relations of *Contention* and *True Tragedy* to the *Henry VI* plays, it must be admitted that the position is fairly stated and the test fairly applied. Some useful charts and similar material conclude the volume, which, however, lacks an index.

[There are misprints on pp. 40 (l. 3), 66 (l. 8), 75 (l. 10), 134 (l. 10), 168 (l. 11) and 198 (l. 10).]

UNA ELLIS-FERMOR

LONDON

*Machiavelli's The Prince: An Elizabethan Translation.* Edited by HARDIN CRAIG Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, London H. Milford 1944 xli+177 pp. 21s. 6d.

*The Prince* is best known to English readers in the translation by E. D. (Edward Dacres) which was printed in 1640, and has been reproduced in the familiar volume xxxix of *The Tudor Translations* in 1905. There are in existence, however, seven manuscript translations which have hitherto remained in manuscript, four among the Harley MSS., one in Bodley (MS. Ashmole 792.3), one at Queen's

College, Oxford, and one in the possession of Mr Jules Furthman. These manuscripts exhibit two independent translations and a third independent up to the last two chapters. Mr Furthman's copy has been used as the basis of the present edition of one of these versions by anonymous translators, by Professor Hardin Craig, whose *The Enchanted Glass* is the measure of his mastery of the Elizabethan field of thought. It is not the earliest of the manuscripts, but presents the best text of an undoubtedly Elizabethan version.

The manuscript used has not been reproduced as a document, but has been edited to some extent, with corrections, and with collations with other manuscripts of this version in the Notes. (To judge from the specimen of the manuscript reproduced, the proof-reading has left something to be desired, e.g. on p. 68, for 'daungerous' read 'daingerous', for 'vertuous' read 'verteous', and for 'suspicion' read 'suspicion'.) Professor Craig has, however, preserved the scribal characteristics of his copy text, and this adds to the value of his edition. He has expanded abbreviations by the use of italicised letters. It is always a difficult task to arrive at a compromise between an edited text and a reproduction of a text.

The question of authorship has, of course, exercised Professor Craig in his scholarly introduction, but no indications are available. He is inclined, however, to identify Kyd as the scribe who made this copy from some original not now extant, on the grounds of identity of handwriting with other examples of Kyd's hand. It is extremely difficult to accept any of the identifications proposed, whether of the hand of the text reproduced on p. 122, or of the copy of Tichborne's *Elegy* reproduced on p. xxxi, with the hand of the letter to Pickering or the articles of accusation against Marlowe, whether in style or in detail. Indeed, I should not hesitate to take the contrary view with reasonable certainty. And I do not understand the use made of the phrase 'obviously an Elizabethan hand' (p. xxiv), as distinct from 'English secretary' (p. xviii), unless it is suggested as dating the writing within limits that few would venture to assert, and surely least of all experts. Was not the phrase used by the Museum experts merely as a description of a type of hand, in fact to mean 'secretary'? The reproduction of part of a page of the manuscript is, in fact, unsatisfactory, and greatly inferior to the collotype facsimile of the Tichborne *Elegy* on p. xxxi.

Professor Craig has not had space in his introduction to compare the translation with Dacres' of 1640 from a literary point of view, on which point his authoritative observations would have been welcome. He has, however, found and noted clear traces of the influence of a Latin intermediary translation.

A few notes to conclude. There are suggestions of copying from dictation in some places, to judge from indications in the notes. On the other hand, there is certainty of misreading, either by scribe or dictator, of an original copy, e.g. in the reading 'prince' for 'province', which is clearly due to the abbreviated crossed *p* for *pro* (p. 127). I do not find anywhere in Plutarch a satisfactory source for the passage to which the reader is referred by the contemporary annotator in his marginal note (pp. 64-5 and Note). The wood-cut on the dust-jacket is, I take it, from Alciati. I cannot check this at present, but it would be an almost inevitable choice for Professor Craig! On p. 177 the enigmatic 'SS', if it is in fact 'SS', might be explained by Bishop Fisher's use of 'S' to mean 'Scripture' and 'SS' to mean 'Scriptures', and so equivalent to quotation marks.

We are grateful to Professor Craig, and to Mr Furthman, for this notable addition to our library of Elizabethan translations. It is a pleasing book, moreover, and set in a type which helps reading, in these days of small type and crowded pages. The University of North Carolina Press has dealt generously with the book.

C. J. Sisson

*Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution* Edited with introduction and commentaries by DON M WOLFE Foreword by CHARLES A BEARD New York and London Thomas Nelson and Sons 1944 30s

This is a valuable and interesting work, valuable historically and to a singular degree interesting because of its relevance to the present situation, though this is perhaps hardly a theme to elaborate in this periodical. We hear of our soldiers to-day asking what are we to get out of all this blood and sacrifice, and it was the same question which the victorious army of the House of Commons began to ask, as the first civil war drew to an end and Parliament, now predominantly Presbyterian, began to talk of disbanding or transference to Ireland (see p 59 of Introduction). Speaking of the *Solemn Engagement of the Army*, 5 June 1647, the editor, in his interesting and full Introduction, writes 'For the first time in English history a body of soldiers had organised itself on a democratic basis to exert its collective will on crucial events.' The Beveridge Report has been spoken of as representing in outline at least what Mr Churchill and Mr Bevin promised the soldiers embarking for the invasion of France. The three agreements of 1647, 1648, and 1649 represent 'the three great constitutional sabbies' of the most advanced spokesmen of Army feeling, the so-called Levellers. It is these which Mr Wolfe has printed, but surrounded them with a large selection from the Remonstrances, Petitions, pamphlets, etc which led up to, flanked, and continued the agitation (and it is in this movement that the word 'Agitator' first made its appearance). The aim of the movement is plainly stated in *The Interest of England Maintained* of 26 May 'To free the people not onely from the present burden, but the future danger of him [i.e. the King] or his Adherents that so the People may be in some measure recompenced for the hazards they have runne, and the blood they have lost and that so the worke of this Kingdome may be once thoroughly done'. What the Agitators and the Agreements aimed at is well stated in *A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens*, 7 July 1646 'More completely than any other document of 1646 it anticipates the Leveller program of the three years to follow overthrow of the Kingship and Lords, supremacy of the Commons, responsibility of the Commons to the people, annual Parliaments, unlimited religious toleration, constitutional guarantees against Commons tyranny, redress of economic grievances' (Introduction, p 10). The general introduction indeed gives a very full and intelligent account of the movement and its significance for the time and for later times. The documents selected for printing have each a special introduction. Three things seem to the present reviewer of interest: the general significance of such a movement, the reactions to it of Cromwell who used it and then crushed it, the relation to the Levellers of Milton and his political theories. On the last of these Mr Wolfe has written a work which I have not had the advantage of seeing but from remarks by the way in this volume one can gather what is its tenor.

A word then on the general significance of the movement and its interest for us to-day. Professor John Macmurray, in a pamphlet, *Through Chaos to Community* (Peace Aims Pamphlet, no 24), points out that revolutions are not made by idealists thinking that a war or a rebellion has given them the world or the nation to reconstruct as they think good. 'A revolution is a change in the form of social habit. Such a change, since it is a change of social form, can only be brought about by the pressure of absolute necessity. It happens only when the institutions of society cannot any longer support the common life. Consequently a revolution comes from below, as an explosion of suppressed energy directed against the institutions of society and their guardians and once it has begun its course it moves to a determined end.' Thus all the well-intentioned efforts of Disarmament Conferences, World Economic Conferences, Reparations Conferences, Kellogg Pact, were futile and did more harm than good because there was behind them no change of social feeling, no real demand for a world revolution that should secure a better economic

and political world. What is true of our day was true of the history of the Leveller movement in England in the sixteenth century, here sketched and illustrated by the relevant documents. The proposals were, many of them, sound and just enough, indeed many of them were ultimately, as is pointed out by the constitutional historian Charles A. Beard in a preface, embodied in the American Constitution. As Wolfe says in the Introduction 'The Levellers, mature but unrealistic democrats, reasoned for political privileges almost three centuries remote from actuality in their native land'. The attitude of Cromwell, Fairfax and the Independents was that which is only ceasing to be the prevalent one to-day. Religion and Politics have different ends in view. 'Religious enthusiasm they directed to liberty of conscience and the virtues of holy living, realism they applied to forces of battle, to power politics, and questions of constitutional settlement' (p. 56).

Up to a certain point Cromwell indeed found the Levellers useful in his conflict with the Parliament dominated by the Presbyterians, and in his resolve to kill the King, for the abolition of royalty and of the House of Lords were among the Levellers' demands. But of their aims he had no understanding nor of any constitutional problems. What he did understand was 'the inexorable timing of history' (p. 51). 'Whereas they spoke for the future and made ready to take the great leap, taking no thought, as Rainsborough said for the opposition of the unrighteous, Cromwell looked into men's faces, appraised the power of London wealth, the sway of the Presbyterian clergy, the magic of the king's name, the insistent pressure of the wealthy nobles allied to the Independent cause'. In the end he put them down with a strong hand.

Milton's attitude was an interesting one, and I should have been glad to see Mr Wolfe's *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*. Whether he had personal relations with the leaders of the movement I do not know. But he was as entirely an idealist as they, eager for a complete reform of Church and State, and if, after the dismissal of the Barebones Parliament, he rallied to Cromwell, it was in the hope that he would carry out single-handed many of the demands included in the Levellers' Manifestoes, as the abolition of tithes and reduction of many laws. And his pamphlets argue on the same idealistic lines with the same references to Scripture and Aristotle. Indeed, at the last moment he was trying to persuade Monk to reform the English Constitution, with no regard to either history or the mind of the greater part of the nation. Nor does he there disguise with whom his sympathies had lain even while he served Cromwell. I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will easily agree with me, that a free Commonwealth without single person or house of lords is by far the best government, if it can be had, but we have all this while say they bin expecting it, and cannot yet attain it. 'Tis true, indeed, when monarchy was dissolv'd, the form of a commonwealth should have bin forthwith fram'd. and the practice therof immediatly begun, that the people might have soon bin satisfi'd and delighted with the decent order, ease and benefit therof. we had bin then by this time firmly rooted past fear of commotions or mutations, and now flourishing this care of timely settling a new government instead of the old, too much neglected hath bin our mischief. Yet the cause therof may be ascribed with most reason to the frequent disturbances, interruptions and dissolutions which the Parliament hath had partly from the impatient or disaffected people, partly from som ambitious leaders in the Armie. much contrarie, I believe, to the mind and approbation of the Armie itself and thr other Commanders, once undeciev'd, or in thr own power'. So to the end Milton dreamed.

The Levellers were in advance of their time. They soon lost the support of the mass of the army. 'They were a seventeenth-century anomaly, their antagonism to monarchy incomprehensible, their ideas of a new order strange and remote' (p. 79). What, if any, was Cromwell's contribution to later developments? I suppose one must agree with Carlyle and Boswell's father that it began and ended

with the effects of the great decision of the execution of the King 'This action of the English Regicides did in effect strike a damp like death through the heart of flunkiesm universally in the world' 'He gart kings ken there was a lith i' their necks' It is a strange episode in English history and, as I have been tempted to indicate, not without its lesson for us to-day Carlyle's hope lay in the appearance of a 'new genuine Hero-worship' One wonders what he would have thought of the hero worship of Germany to-day

H. J. C. GRIERSON

EDINBURGH

*Favorite American Plays of the Nineteenth Century* Edited with an Introduction by BARRETT H. CLARK Princeton University Press, London. H. Milford, Oxford University Press xxvii + 553 pp 25s

Barrett H. Clark, to whom students of modern drama have long been indebted for his collections, classifications and surveys of its somewhat confusing wealth, has added a volume of ten popular plays from nineteenth-century American drama. Nine of them are selected from the 100 plays in his 20 volume series, *America's Lost Plays*, all of which were from manuscript sources, all native in subject or authorship (or both) and all of marked popularity Both the original work and the present selection contain plays which, as the editor indicates, are of value as documents for the study of American taste and thought, besides being the essential material of the history of the theatre Since all but two of the plays in this selection belong to the seventies, eighties and nineties, they offer an extremely interesting comparison with the English drama during those transition years when Robertson had handed it on to Pinner and Jones and the promise of the renaissance of the nineties can first be traced 'That they are not masterpieces', is, as Clark says, 'entirely beside the point' The same criticism might be made of the bulk of English drama between 1870 and 1890 (and of a good deal after) and it would be equally beside the point for the historian of that theatre and of the light it throws upon the nature and development of taste in theatrical art and of opinion in the spheres of social and ethical history These plays represent that older-fashioned taste which, in England, was gratified by *The Silver King*

But the American plays have, by the very nature of American history, one great advantage over any similar collection that could be made in England The period they cover contains some of the crucial events of American history: the Indian wars, the pushing west of the frontier, and, the greatest crisis of the century, the War between the States All these are mirrored in the plays *Metamora*, as early as 1829, paints a picture of an Indian leader as wise, far-sighted and noble as was Pontiac, *The Heart of Maryland* (1895) is a sympathetic study of the South that was nevertheless so popular in the North as to become a stock favourite, and the western plays, *Davy Crockett* (1872) and *My Partner* (1879), take us straight back to the world of Bret Harte In others there are pictures of life in the prosperous towns, with the growing wealth of America and the consequent problems of political organization already shrewdly appraised

The gain, in zest and vividness, is immense Crude they may sometimes be and submissive in the main to the structural technique of nineteenth-century melodrama or farce But in the worst of them there is direct observation, that emancipation from outworn theme, setting and character for which Robertson and Jones had to fight successively through some quarter century in England. This shows, as might be expected, chiefly in setting and character, in the way of life portrayed (whether in New York or in San Francisco) and in individual studies for which few or no models existed except life itself It is not only the western gold miner, the jobbing politician, who is in this way original, the young American women,

with their good sense, ready speech, active intelligence and genuine dignity, make their contemporaries in English drama sound like the echoes of another civilization. This, and the American husband's unfailing and always justified confidence in his wife, may at times seem naive. But, when all is said, it is a better world to live in than Mrs Tanqueray's.

By rights it should have ensured a better future for dramatic art, and, as we read these plays, so much fuller of promise than their English contemporaries, we may wonder why a civilization so teeming with variety did not forthwith produce a new Elizabethan drama—at least, a new Elizabethan prose comedy. But much intervened to prevent the immediate development of the twentieth-century drama in America, and the English, profiting by the direct impact of Ibsen and the work of Mr Shaw and of the Irish dramatists, went ahead faster. This paradox need not detain us, for the American drama to-day is an easy reach ahead of us and showing no sign of failing.

In connexion with this work may be noticed two pamphlets from the University of Pennsylvania. The first<sup>1</sup> is on the writings of Thomas Godfrey, the production of whose *Prince of Parthia, a Tragedy*, in 1767, was, as the author thinks, 'as far as existing records of any kind reveal the first presentation of the product of a native American pen on a professional stage by professional actors'. The second<sup>2</sup> is a history of the Philadelphia Theatre during twelve representative and important years, including a commentary on the theatres, plays and actors and a day-book listing the performances. The pamphlet is only an extract from a longer manuscript, but enough is shown here to indicate the kind of information for which reference might be made to the original.

UNA ELLIS-FERMOR

LONDON

*Essays in honor of Albert Feuillerat*. Edited by HENRI M PEYRE (Yale Romanic Studies, vol. XXXI) New Haven Yale University Press, London Humphrey Milford 1943 viii+294 pp 16s 6d

Professor Feuillerat has one of those balanced minds which, while utilising modern methods of research, have helped to preserve literary criticism from the extravagant emphasis on documentation which came to us from Germany. In his preface to these studies, President Seymour quotes him as saying that 'Scholarship should only be the means surely and definitely to attain an intimate perception of the human values of literature'. It is fitting that a scholar whose published works extend over a period of forty years, and who is also the founder of the Yale Romanic Studies to which we are indebted for a number of excellent monographs, should receive from his colleagues the tribute of a book of essays inspired by this humane idea of culture. And if one might have expected more studies in the field of our own Renaissance literature—the field in which Professor Feuillerat has won renown—it must be remembered that he has by no means confined himself to this domain and is the author of distinguished works on Proust and Bourget.

The present essays, mainly devoted to French literature, vary somewhat in manner, some being pieces of pure research, and very valuable research, others, of literary interpretation or evaluation.

Karl Young prints for the first time the text of Machaut's *Dir de la Harpe* from one of the two MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, with variants from the other and from the MS in the Pierpont Morgan Library. He also discusses the question of Chaucer's possible indebtedness to this poem.

<sup>1</sup> *Thomas Godfrey Protégé of William Smith*, by Albert Frank Gegenheimer Philadelphia, 1943, viii+37 pp

<sup>2</sup> *A History of the Philadelphia Theatre, 1878–1890*, by Thomas Frederic Marshall Philadelphia, 1943, 54 pp

In *Survivances modernes de la Mesme Helleguin* Gustave Cohen shows how belief in this spectral cavalcade survives in literature to the time of De Retz and in folklore to our own times. The philological commentary is fascinating.

R. C. Bates examines the work and character of Philippe Mousqués, whose *Chronique rimée* has a certain significance as 'a last will and testament of the mediaeval flowering of France'.

In *The Structure and Real Significance of the 'Decameron'* Angelo Lipari brings further light to bear on his interpretation of the 'dolce stil nuovo', amplifying the theory he had advanced in his book on Lorenzo de' Medici's literary ideas and in his article on *Donne e Muse*. Briefly, his view is that the 'donne' of whom the Italian writers were always speaking were not merely muses but symbols of aesthetic principles. 'La donna gentile' personified 'the new Italian poetic ideal'. This theory he supports by means of a new interpretation of the *Decameron*. If the speakers are by each in turn addressed as 'donne' (although three of them are men), this is precisely because they personify the literary ideals which Boccaccio wished to set forth, because they figure Muses, and 'le Muse son donne'. Thus the framework of the *Decameron* affords a key to the whole book. This is its 'true function' and it 'must be regarded as intrinsic and not merely as decorative'. This is a substantial essay of fifty pages—almost a book in itself—and, if we are not mistaken, an important contribution to literary history.

R. T. Hill shows how happily Du Bellay was inspired in his *Regrets* by the genres, originally Provençal, of the *Enueg* and the *Plazer*—genres which had been cultivated by Italian poets from the thirteenth century onwards, and especially by Pucci in his *Noie*, and by Folgore da San Gimignano. It is to be hoped that Mr Hill will follow up the vein he has begun to explore with such interesting results.

Tucker Brooke examines the authorship of *Willobie his Avis* and the reality of the 'Hadrian Dorrell' to whom the prefatory epistle was attributed. Following the lead of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, the *Avisa* was a very popular book; it ran through at least six editions, between 1594 and 1635.

How the horse appeared by reference and even by representation on the stage of seventeenth-century France is the subject of a delightful essay, of fabulous erudition, by H. Carrington Lancaster. At the first performance of P. Corneille's *Andromède*, Pegasus was in cardboard, but a more substantial 'Pégaze' was procured for the revival of 1682. We learn what his groom, shoes, feed, etc., cost the company, how Persée rode him and how they did their 'caracole admirable au milieu de l'air' would have been something worth seeing.

In *L'Invention chez Corneille* Jean Boorsch shows how the dramatist invented the characters which, in the stories he took from history, seemed to him missing—or to be needed, by recourse to the theme of the 'rivaux', or the 'rivaies', or both, and often by the use of parallel plots. In this matter there is a striking consistency in Corneille's procedure from beginning to end.

In *Notes sur quelques Pensées de Pascal*, as a result of what he too modestly calls 'quelques sondages', Gilbert Chinard points to the strong influence which Hobbes exercised on Pascal as a scientific, and as a political, thinker. For the great passage on the two Infinites, Pascal found in Hobbes not merely 'une illustration dramatique', but 'une sorte de tremplin qui lui permettait de prendre son élan'. Textual similarity, at least in one passage, leaves no kind of doubt in the matter. This is a very important article.

A. R. Morehouse sets out and discusses the elements of the Voltaire-Pascal controversy; he states each case with considerable fairness and his conclusion is judicious.

In *Rousseau's Quarrel with Grimm and Diderot*, Norman L. Torrey evokes with admirable delicacy the atmosphere and course of a very different kind of quarrel. Grimm's famous letter to Jean-Jacques, dated 'samedi, 3 novembre' (1757), which

P-P Plan thought had been 'fabriquée longtemps après' (after the publication of the *Confessions*) is, in this critic's view, almost certainly genuine, in spite of its being wrongly dated. During these weeks in 1757 Grimm's letters were apparently undated, and the probability that Madame d'Épinay dated this one later does not invalidate it.

J M Allison studies Condorcet as a forgotten historian. The *Esquisse d'un tableau historique* might well, indeed, be reread by those publicists of to-day who interpret the course of history as one of progress.

*Visionnaires Balzac et Daumier* is a splendid piece of criticism, written with all the insight and imaginative power with which the late Henri Focillon, whose loss we so much regret, was gifted.

There were very deep affinities between Renan and Lamartine. A number of Renan's most characteristic ideas—on the religious sentiment, on the notion of God as a concept in formation or as something being gradually discovered, on the eternal becoming, on progress through revolution, even his explanation of Christianity by means of race and geography—had been already expressed or adumbrated by the only Romantic poet he really loved: such, in brief, are the far-reaching and important conclusions of a study by Henri Peyre, who is the editor of this volume of essays.

In '*Le Christ du Paganisme*' · *Apollonius de Tyane et Flaubert* Jean Seznec shows how, in the successive versions of the *Tentation de Saint-Antoine*, Flaubert made use of Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* and other sources. He also compares Balzac's and the elder Dumas' attitude towards the famous wonder-worker, Apollonius. One's impression of Flaubert's learning and artistry is enhanced by this study. In the *Tentation*, at least, 'il n'invente jamais'.

*Petrouchka's Wake*, by Wallace Fowhe, analyses in the puppet, and in his many brothers, the association of the comic and tragic in the soul of modern man.

In *Une hypothèse historique d'Aldous Huxley* F Baldensperger examines the documentation of *Grey Eminence*, and proposes at least some amendment to the author's theory of historical responsibilities. He sees at the same time in this thoughtful biography a means to bringing about what is so much needed: l'affermissement des caractères, des personnalités, en fonction du temps et de la volonté.

Finally, W Kenneth Cornell puts the *Case for Pierre Reverdy* with learning, sympathy and imagination. Reverdy's aesthetic is clearly grasped, and what remain, in his work, if not weaknesses, at least drawbacks, are not concealed.

The book contains, in addition to an index, a complete bibliography of the writings of Professor Feuillerat. It is a fine example of practical co-operation in scholarship, and will be a stimulus to lovers of medieval and modern literature. Students of French, in particular, cannot afford not to read it. There is refreshment too, in these days, in handling a book printed on such paper.

A. LYTTON SELLS

DURHAM

*The Double Invitation in the Legend of Don Juan*. By D E MacKAY. Stanford University. Stanford University Press, London. Humphrey Milford. 1943. xx+244 pp. 18s. 6d.

Mrs MacKay presents here a very painstaking collation, on the lines of the Finnish school of modern folklore research, of 81 folklore variants of the theme which provides the *dénouement* of Tirso de Molina's *El Burlador de Sevilla*, Don Juan's invitation to the statue to sup with him and the latter's counter-invitation. The texts of the versions, drawn from all over Europe and from Spanish-America, fill 119 pages; the three Slavic tales are given in English translation. While the two



Latin MSS are the oldest on record (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) and appear from the circumstances of their discovery, to belong to the German group, the archetype as here established is predominantly Spanish in location, it is found in thirteen of the fifteen Spanish and in both the Spanish-American versions, while only five out of twenty French-Breton and four out of fifteen German versions conform to it. In Tirso all three constituent elements of the archetype are present.

Mrs MacKay's conclusions are modest enough, and more modestly stated than in the foreword of her distinguished mentor, Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa, who throws down a very provocative gage to upholders of the older tradition of literary research, with its 'unscientific approach to the interpretation of the origin, history and meaning of the themes involved'. The study and interpretation of the character of Don Juan, Professor Espinosa holds with Mrs MacKay, is 'a sociological, psychological and literary quibble, the origins of which (*sic*) need not be discovered'. 'There is nothing original about debauch, nothing unique about transgression'. After this, and the statement that Bévotte's *La Légende de Don Juan* 'reads to modern scholars like a caricature of scholarship', the critic is entitled to bring to Mrs MacKay's 'important and timely publication for the science of folklore' a more exigent scrutiny of what the new 'scientific' scholarship can yield. Three successive paragraphs of the brief 'Summary and Conclusion', beginning 'It seems possible', 'It seems likely,' and 'It seems clear', make it apparent at least that 'science' has not brought the study of the legend appreciably nearer to established fact. They provide indeed grounds for querying Professor Espinosa's assertion that the author's methods are absolutely objective and her conclusions sound. What, we may ask, would the student of comparative religion make of the reasoning 'It seems possible that there are no true exceptions to the statement that the Double Invitation versions are Christian tales. Version 21 seems to have no Christian references, but it contains a moral lesson of gratitude' (p. 115)?

Specific conclusions are two only. 'In the first place, the twofold composition of the Don Juan cycle is found to be entirely folkloric and legendary on the one hand and entirely literary and artistic on the other. The theme of the double invitation in *El Burlador de Sevilla* is as distinctly folkloric and traditional as Tirso's creation of the character Don Juan Tenorio is artistic and original, in spite of the fact that Tirso's protagonist appears in embryo in the Spanish ballads'. It is a considerable assumption here that nothing folkloric or traditional is to be found in the *romances*, the more so since seven of the fifteen Spanish versions of the legend are in fact *romances*. Against the assertion, moreover, that Tirso's protagonist is an original creation stands the statement in the foreword 'the character of Don Juan is, as Mrs MacKay shows, the least original [element] in the Tirso play'. Of the immediately following statement in the foreword, 'Mrs MacKay has definitely proved that it is the theme of the double invitation that gives the idea of moral purpose to the play, and not the character of Don Juan,' this reviewer can only say that he finds no such demonstration, as distinct from dogmatic assertion, in the book, and that it is, on the face of it, a very dubious proposition. The double invitation provides a convenient *dénouement* for working out the dramatist's moral purpose: it does not supply the moral purpose. The second conclusion is merely that, with the folklore theme crystallized by the establishment of the archetype, 'it seems to be evident that Tirso's moral theme for the *Burlador de Sevilla* was readymade for him in European oral tradition'. This again begs the question of Tirso's moral theme. To have the archetype is, however, gain to the folklorist, and no critic denies, to our knowledge, that Tirso found legendary material to his hand. But the non-folklorist who believes that a great literary creation is more than, and other than, a museum piece or a laboratory specimen would still ask for tolerance for that other, more humane approach that

aims at understanding. To draw a pen through sociological, psychological and literary criticism directed to this end as being a mere 'quibble' is neither objective nor sound.

WILLIAM C. ATKINSON

GLASGOW

LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA *El Conde don Pero Vélez y don Sancho el Deseado* Edited by RICHARD HUBBELL OLMSTEAD University of Minnesota and Oxford University Presses 1944 viii+189 pp 15s 6d

The notorious recklessness of the printers who published or pirated editions of plays of the Golden Age gives high importance to a modern critical edition from an autograph manuscript. It is almost only on such a foundation that one may build a critical appreciation of the author, at least in the estimate of subtleties. There are, unfortunately, many very great plays which do not persist in the author's holograph. When reading them we must be on our guard against attributing to the creative writer crudities that may be due to the printer or the prompter's copy. The present play is not of great intrinsic importance and its author is decidedly one of the second rank. But it serves to classify Vélez de Guevara with more precision than we have yet achieved, and it has certain peculiarities of interest.

This edition had already reached proof stage in Madrid when the outbreak of the Civil War cut Spain off from the civilized world. Dr Olmstead is to be congratulated on persuading the University of Minnesota to complete the issue, and in so handsome a form. The edition is for readers. Paleographical subtleties are smoothed out. So far as one may judge without the manuscript, this edition presents evidence of accurate editorship. At line 952 I think *la doio* (for *la adoro*) should have been emended, and I doubt 3116 '*Sueño obra*', which seems to me far-fetched (*¿Sueño ahora?*). The notes explain rather more than a moderately instructed person requires, and miss some special points. On line 466 *la de Nichea*, the note correctly explains the allusion to the novel *Don Florisel de Niquea*, but omits to account for the feminine *la* (—*la Gloria*) in connexion with a man. At line 535 *pariente* is used in the technical sense, the Emperor Charles V gave it to nobles immediately below the rank of grandee, and Vélez de Guevara is underlining the importance of the Ladrone de Guevara. At line 2096 there should be a note explaining when the office of *condestable* replaced the older office of *alférez*, since there is an anachronism involved. If one must explain at line 943 that *Las Transformaciones* is an allusion to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, one should add that line 957 *Dapnes* is from *Metamorphoses* 1, 452–567, since the book was mentioned by the poet to prepare the way for this mention of Daphne.

The remoter origins of the play have more bearing on its criticism than is often the case, since they clear away any historical prejudice that may be induced in our minds by its imputed setting. My account of *El Conde Vélez se alabó* (in *European Balladry*, p. 183) is somewhat misleading, since I had not then discovered its true affiliation. The fragmentary ballad is almost devoid of incident, and it was a great surprise to learn that it was once a full account of Imogen and Iachimo, as in *Cymbeline*. The *Decamerone* (II, 9) is our first evidence for this tale, and if there was a French *conte* in Boccaccio's hands, it does not seem to have survived as such. It came to Spain as a *conte* to take its place in Timoneda's *Patañuelo* (xv 'Finea, en haber perdido casa, estado y pasatiempo, Pedro se llamó, y por tiempo fué juez de su marido'). Timoneda's source was probably Italian, and so was probably that of the dramatist Lope de Rueda in *Eufemia*. These novelesque forms are independent of the ballad tradition.

The ballad circulated in a truncated form in the sixteenth century, which is given in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Antología*, IX, p. 189. The Jewish version is somewhat

longer (*Ant* x, p 311—not p 301 as Dr Olmstead prints on p 46—and R Gil, *Romancero judeo-español*, no xxxiii 'Alabose el conde Velo') A vulgar version, still more denuded of detail, circulates now in Spain and Portugal under the title *La Apuesta*, but Dámaso Ledesma obtained from Cristina Benito an authentic old ballad in which the heroine's name is given as *Mariamita* (*Canc Salm* pp 176–7 and 179) This name, common as it is, gives the clue we have to do with a Spanish version of the French *Les Anneaux de Marionson* (Doncieux 15), which is the undoubted source of the Piedmontese *Gli Anelli* (Nigra 6) The Greek ballad of *Mavrianos and his Sister* (Politis 81) might derive from some Italian song much older than *Gli Anelli*, or it might stem, directly or indirectly, from Boccaccio Whether the French *chanson populaire* is from an Italian or a (lost) French prose source is not known, one can only affirm that it is certainly the point from which the Italian and Spanish forms have derived Doncieux does not record a melody for his ballad, but one is recorded by Gagnon (p 158) from Canada, Elisabeta Oddone gives one from Italy (*Canz pop dell Italia sett* p 24), and Ledesma gives that used in León, and another is given in Torner's *Temas* (p 54)

Torner 6/8 U16

e f /gacee e ded /c (bcba)b b a g./e fgaa a.aa(bcb)/c c  
e d /c (bagf')g g e g /a (gagf)e e d c /b agf'g g e a /g (fgfe)e e.

Ledesma 3fl 3/4 U4

(cd)/e c/dcb/(ab)c d/edc/dcb/d /  
(cd)/e c/dcb/ag a/c c/abb/a / /

Gagnon 2/4 U8

ccc/b( c)dd/a( b)cc/b( a)gg/a  
(g)gg/c( c)cc/d( c)ac/d( e)dd/c

Oddone 1 sh. 6/8 U8

def/g bag/g.. bcd/dcbbag/a .  
adc/dbfaad/g. dgg/bagaaf/g.

Between the melodies of Torner and Ledesma one notes the characteristic difference of North and South. The first tune is in rapid semi-quavers and semi-demi-quavers, and as such is bound to be very much changed from its original, which might have been something not unlike the Italian tune The Leonese and Canadian versions seem to approximate as closely as two tunes separated by three thousand miles and four hundred years of separate evolution can do One might suspect that the first and second Spanish phrases were taken from the first and last of a French original, so that there has been an inversion of the phrases preserved by Gagnon The French origin of the Spanish tune is assured by its observance of the French rule of alternate masculine and feminine cadence (8 7 8 7), which is also seen in the rhymes of the sixteenth-century ballad

Juan de Timoneda seems to have known no more than the printed ballads told him—another testimony to the extraordinarily petrifying effect of print on balladry He failed to recognize the elements of the story he gave in his *Patrañuelo*, and saw no more than a scandal in some ancient court of León, of which the protagonist had, by that time, a kind of Spanish name, Count Vélez (*ex-devant* Velo) There was a good Leonese scandal in the ballad of *Jimena and the Count of Saldaña*, but, perhaps thinking that the good name of León would not survive too close a copy, it pleased Timoneda to remove the thing to the court of Sancho III el Deseado in Castile So he made an 'erudite' ballad, beginning as usual with the date and place. There is thus no need to suppose 'que lo transcribió de la tradición oral y popular' (p 43), since he had no resource but the printed ballad of the *Silva*.

Still less do we need to consider the 'Fondo histórico de la comedia' (pp. 40-3) The delusion that Spanish ballads are always historically true dies hard

The last stage was the arrival of a poet in search of a pedigree: a poet who had already established his family among the heroes of the ballad of the 300 *hidalgos de Jaén* Luis Vélez de Santander had metamorphosed himself into Vélez de Guevara as an approach to the Ladrones de Guevara, admittedly noble He now found the eponymous hero of his stock in Timoneda's fake ballad of *El Conde Vélez y el rey Sancho el Deseado* The ballad of the *Conde de Saldaña* gave him what further details he wished, and he got an authentic popular touch by twisting the well-known song of *El caballero de Olmedo* into *el de Oñate* How he must have enjoyed writing the fantastic scene in which Sancho III gives a Vélez de Guevara o de Oñate the admiralty, constableness (before its time), and mastership of Santiago all in one theatrical donation! He contributed from his own stock the final solution in which the people of Castile revolt and force their king to set free and honour Count Vélez! But there is no history in all this, nor any notable degree of plausibility The characters are of papier-mâché and the kings and princesses are only too obviously strutting players Verve and gusto make a rattling business of it while the performance lasts, but the grease-paint is not to be looked at in clear cold light

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE

OXFORD

*The Ship of Fools by Sebastian Brant*, translated into rhyming couplets with Introduction and Commentary by EDWIN H. ZEYDEL, with reproductions of the original woodcuts (*Records of Civilisation, Sources and Studies*, xxxvi) New York Columbia University Press, London H. Milford 1944 ix+399 pp. 38s

This edition of Brant's *Narrenschiff*, which is based upon the first edition (1494) and F. Schultz's facsimile (Strassburg, 1913) represents the crown of those valuable preliminary studies which Professor E. H. Zeydel has from time to time contributed to the *Modern Language Quarterly* and *Modern Language Notes* It is the first genuine English translation, as Alexander Barclay (1508/9) and Henry Watson (1509) gave but free versions of Brant's book, based upon Latin and French adaptations

The appearance of this work at the time of Brant's four hundred and fiftieth anniversary is most suitable. Brant was a decisive force in literature. He mediated between humanism and the old order, between Nominalism and Realism (cf. *Modern Language Quarterly*, June 1943), and above all his clear, buoyant style had a decisive influence on literature 'In no other German work of the fifteenth century are grave seriousness and heavy moral didacticism, schooled in the accepted authorities, so completely fused with ribald, teasing humour' (p. 18) Brant's importance is also reflected in the fact that six authorized editions appeared in his own lifetime. There follow later versions in Latin, Low Saxon, French, Dutch, Flemish, English and modern German, especially A. W. Strobel's first modern edition of 1839 and Zarncke's monumental edition of 1854—'a masterpiece of philological assiduity and acumen'.

E. H. Zeydel enjoyed the advantage of working in the library of Cornell University, which possesses the whole Zarncke collection. He was thus able to lay before us a vast amount of material of inestimable value to any research on Brant—material which he has here put into its proper perspective and dealt with in the most methodical and painstaking manner, displaying moreover an admirable clarity and precision

In the course of this volume he confirms and revalues all previous works dealing with the *Narrenschiff* and hints at its sources—the Bible, the *corpus juris canonici*, the Church Fathers, the ancients, etc. Above all in his truly remarkable rendering of the original, E. H. Zeydel proves himself a master of words worthy of his prototype. His humorous slang and powerful idiom are refreshing, e.g. p. 254 'Jack Manure', p. 266 'The spigot answers Glunk', and the 'Rotwelsch' chapter No. 63, pp. 208 ff. 'Of Beggars'. Here are a few lines illustrating Zeydel's power of empathy:

And there they advertise their ware  
 'In this bag you will find the hay  
 That once in bygone ages lay  
 Beneath the crib at Bethlehem'  
 'An ass bone here of Balaam'  
 'Of Michael's wing I have a feather'  
 'St George's steed once wore this tether'  
 'See here St Clara's laced-up shoes'  
 To beg some men will always choose,  
 Though they could work if but they would,  
 They're young and strong, their health is good,  
 Save that their back they'll not incline,  
 These sluggards have a corpse's spine.

Or no. 37 'Of Chance', no. 76 'Of Great Boasting', and no. 56 'Of the End of Power' (the woodcut—*nota fortunae*—is the same as no. 37)

One finds such fools at every hour  
 Who would rely upon their power,  
 As if 'twere infinite, although  
 It actually melts like snow.

The notes are clearly presented and are not only useful but also original, cf. pp. 378, 381, etc. Some reference to the *Frau Welt* theme (p. 346) might have been welcome. The bibliography is comprehensive. Last and not least the author offers valuable recommendations for further study on the subject especially in regard to the relation of Brant's book to the *Moriae Encomium* (1509) of Erasmus (see p. 43).

E. H. Zeydel's edition will, we feel, become a living record of European civilization. The excellent reproductions of about a hundred woodcuts are an especial feature of the book, which is got up in attractive large print and good paper in spite of the difficulties caused by war. Its greatest value, however, lies in the brilliant translation with its delightful humour so full of whimsical twists and turns, and above all in E. H. Zeydel's scholarly and deep understanding of the spirit of Sebastian Brant's work.

AUGUST CLOSS

BRISTOL

*The German Catholic Estimation of Goethe (1790-1930)* By WILLIAM J. MOLLOY  
 (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. 24, no. 4)  
 Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, London: Cambridge  
 University Press, 1944. 102 pp. \$1

This treatise deals in chronological order with the attitude of Catholic writers to Goethe's personality and works, and particularly to the problem of the poet's religious views. What Catholic critics are quite sure about is that he was not a Protestant; what Goethe said when Friedrich Schlegel went Catholic is not quoted—'sich dem Protestantismus zu nähern ist die Tendenz aller derer, die sich vom Pöbel unterscheiden wollen'. It is true that when Goethe was Fürstin Gallitzin's guest

at Munster he seemed so sympathetic to the religion of his hostess that one of the house party asked if he was not really a Catholic, and the orientalist G. F. Daumer ascribed his conversion to the approving comments on the sacraments in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Catholic elements may be found in Goethe's works if there is a wish to find them, and it is almost amusing that Mr. Molloy can show a general acceptance of *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* as decidedly moral, while the ascension of Faust to Heaven is rejected as fictional because the sinner does not repent. Mephistopheles is 'the spirit of Protestantism', one Catholic critic maintains, and if Herder really was the model for the mocking devil, this was not a bad shot. The author's main purpose is to show that, while Baumgartner's vicious book on Goethe was the accredited manual from the date of its publication (1879), it was discredited by the new critics, sometimes priests, who acclaimed the doctrine propounded in 1899 by Karl Muth that Goethe's works are a necessary part of all German culture. To deal with Mr. Molloy himself, his first pages sometimes read like translated German (e.g. among the early extended treatments of Goethe), however, his own *Behandlung* clarifies as it extends. The division of German words is not according to rule. Factual slips are few, but there are three references to the celebration in 1932 of the anniversary of Goethe's birth.

J. BITHELL

PENZANCE

## SHORT NOTICES

The William James Lectures, delivered recently at Harvard by Edward Lee Thorndike, have now been published in an attractive volume bearing the comprehensive title *Man and His Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1943. 212 pp., 14s.). These lectures are eminently readable, shrewd, witty and vivacious. Their themes range from the inherited causative agents or 'genes' of the mind to the laws of man's 'modifiability', human relations in general, and the psychology of government, punishment and welfare. Two lectures out of ten are devoted to the psychology of language. Seeing that they occupy a central position in this book (Chapters IV and V) and that they are from the pen of a world-famous experimentalist, we approach them with expectation. Most useful syntheses have recently been made by Thorndike's Transatlantic colleagues, Graff (1932), Bloomfield (1933) and Gray (1939). A similar survey of linguistic psychology on a more general background would now be no less acceptable. These chapters do, indeed, give us much. Their intrinsic value lies in their application to human speech of the Thorndikian doctrine of *repetition* and *reward*. But they are otherwise disappointing and, digressive and trifling, they do not seem to fit well into the pattern of the book. There are, it is true, plenty of good things. Language, we are reminded, not only expresses, but also arouses, thoughts and feelings. It arouses movements. Chemistry and mathematics now have 'well-nigh perfect languages'. The equations of physics are 'the most pregnant sentences ever said or written about the physical world'. Language has infinite variety. A man can construct more declarative sentences about a blade of grass than there are blades of grass in the world. When, however, the author turns to discuss modern trends in semantics, he is content to refer to a single chapter in Bloomfield's *Language*, to some pages in Eisenstein's *Psychology of Speech*, and to *The Meaning of Meaning* by Ogden and Richards. He does not mention de Saussure, Oertel, Nyrop, Delacroix, Brunot or Carnoy, nor does he point to the notable advances made in the closely related field of mathematical

logic by Tarski and Carnap. The paragraphs on the origin of language are more interesting, for in them he expounds his own 'babble-babble', 'babble-by-luck' or 'babble-luck' theory with great clarity and precision, a theory 'relying on the miscellaneous vocal play of man instead of his alleged mimetic or emotional utterances'. The steps or stages are well portrayed: the aimless babble or prattle of 'primitive' man; the particular prattle with a chance association, the crude or 'beggarly' private language, then speech in the speaker-hearer relation. 'The normal operations of repetition and reward would lead men to the final two-way, give-and-take speech'. As one of many possible contributory factors in the origin or creation or birth of language (whatever precise significations may be attached to these expressions), this is all feasible. No fundamental fallacy can be detected in these deductions. The 'babble-luck' surmise is quite as good as any one of its congeners, whether 'bow-wow', 'ding-dong', 'pooh-pooh', 'yo-he-ho', 'sing-song' or 'ta-ta'. Whilst no longer holding to the rigid principle that all such speculations should be banned as unprofitable, many will nevertheless wish that so eminent an empiricist and statistician had produced something more definite from his rich store of experience, that he had expressed his views on some less speculative aspect of the *evolution* of language, and that he had written, however briefly, on the immediate and more urgent tasks which now confront the student of linguistic psychology.

SIMEON POTTER

SOUTHAMPTON

*French Syntax List*, by R. E. CLARK and L. POSTON, JR (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1943. xvi+271 pp.), a 'statistical study of grammatical usage in contemporary French prose on the basis of range and frequency', published by the Committee on Modern Languages of the American Council on Education, follows Professor Hayward Keniston's *Spanish Syntax List* in extending to syntax the methods already applied to vocabulary in such works as Van der Beke's *French Word Book*. The authors have classified under some 3000 syntactical headings the material provided by 10,000-word samples taken from 60 texts, ranging in date from 1881 to 1938, and in character from a novel of E. de Goncourt to an issue of the *Petit Parisien*. The results of this investigation may well be of service to compilers of school text-books, though the statistics contain few surprises (among the types to whose infrequency the authors draw attention are *donné-je*, *à qui* 'whose?', *qu'est-ce que c'est que*, *aimer à*+*mf*in). Syntacticians would doubtless have found the complete data very useful, but the published abstract is, perhaps unavoidably, so summary as to be valueless to them, and it is difficult to see the utility for any purpose of entries such as the following (one example is also quoted under each heading): 'Position of two or more attributive adjectives. With no coordination. The adjectives precede (28-55 [i.e. 55 occurrences distributed over 28 texts]). The adjectives follow (25-93). One precedes and one follows (60-558)'.

T. B. W. REID

MANCHESTER

*Aspects de la Guerre Moderne*, edited by Eugene Jay Sheffer, of Columbia University (English edition: London: Pitman, 1943. 211 pp. 6s.), is a series of sketches of land, sea and air warfare. Most of them are taken from articles or books published in France or by French exiles between 1939 and 1942 (*Paris-Soir*, *L'Illustration*, *Candide*, *La France Libre*, etc.), but one or two are translated from English, such as the account of 15 September 1940 from the official British booklet *The Battle of Britain*. These pieces provide a very rich vocabulary of technical terms about such things as tanks, submarines and aircraft—in fact all the specialized jargon

connected with modern war—and the word-list at the end of the book is supplemented by footnotes to the text in English and by diagrams of a modern battleship, a fighter aircraft and a bomber with the parts named in French. It is true that some of the footnotes give American equivalents strange to English readers: fire-director, depth-bomb, torpedoman, gas (for petrol), you beat me to it (for 'vous m'avez eu'), but the fusion of American and English is now going on so rapidly that such an objection is probably a revelation of prejudice or pedantry in the reviewer.

The editor suggests that this book would be useful for Intermediate students. This is an English edition and it is therefore assumed that the English sense of the word Intermediate is meant. If so, this raises the perennial question of suitable textbooks. Of course it is desirable to have modern and interesting texts that make French a living language for the student, but it may well be asked whether at the Intermediate stage he has a sure enough grasp of the elements of the language to justify his being made to learn all these technical terms, whether such a vocabulary is very useful at this point of his linguistic development, and whether there may not be some danger in giving him such colloquial and slangy matter. But for the more discriminating or for those who learned their French in more peaceful days, this little book provides an entertaining way of getting up to date. There are several very interesting photographs.

L. W. TANCOCK

LONDON

The latest addition to the London Modern Language Series is *Le Général de Gaulle*, by Yvonne Salmon, edited by W. W. Timms (University of London Press, 1944, 118 pp. 2s. 6d.). It is a narrative of the life of the general and of the formation of the Free French movement, told in simple but by no means childish French suitable for middle and upper forms. But the matter is so clearly and interestingly presented, especially in the chapters on the collapse of 1940 and the early days of the resistance movement, that the general reader will find it enjoyable and instructive. The text is followed by notes in French on events and proper names, there is an adequate French-English vocabulary, and three maps.

L. W. TANCOCK

LONDON



## NEW PUBLICATIONS

October—December 1944

With the collaboration of PAMELA GRADON (English)

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES

#### Spanish.

PANE, R. U., English Translations from the Spanish, 1484-1943. New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University Press \$2 50

#### Portuguese.

FARIA, M. d. C. N., Passagem de nomes de pessoas a nomes comuns em português. Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras 8\$00

FERREIRA, V., Sobre o humorismo de Eça de Queirós. Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras. 8\$00.

### GERMANIC LANGUAGES

#### English.

##### (a) *General (including linguistic)*

Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles. Part xvii, School-keeping—Snow, Part xviii, Snow—Tap, Part xix, Tap—Vingman, Part xx, Virginian Dogwood—Zu-Zu. Compiled at the Univ. of Chicago under the editorship of Sir William Craigie and J. R. Hulbert. London, Oxford Univ. Press 17s. each.

GRIERSON, SIR HERBERT, Rhetoric and English Composition. Edinburgh and London, Oliver and Boyd 6s

Hermathena, A series of Papers on Literature, Science and Philosophy. By Members of Trinity College, Dublin. Nos. lxiii, lxiv, May and November, 1944. Dublin, Hodges, Figgis, London, Longmans 3s. each.

Impressions of English Literature, ed. by W. J. Turner. London, Collins. 16s.

Long, M. M., The English Strong Verb from Chaucer to Caxton. Menasha, Wis., George Banta.

ROWSE, A. L., The English Spirit. Essays in History and Literature. London, Macmillan. 12s 6d.

Year's Work in English Studies, The, vol. xxii, 1941, ed. F. S. Boas. London, Oxford Univ. Press 10s 6d.

Yorkshire Dialect Prose, ed. by W. J. Halliday and Bruce Dickins. For the Yorkshire Dialect Society. Leeds, Walker. 1s.

YOUNG, P., Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Wigorniensis. Made in 1622-1623, ed. by I. Atkins and N. R. Ker. Cambridge Univ. Press. 15s.

##### (b) *Old and Middle English.*

BOHMAN, H., Studies in the Middle English Dialects of Devon and London. Göteborg, Petersson. Sv. kr. 14 50.

BUKOFZER, M. F., 'Sumer Is Icoumen In'. A Revision. California and Cambridge Univ. Presses 75c.

POWICKE, F. M., The Complication of the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris. Proceedings of the British Academy. Vol. xxix. London, Milford. 1s 6d.

WALPOLE, R. N., Charlemagne and Roland. A Study of the Source of Two Middle English Metrical Romances, *Roland and Vernagu* and *Otuel and Roland*. California and Cambridge Univ. Presses. 75c.

(c) *Modern English.*

- BOAS, F S , American Scenes, Tudor to Georgian, in the English Literary Mirror (English Association, Presidential Address) London, H Milford 2s.
- FAIRCHILD, A H R Shakespeare and the Tragic Theme Columbia, Univ. of Missouri
- FOLEY, R N , Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866-1916 Washington, D C , The Catholic University of America
- GALLATIN, A E , Sir Max Beerbohm Bibliographical Notes Harvard and Oxford Univ Presses 42s
- HAMILTON, G R , Hero or Fool? A Study of Milton's Satan. (P.E.N. Books) London, Allen and Unwin 2s
- JONES, E , Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1640-1800 California and Cambridge Univ. Presses \$1 00
- Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution, ed by D M Wolfe London and New York, Nelson 30s.
- MACHIAVELLI, The Prince An Elizabethan Translation, ed from a manuscript in the collection of Mr Jules Furthman by H Craig North Carolina and Oxford Univ Presses 21s 6d
- MATTHEWS, W , English Pronunciation and Shorthand in the Early Modern Period California and Cambridge Univ Presses 75c
- STEELE, R., Tracts and Pamphlets, ed by Rae Blanchard Johns Hopkins and Oxford Univ Presses. \$5 50.
- SWEDENBERG, H T , Jr , The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800 California and Cambridge Univ Presses \$4 00.
- THOMPSON, E , Robert Bridges, 1844-1930 London, Oxford Univ Press 7s 6d
- TILLYARD, E M W , Shakespeare's History Plays London, Chatto and Windus 18s
- TOMEIS, T , Albumazar A Comedy, ed by H G Dick California and Cambridge Univ Presses \$2 00
- Warning Drum, The The British Home Front Faces Napoleon Broad-sides of 1803 California and Cambridge Univ Presses \$4 00

# MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30 SEPTEMBER 1944

(Transactions in England only No remittance or information received from America during the period under review)

Dr. 1943	EXPENDITURE	1942			INCOME	£	s	d	£	s	d
		£	s	d							
25	To Printing, Stationery, Postages, Travelling Expenses, etc	17	13	3	By Subscriptions General	94	17	5			
33	" Secretarial Assistance and Audit Fee	81	16	6	" Bibliography Sales (Vols 1-XIX)	59	10	6			
10	" Binding and distribution (Vols 1-XIX) (no publication 1944)	29	12	3	" Year's Work in Modern Language Studies Sales (Vols 1-X)	10	17	0			
3	" Year's Work in Modern Language Studies Distribution, etc (Vols 1-X) (no publication 1944)	3	8	1	" Letters de La Fayette Sales						
155	" Modern Language Review	196	13	9	" Interest on Bank Deposit and Savings Bank	21	11	6			
	Deficit*				" 'Work in Progress'						
		£329	3	10	" Deficit for year carried to Balance Sheet	142	2	5			
						4329	3	10			

\* This deficit on the *Modern Language Review* is due to an alteration in the date at which the accounts were drawn up, and to the absence of information from America —EDITOR





## THE EARLY LIFE OF GEORGE CHAPMAN

The information that we have about the life of George Chapman is extremely scanty. Beyond the fact that his father was a resident of Hitchin and that his mother died when he was still a boy, we know almost nothing of his early years. Anthony à Wood tells us that he went to Oxford, and then settled in London, but Anthony à Wood is not always reliable. It has also been conjectured that after the University Chapman returned to Hitchin as schoolmaster. In this paper evidence is produced which indicates that Chapman neither went straight to London nor took up a teaching post in Hitchin, but that he spent his early years in the household of Sir Ralph Sadler, who, besides his seat at Standon, owned a manor house at Temple Dinsley in the Hundred of Hitchin. No details are available of Chapman's services to Sir Ralph Sadler, but it is hoped that this sketch of Sir Ralph's activities during the years that Chapman was in his service may be of some interest as a background to the formative years of the poet.

Mr Thorn-Diary first drew attention to the following inscription in a copy of Chapman's *The Crowne of all Homers Worches, Batrachomyomachia, or the Battaille of Frogs and Mice His Hymns and Epigrams*, n.d. (?) 1625) in the Inner Temple Library.<sup>1</sup>

In desire to celebrate and eternize  
The Noble Name and House  
where his youthe<sup>2</sup>  
was initiate  
In the now honor'd Owner of v<sup>c</sup> vertues  
thereoff, in supplie of v<sup>c</sup> Titles,  
The right Vertuouse  
and worthe Gent<sup>3</sup>  
Raphe Sadler  
Esquire,  
Geo. Chapman  
Inscribes this Crowne and Conclusion  
of all His Homericall Labors  
To his Acceptors<sup>3</sup> endles Memorie,  
wishing it maie renowne<sup>4</sup>  
above Title, and re-  
maine beyond  
Marble

Dr S. A. Tannenbaum<sup>5</sup> has since declared roundly, 'That this inscription is a clumsy and barefaced forgery admits of no question'. I am no expert in handwriting and cannot say whether Dr Tannenbaum is justified in dismissing this inscription as a forgery because it is written in modern Italian script with twelve Old English letters, but it is puzzling to find that a similar inscription (to Mr Henry Reynolds) in another copy of *Batrachomyomachia*, now in the Widener Library, is accepted as genuine because (1) there is nothing suspect in the history of the volume, (2) *it is not surprising for a cultured person to write several styles of script*,<sup>6</sup> (3) the inscription has a general air of genuineness—there is no deliberation or uncertainty, (4) the signature bears a close enough resemblance to Chapman's own.

<sup>1</sup> George Chapman', *Review of English Studies*, I, no. 3, p. 350 (July, 1925)

<sup>2</sup> youthe, O E p

<sup>3</sup> Interlineation

<sup>4</sup> Originally 'remain'

<sup>5</sup> S. A. Tannenbaum, *Shakesperian Scraps and other Elizabethan Fragments*, Columbia University Press (1933) (Chapter IX, 'George Chapman Autographs and Forgeries')

<sup>6</sup> My italics

I shall show later that there is nothing suspect in the history of the Inner Temple volume, and if it is still contended on calligraphic grounds that Chapman could not have written the inscription to Ralph Sadler, I think it will be admitted that either someone wrote it for Chapman or copied it from his original at a later date. In the meanwhile, I will content myself with observing that whereas Chapman's signature in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 30262, is in English hand, the signature in Henslowe's diary for the loan of £10 on 23 October 1598 is in the Italian script.<sup>1</sup> Dr Tannenbaum is more vulnerable when he descends from the mysteries of handwriting to discuss Chapman's style. He finds an air of genuineness in the inscription to Mr Henry Reynolds, but of the inscription to Ralph Sadler, Esq., he writes

Whatever one may think of the obscurity of Chapman's style, no-one I imagine will think him capable of the rubbish embodied in this inscription. Chapman could not have written of the 'Name where his youth was initiate' or spoken of the 'virtues of the virtuous gentleman' or of his 'supply of titles' or wished that the acceptor's memory might 'renowne above title'.

I do not find that this inscription embodies any more rubbish than is commonly found in such things. Chapman did not speak of the 'Name where his youth was initiate' but of the 'House'; nor did he speak of the 'virtues of the virtuous gentleman'. 'Vertues' mean 'qualities' or 'fruits', and Chapman refers to the qualities pertaining to the house and name of Sadler, and not to the then holder of those titles, Ralph Sadler Gent. Ralph Sadler is given the conventional description 'right virtuous and worthy' ascribed to Mr Henry Reynolds in the inscription in the Widener Library copy. 'In supply of the titles' is perfectly good English. The *New English Dictionary* gives as the first definition of supply (substantive) 'Action of supplying or condition of being supplied'. No. 3 gives a usage common in the seventeenth century, but now rare: 'the filling up of a place or position, the provision of a person or thing to the place of another'. To paraphrase, the writer of the inscription says that he wants to celebrate the name and house of his first master in the person of Ralph Sadler, the present owner of all that pertains to the name and house of Sadler, the possessor of all the titles. Finally, Chapman expresses no uncommon sentiment in wishing that 'his Acceptors memorie might renowne above title', that is to say, that Sadler's fame might resound beyond what might be expected from an illustrious name. 'Renown' is stronger than 'remain' which Chapman first wrote but deleted probably because he used the word again in the next line.

In drawing attention to the inscription in the Inner Temple Library copy of *Batrachomyomachia*, Mr Thorn-Drury remarked that it seemed to throw some light on Chapman's early days. He pointed out that Ralph Sadler, Esq., was the grandson of Sir Ralph Sadler, the diplomatist, who died on 30 March 1587, and that although Sir Ralph's main residence was at Standon, he had also a manor house at Temple Dinsley in the Hundred of Hitchin. Among the documents in the manuscript book, largely in George Chapman's handwriting, described by Bertram Dobell in the *Athenaeum* in 1901, was a Chancery Bill brought by Chapman against John Wolfall for the retention of bonds after the debt had been fully discharged.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Greg, *English Literary Autographs*.

<sup>2</sup> Bertram Dobell, 'Newly Discovered Documents of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods I. Letters and Documents by George Chapman' (*Athenaeum*, 23 March 1901). In an article on *Eastward Hoe* (*The Library*, December 1928), Mr R. Brettell stated that this manuscript was in the

library of the late Mr B. White of New York, and is now in the Harvard University Library. Mr Havelock Ellis, in his essay on Chapman (1934), wrote 'Mr P. J. Dobell informs me that at a later period it was purchased for America and seems afterwards to have passed into the hands of Dr Rosenbach'.

This Bill, together with John Wolfall's Answer (naturally not included in the Dobell manuscripts), is preserved in the Public Record Office.<sup>1</sup> The Bill contains some information concerning Chapman not included in Dobell's summary, and the Answer some further facts concerning his life. In the first place, the Bill was presented on 17 April 1608, and Chapman begins by relating that about twenty-five years ago (i.e. in 1583) when he was in attendance on 'Sir Raphe Sadler Knight then Chancellor of the Duchye of Lancaster, & Privy Councillor of Queen Elizabeth', he met John Wolfall in London and borrowed money from him and his friends. If the inscription in the Inner Temple Library copy of *Batrachomyomachia* is to be dismissed as a forgery we should have to suppose that the forger had access to either the Dobell Manuscript (which was unknown before Dobell's articles in 1901, and may not have the reference to Sadler) or have discovered the copy of Chapman's Bill in the Public Record Office, which is unlikely. He could scarcely have hit by chance on Sir Ralph Sadler as the house in which Chapman's youth was initiated. Moreover the volume's history is well authenticated. It was presented by the widow of the person to whom the copy was inscribed by the author, and she was the daughter of Sir Edward Coke who had a long connexion with the Inner Temple, dating from 24 April 1572 when he became a student up to the time of his death when he still had chambers there.<sup>2</sup> Ralph Sadler, Esq., to whom the book belonged, died on 12 February 1660-1. As we learn from the inscription on her tomb in Standon Church, his wife survived him.

Here lieth the body of Anne Coke, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Coke, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, by his first and last Wife, Bridget Paston, daughter and heir of John Paston, of Norfolk, Esq. At the age of 15 she was married in 1601 to Ralfe Sadler of Standon, in Hertfordshire, esq. She lived his wife 59 years and odd months. She survived him, and here lies in an assured hope of a joyful resurrection.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Edward Coke had other connexions with the Sadler family. In 1596-7 he was given the wardship of Sir Walter Aston of Tixall Hall, Staffordshire.<sup>4</sup> In 1607 Aston married Gertrude Sadler, only sister of Ralph Sadler, Esq., of Standon (who had married Anne Coke in 1601), and had to pay Sir Edward Coke £1000 for having done so without his consent.<sup>5</sup> As a consequence of this marriage, the State Papers of Sir Ralph Sadler were subsequently removed from Standon to Tixall Hall.

<sup>1</sup> *Chancery Proceedings*, Series I, James I C 25/65. I transcribed this Bill and Answer in 1937, but being informed that Professor Mark Eccles had been engaged in extensive researches into the material offered by the Chancery Proceedings for the biographies of Elizabethan dramatists, I got into touch with him. He informed me that he had also found the documents and proposed to use them. As nothing appeared in print, I wrote to Professor Eccles again in 1942 and received in reply a letter stating that he hoped that his article on 'Chapman's Early Years' would appear in *Studies in Philology* during 1943, but it has not yet appeared. In a note to the long simile taken from fighting in the Low Countries in the *Hymnus in Cytharum* (l. 320 et seq.), Miss Bartlett (*The Poems of George Chapman*) says of Chapman 'We now know for sure that he had been on the Continent, evidence for his sojourn having been found by Professor Mark Eccles in a document in the Public Record Office, C2, Jas I, C25/65'. This is the only detail with which Professor Eccles pro-

vided Miss Bartlett from the Chancery document, and I am hoping that my discountey in not waiting any longer for him to make first use of this material will be forgiven in that his interest centres on the tip overseas. Miss Bartlett does not mention the Inner Temple Library copy of *Batrachomyomachia* amongst the copies which she examined, though she has a long note on the Widener copy with the inscription to Henry Reynolds, 'which Tannenbaum accepts as genuine'.

<sup>2</sup> In 1590 he became a Benchet of the Inner Temple, then Reader in 1592 and Treasurer in 1596.

<sup>3</sup> R. L. Hine *The History of Hitchin*, II, 604-5 (1927-8).

<sup>4</sup> Michael Drayton's patron.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly Aston met Gertrude when as Knight of the Bath (which he was created in 1603) he 'borrowed horses from Mr Sadler at Standon'. His younger brother, Edward, married Anne, only daughter of Lee Sadler of Temple Dinsley, a grandson of Sir Ralph Sadler.



According to Mr Arthur Clifford,<sup>1</sup> in the library at Tixall there is a small thin manuscript quarto volume covered with black leather, which is ornamented with gilt death's heads, entitled 'An Elegy, sacred to the immortall memory of the true Mirrour of this Age, and Master of the English Law, Edward Lord Coke, dedicated to the truly worthy and most accomplished with all noble Perfections, M<sup>rs</sup> ANNE SADLEIR, by her most humble and devoted Servant Robert Codrington, M<sup>r</sup> of Arts' In addition to 'An Achrostic Epitaph' and 'Tears on the death of Edward Lord Coke', the manuscript contains 'An Ode to the most exquisitely accomplished M<sup>rs</sup> Anne Sadleir'

In 1583, then, Chapman was in the service of Sir Ralph Sadler in London. From the phrase in the inscription 'the noble name and house *where his youth was imitate*' it would seem probable that Chapman entered Sir Ralph's service at a much earlier date. All the information we have to go on about Chapman's youth is Anthony à Wood's statement that he went to Oxford, after which 'he settled in the metropolis where he became much admired of Edm Spenser, S Daniel, W<sup>m</sup> Shakespeare, & Marlowe etc'. The date of his departure for the University is given as 1574 or thereabouts<sup>2</sup>—and it has been suggested that, instead of going straight to London when he left the University, he settled in his father's house at Hitchin and became a schoolmaster under John Hall, 'that honest man the under teacher',<sup>3</sup> and then headmaster of Hitchin School. The evidence produced in support of this theory is that as no address is given for George Chapman in his father's will made in January, 1581-2, he may be presumed to have been living at home in Hitchin. This evidence can hardly be pushed further than to show that the probability was that he was not overseas, in which case the will might have been modified owing to poor expectation of life.<sup>4</sup> There is no trace of Chapman's sojourn at Oxford, and certain passages in his poems suggest scant respect for academic scholarship. Throughout his life he drew a distinction between real knowledge and mere book learning. There is the attack on *intellective* men in *The Teares of Peace*

And let a Scholler, all earths volumes carrie,  
He will be but a walking dictionarie.<sup>5</sup>

There is another attack in the poem addressed to *M Harriot* accompanying *Achilles Shield* on 'our formal clerks, blown for profession'. In two of the poems printed with *Petrarchs Seven Penitentiall Psalms* he cast doubt on the value of academic degrees in a manner that suggests that Chapman did not possess a degree himself.

But must degrees, & termes, and time in schooles,  
Needs make men learn'd, in life being worse then fooles.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tixall Letters, or the correspondence of the Aston Family, and their friends, during the seventeenth century. With notes and illustrations by Arthur Clifford Esq.* 2 vols (1815)

<sup>2</sup> R. L. Hine, *Hitchin Worthies*

<sup>3</sup> Roger Ascham's description quoted in op cit in the article on Ralph Radcliffe

<sup>4</sup> In the Bill of Complaint against John Wolfall (1608) Chapman styles himself as 'of the cittye of London'. The passage in *The Teares of Peace*, published in the following year, about Chapman's vision of Homer in 'his native air' and 'on the hill next Hitchin's left-hand', together with William Browne's apostrophe to Chapman

written in 1613, as 'the learned shepherd of faire Hitchinge Hill', are evidence that Chapman's name was associated with Hitchin and he continued to retire there long after he had become a citizen of London, though he could not stay in his father's old house which Thomas had been obliged to sell in 1597 to Dionysius Hine (R. L. Hine, *Hitchin Worthies*)

<sup>5</sup> *The Teares of Peace*, ll 530-1 (*The Poems of George Chapman*, edited Bartlett, p 185)

<sup>6</sup> *To yong imaginaries in knowledge*, ll 45-6 (*The Poems of George Chapman*, edited Bartlett, p 246).

But as the Academickes euer rate  
 A man for learning, with that estimate  
 They made of him, when in the schooles he lu'd,  
 And how so ere he scatter'd since, or thinu'd  
 Still they esteeme him as they held him then <sup>1</sup>

In the notes and prefaces to the translations of Homer he is at pains to refute the accusation of lack of scholarship. Finally, in the Epilogue to the *Hymns of Homer*, he attributes the hostility of 'learned men' to him to the fact that he was self-taught

Yet then, our learn'd Men, with their Torrents come  
 Roring from their forc't Hills, all crown'd with fome,  
 That one not taught like them, should learne to know  
 Their Greeke rootes, & from thence the Grones that grow,  
 Casting such rich shades, from great *Homer's* wings  
 That first, and last, command the Muses springs  
 Though he's best Scholler, that through paines and vovs,  
 Made his owne Master onely, all things know's  
 Now pleades my poor skill, forme, or learned Place,  
 But dantlesse labor, constant Prayer, and Grace.  
 And what's all their skill, but vast varied reading? <sup>2</sup>

Miss Bartlett's comment on these lines in her edition of *The Poems of George Chapman* is as follows

This passage seems to me to belie Anthony Wood's statement, generally accepted, that Chapman spent some time in Oxford where he 'was observed to be most excellent in the Latin and Greek tongues'. If he had studied the ancient tongues at Oxford, surely he would never have boasted that he was self-taught. He had evidently often been twitted for his lack of a formal education in the classics, and if he could truthfully have said so, he would have been the first to retaliate indignantly with a reminder of his university training <sup>3</sup>

Possibly the best explanation is that Chapman left the University without taking a degree. I should like to think that he was with Sadler in 1578 when in the course of her progress through Suffolk and Norfolk Queen Elizabeth first halted at Hunsdon House, and went thence to Standon, remaining the guest of Sir Ralph Sadler for some days. The Privy Council met at Standon on 24 July. From Standon the Queen went on to Audley End, the residence of Lord Henry Howard, where the University of Cambridge waited on her. Dr Howland of St John's arranged a disputation between Mr Fleming and Mr Harvey, Mr Palmer and Mr Howlings. It was planned to give the Queen a book but Lord Burghley wrote warningly

that the present to her Majesty be allowed of but that they must have regard, that the book had no savor of spyke, which commonly booksellers did seek to add, to make their books savour well, for that her Majesty could not abide such a strong scent <sup>4</sup>

Sir Ralph Sadler could afford to entertain the Queen, being reported to be one of the richest commoners in England. He was also one of the State's most devoted servants. The inscription on his tomb runs

He was of the privie counsell with King Henry the VIII, with King Edward the VI he was made knight banneret at Muskelborowe field, and in the 16th year of quene

<sup>1</sup> *Of Friendship*, ll 21-5 (*The Poems of George Chapman*, edited Bartlett, p. 242)

<sup>2</sup> ll 33-43 (*The Poems of George Chapman*, edited Bartlett, p. 417)

<sup>3</sup> *The Poems of George Chapman*, p. 488

<sup>4</sup> *Letters and Negotiations of Sir Ralph Sadler*

(Edinburgh, 1720). I have also used *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, edited by Sir Walter Scott (2 vols. Edinburgh, 1809) and Major F. Sadler-Storey, *A memoir of the Life and Times of the Right Honourable Sir Ralph Sadler* (1877)

Elizabeth he was made chancellor of the duchie of Lancaster, in which office he continued until his death

Sadler was 80 when he died in 1587, and so was already an old man when Chapman entered his service but his martial character and his statesmanship must surely have won the admiration of Chapman Lloyd in his *State Worthies* wrote that Sadler 'was at once a most exquisite writer and a most valiant and experienced soldier, qualifications that seldom meet Little was his body, but great his soul' His whole life was spent in the Council Chamber of State, or driving a bad bargain with what he called 'the rude inconsistent and beastly nation of Scotland' <sup>1</sup> Sadler's declining years were made miserable by the unpleasant task of keeping Mary Queen of Scots prisoner This duty first fell to him in 1580 when the Earl of Shrewsbury, Mary's jailer, had fallen under suspicion and Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to spy The Earl was allowed to go to Court to clear himself, and Sadler remained as temporary guardian of Mary at Sheffield He asked Walsingham to relieve him on account of 'his years and the cold weather to hand', but he was not in fact relieved until April 1581, when Shrewsbury returned from Court Nor was his release final trustworthy and suitable guardians for Mary were not easy to find, and Sir Ralph Sadler was obliged to take the job on again in 1584 We do not know that Chapman accompanied Sadler during either of these guardianships All we know is that in 1608 he recalled that twenty-five years ago when he was in attendance on Sir Ralph Sadler he met certain people in London <sup>2</sup> Sadler's town house was the Duchy House at the Savoy, and he was certainly there in November 1581 and in the summer of 1582 and I think we may assume that from April 1581, when he left Sheffield, to August 1584, he divided his time between London and Standon The discovery of the Popish Plot at the end of 1583 shook him considerably, and on 23 March Sadler mustered the county militia at Standon He reported that there were '2000 men levied and furnished with armour and weapons, to counteract the daily and monstrous practices of the Papists'

In 1584 Shrewsbury again visited the Court and Sadler became Lord Governor of the Garrison at Wingfield near Sheffield He set out from Standon on Tuesday, 18 August, on horseback with fifty tried and trusty men armed with swords and daggers, and a regular guard of forty soldiers <sup>3</sup> Amongst these soldiers was a Thomas Chapman <sup>4</sup> who was probably Chapman's elder brother <sup>5</sup> Sadler and his company arrived in Sheffield a week later, and went on to Wingfield on 2 September At first, the soldiers seem to have given great satisfaction On 17 October Walsingham conveyed the congratulations of Elizabeth on, amongst other things, 'how well you are accompanied with your owne men' But as the winter wore on the party continued to get colder and hungrier, and by mid-December Wingfield was threatened with famine Sadler no longer trusted the soldiers early in November he was considering the possibility of moving the Queen to Tutbury, and he planned to leave the soldiers behind and levy others at Tutbury His dissatisfaction may not have

<sup>1</sup> R. L. Hine, *The History of Hitchin*, I, 50 (1927-8)

<sup>2</sup> *Chancery Proceedings*, Series I, Jas I, C25/65

<sup>3</sup> Major F. Sadler-Storey, *op cit* p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> List of names given in the *State Papers of Sir Ralph Sadler*

<sup>5</sup> He became a respected resident of Hitchin by 1588 he had dropped the ascription 'yeoman'

and signed himself 'Thomas Chapman, Gent' In this year he showed his patriotism by subscribing £25 (a large sum in those days) towards the expense of opposing the Armada In 1589 he inherited Western House from his father He sold the property in 1597 when he became for two years bailiff of Hitchin Manor He was ousted from this position by the Earl of Salisbury in 1599 (R. L. Hine, *Hitchin Worthies*).

been with his own men but with the band that Shrewsbury had left behind. The full complement is given in Sadler's *State Papers* as follows:

What numbre of persons will suffice to gard the Scottissh quene at Tutbury?	Ther ar at Wingfield, at the present, of my lords servants, gentilmen, yeomen, and officers, about 120, and of Sir Rafe Sadlers about 50, and soldyours 40, together 210
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Sadler seems to have had perfect faith in his own servants, writing of them on 29 December 'and have that opinion and confydence in all myne, as I trust little warning will serve'. Indeed, he wrote frequently in praise of his personal attendants. It is tantalizing never to find George Chapman's name amongst them. He praised his secretary, Somer, with particular warmth, and also 'one of my folk, named Richard Smythe, a man of good trust and lykely personage' whom he appointed at Tutbury 'to be gent. porter, as he hath ben syn the departure hens of the eyles people. And the watch to be set by James Fenton, who hath served in Irland, and syn his discharge, as before that service, hath followed me'. On 6 November Sadler had written, 'I have sent this day a discreet and skilfull person of myne to Tutbury, to join with Mr. Agarde there, to take order for the glasing, and such other things to be amended there as the tyme of the yere and the shortnes of the tyme will suffer, and ar necessary to be done'.

By January all was ready, and Sir Ralph was thankful to get his damp old bones out of Wingfield. Indefatigably he looked forward to tasks additional to warding the Scottish Queen. I understand that many things be out of order within the honou of Tutbury—being parcel of the Duchy and with in my charge, the woods and game within the forest, chase, and parks there being greatly wasted and destroyed, I can well be contented for the better service of her Majesty to spend so much time there, to put things in order. Queen Elizabeth exacted the last ounce from her oldest and most loyal servants. Poor old Sir Ralph had to justify himself for spending a night at Derby on the way to Tutbury and for using the public high road to conduct his prisoner. He also allowed Mary to go hawkng with him. At last, on 13 April 1585, having somehow got through the winter, Sadler returned 'to have yet some comfort among those whom God had blessed him with as staies for his old days'. He died at Standon on 30 March 1587, two months after the death warrant of his erstwhile royal prisoner was signed.<sup>1</sup>

The Chancery Bill brought by Chapman against John Wolfall confirms, then, the fact that he was at one time in the service of Sir Ralph Sadler. John Wolfall's answer proves that he went abroad,<sup>2</sup> and adds a third occasion to those already known on which Chapman was imprisoned. Wolfall admits that the obligation was cancelled by a deed dated 12 July 1585, but as Chapman had never paid the security of £49 10s he could not have the bonds back.<sup>3</sup> Wolfall explains that why his father, now deceased, and also named John Wolfall, forbore the debt for so long (till 1599-1600, when he caused Chapman to be arrested) was 'aswell the absence of the saide Complamant beyond the seas as the charitable disposition of this defendants father towards the saide Complamant'. Chapman was in England at the time of

<sup>1</sup> He was not despatched to Scotland in 1587 at the execution of Mary as Fuller and Sir Walter Scott suggest: see Major Sadler-Storey, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> This fact has already been communicated to Miss Bartlett: see p. 159, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Knowing Chapman's perennial poverty, I am inclined to believe that money was still owing to the Wolfalls. Is it just a coincidence that it was

a debt of twenty-five years standing, and that an unsigned undated letter to a creditor, which Dobell assigns to Chapman, contains this sentence: 'Your meere Citizen will be so answered. Of which sort many have forborn mee fyve and twentie years for fyve and twentie tymes so much, and parted satisfied without one penny interest'?

the cancelled bond (1585) and probably in 1589 when his father's will was proved. He was back again by 31 December 1593, when *The Shadow of Night* was entered in the *Stationers' Register*. These dates strengthen the supposition that he went to the Low Countries as a volunteer, like Ben Jonson, during 1591-2, and that the account of Sir Francis Vere's strategic victory on the River Waal outside Nimeguen in the *Hymnus in Cynthiam* was that of an eyewitness of a recent event.

As when th' Italian Duke, a troupe of horse  
Sent out in hast against some English force,  
From statelie sited sconce-toorne Nimigan,  
Vnder whose walles the Wall most Cynthian,  
Stretcheth her siluer limms loded with wealth,  
Hearing our horse were marching downe by stealth  
(Who looking for them) warres quicke Artizan  
Fame-thruiung Vere, that in those Countries wan  
More fame then guerdon, ambuscadoes laide  
Of certame foote, and made full well appaide  
The hopefull enemie, in sending those  
The long-expected subjects of their blowes  
To moue their charge, which strait they grue  
When we retiring to our strength againe, (amane,  
The foe pursewes assured of our lues,  
And vs within our ambuscado drues,  
Who straight with thunder of the drums and shot,  
Tempest their wraths on them that wist it not  
Then (turning headlong) some escapt vs so,  
Some left to ransome, some to ouerthrow.<sup>1</sup>

It is the longest and most detailed of Chapman's similes from contemporary history. In his own gloss to the passage, he makes no claim to have been present at the engagement, though he gives some geographical detail.<sup>2</sup> The gloss reveals, rather, a poetic theory behind the simile.

And these like *Similes*, in my opinion drawne from the honorable deeds of our noble countreinmen, clad in comely habit of Poesie, would become a Poeme as well as further-fetched grounds, if such as be Poets now a dayes would vse them.<sup>3</sup>

And so, in accordance with this theory, in *Hero and Leander* Chapman reflects that

Sweet *Hero* was much like  
Th' *Iberian* citie<sup>4</sup> that wars hand did strike  
By English force in princely *Essex* guide.<sup>5</sup>

As Swinburne said, 'At all times Chapman took occasion to prove himself a true son of the greatest age of Englishmen in his quick and fiery sympathy with the doing and suffering of its warriors'. *De Guiana Epicum* (1596) was a plea to Queen Elizabeth to recognize Raleigh's achievement and to advance money for the colonization of Guiana. *Pro Vere Autumnu Lachrymae* (1622) was an appeal to James I to send aid to Sir Horace Vere<sup>6</sup> 'Besieged, and distrest in Manheim'. Miss Bartlett in her notes to this poem refers us for further details to Grimestone's

<sup>1</sup> *Hymnus in Cynthiam*, ll 328-47 (*The Poems of George Chapman*, edited Bartlett, p 38). Miss Bartlett comments on these lines 'Chapman's use of the first person in this elaborate simile and his lively knowledge of the engagement have led to a general supposition that he had fought in the Wars of the Netherlands'.

<sup>2</sup> The Wall is a most excellent ruer, in the Low Countries parting with another ruer, cald the Maze, neare a towne in Holland, cald

Gurekham, and runnes vp to Guelderland vnder the walls of Nimigen' (*Poems*, edited Bartlett, p 44).

<sup>3</sup> *Poems*, edited Bartlett, p 44.

<sup>4</sup> Cadiz, taken by Essex in June, 1596 see *Poems*, edited Bartlett, p 439.

<sup>5</sup> *Hero and Leander*, 3rd Sestiad, ll 204-6 (*Poems*, edited Bartlett, p 138).

<sup>6</sup> Brother to Sir Francis Vere whose exploit is celebrated in the *Hymnus in Cynthiam*.

*A Generall Historie of the Netherlands* (1627 edition) <sup>1</sup> In her full notes to the simile in the *Hymnus in Cynthiam*, Miss Bartlett also quotes extensively from Grimestone's *Historie*, and Chapman may owe his close interest in these contemporary events as much to his friendship with Grimestone as to his personal experience. Professor F S Boas discovered as long ago as 1903 that Grimestone's translation of Jean de Seire's *Inventaire Général de l'Histoire de France* (1607) was the source of Chapman's French historical play. <sup>2</sup> The long-standing friendship of the two men is revealed in a commendatory poem by Chapman 'To his long-lou'd and worthy friend, Mr Edward Grimeston, Sergeant at Armes, of his vnweari'd and honoied laboies', which Miss Bartlett reprints for the first time <sup>3</sup> from Grimestone's translation of Coeffeteau's *A Table of Humaine Passions* (1621).

Chapman's work for the stage got him into trouble several times. In 1605 he and Jonson were imprisoned for satire against the Scots in *Eastward Ho*. In 1608 M de Beaumont sent home a despatch <sup>4</sup> describing the action he had taken against the persons concerned in the performance of Chapman's *Tragedy of Byron*—only 'the principal person, the author, escaped'. He was also imprisoned after the performance of the *Memorable Masque of the two Inns of Court* on 15 February 1612–13, written at the command of Sir Edward Phillips (to whom the printed version is dedicated) as part of the celebrations for the nuptials of Princess Elizabeth. The date of this imprisonment is correct if I am right in connecting with this Masque a letter in the Dobell Manuscript dated 5 April, seemingly written to the Master of the Rolls (i.e. Sir Edward Phillips), asking for payment for a masque which he had commissioned, of which the writer of the letter was sole wryter, and in part inventour, and for which he had suffered 'losse of reputation, want and imprisonment, the danger whereof is still pressing me'. This letter, together with the petition to the King for a pension in consideration of Chapman's services to Henry Prince of Wales, who had died in the previous November, suggests that Chapman's imprisonment was again for debt, and not due to anything objectionable in the Masque, which pleased well at the time—though it is known to have cost a prodigious amount of money.

In his Answer to George Chapman's Bill of Complaint, John Wolfall declares that 'it appeareth by the bookes of the Officers in the Counter of Woodstreet, London, that the said Complainant was arrested and there imprisoned at the sute of this defendants father the nyvth day of february in the yere of our Lord God one thousand fyve hundred and nynty nyne'. <sup>5</sup> Throughout 1598 and 1599 Chapman seems to have been in financial difficulty: in the dedication to Essex of the first seven books of the *Iliad* (1598) he speaks of his straitened circumstances. Henslowe advanced him several sums of money, and in 1599 Chapman and his elder brother Thomas succeeded in disposing of what Mr Hine describes as a doubtfully legal jointure in some property near Hitchin. <sup>6</sup> Chapman's career was not prosperous, and John Wolfall, with all the smugness of a respectable citizen, was able to describe him—not altogether untruthfully—as one 'who at the first beinge a man of verie good parts and expectation hath sithence verie vnadusedly spent the most parte of his tyme and his estate in frutelesse and vayne poetry'.

JEAN ROBERTSON

<sup>1</sup> First edition, 1609, translated from J F le Petit's *La Grande Chronique ancienne et moderne de Holland* which was published in 1607 and goes up to 1600.

<sup>2</sup> See *Athenaeum*, 10 January 1903.

<sup>3</sup> The poem is mentioned by Professor Boas in the article referred to in n. 2 above.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Von Raumer's *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. new style 1600.

<sup>6</sup> R L Hine, *Hitchin Worthies* CP 25/2/41. Herts shows that the brothers disposed of the tenancy of the manor of Sheppall for £125.

# 'JULIUS CAESAR' AND 'MACBETH'. TWO NOTES ON SHAKESPEAREAN TECHNIQUE

## I DIRECT SELF-EXPLANATION

Shakespeare, it is declared, frequently makes his characters speak of themselves with an unnatural objectivity in order that the audience may easily understand their roles. To this insufficiently dramatic technique Professor Levin Schucking gives the name of Direct Self-Explanation.<sup>1</sup> In a modern theatre monologue commonly purports to reflect a realistic psychological process, the character, isolated on the stage, thinks aloud and so admits us to his mind. Elizabethan dramatic technique in this particular, however, is influenced by a close connexion between stage and audience. The actor stands in the midst of the spectators and frequently addresses them directly. Schucking regards this as clumsy, crude and likely to be artistically fatal 'the whole dramatic composition and the illusion connected with it may in this manner be absolutely destroyed'. And, moreover, in these circumstances the monologue is something quite other than with us and more primitive, what is offered is simple information on the play, not necessarily to be conceived as part of any authentic mental disposition. It is as if the actor held up his finger to suspend the action, turned to the audience with a 'Make no mistake! I am the villain of the piece', and then stepped back into his part. If we misunderstand this we shall feel obliged to explain in some subtle fashion what is merely an arbitrary device for keeping a simple audience on the rails. And this non-realistic method of giving information, which extends too into the dialogue, is a sign-post which will set us on the highway to a better understanding of the dramatist. 'The primitiveness and a certain childishness' manifested here 'is apparent, less distinctly, perhaps, but recognizable on closer scrutiny, in the whole mechanism of the Shakespearean drama'. We have here a preliminary hint that in Shakespeare's plays as a whole 'all the details of the technique are more harmless, simple, unsophisticated, than we are inclined to imagine'. And this important principle is sufficiently evidenced in *Julius Caesar*.

When Brutus himself declares that it would be an honour to be slain by Brutus we are likely—the argument runs—to view his speech as in bad taste and a sign of arrogance. But here, and where Brutus describes himself as 'arm'd so strong in honesty', it is far from Shakespeare's intention to suggest a strain of boastfulness, we are merely being reminded of how the dramatist requires us to regard this character. And so with much that is put in the mouth of Caesar when he announces that he is fearless this is no more than the handiest way of telling the audience that Caesar is fearless, even when Caesar reiterates that he is fearless the same consideration continues to apply. Indeed, Caesar is a particularly good example of the way in which failure to understand this simplicity leads to the misinterpreting of a character. For on the main outlines of what is intended—a figure wholly heroic and ideal—we cannot possibly go wrong, *unless* we ignore the principle of direct self-explanation, thereby falling into 'a gross misunderstanding of Shakespeare's art-form which characterizes all Shakespearean criticism of the last hundred years'. In a modern play we should suspect that a man who talked so much about his fearlessness had secret doubts as to his own courage, and on the strength of other of Caesar's speeches we should call him a boaster and a monomaniac. But Shake-

<sup>1</sup> *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays* (1922), Chap. I

Shakespeare's is not a modern technique, and we must regard the self-characterization of Caesar as dramatically more naive than has hitherto been supposed. The information which Caesar gives of himself is meant by Shakespeare to correspond exactly with the facts, and there is no intention of charging Caesar with the odium of vanity or vainglory because he says these things. We might as well so charge those figures of primitive conventional art which have scrolls hanging from their mouths describing the moral qualities they represent. And certainly we shall misinterpret Shakespeare if we do not acknowledge that—confusingly and artistically, as it must seem to us—he mingles this alien element with the predominant realism of his representation.

But has the confusion here excogitated by the critic in his study ever really been part of an imaginative experience of the play? If not there is a fairly obvious explanation. The speeches objected to are valid upon each of two planes upon which Shakespeare builds: the simple, outward and heroic plane upon which the individual shows himself to the world like a figure on a stage; the subtle and inward plane along which we are drawn to a knowledge of the hidden man. For the judicious, Shakespeare contrives to gain effects of depth and realism by means inoffensive, indeed helpful, to the unskilful in their simpler experience. 'The simplicity of *Julius Caesar*', Mr Wilson Knight says,<sup>1</sup> 'is a surface simplicity only. To close analysis it reveals subtleties and complexities which render interpretation difficult.' There are, in a sense, two plays.

Consider first the simpler play. Plutarch's is a story-book of which the foundation is character strongly and simply conceived, and the people so created leap straight from the page. From the first eight hundred words of the life of Caesar Shakespeare would learn three things, each conveyed through the medium of narrative. Caesar was fearless, he was possessed of a histrionic streak and fond of making speeches, he was ruthless. And what later emerges is equally simple. Caesar had a covetous desire to be called king, and was resisted by Brutus—a man (the first page of the life of Brutus tells us) who had

framed his manners of life by the rules of virtue and studie of Philosophie, and having employed his wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great things methinks he was rightly made and framed unto virtue.

To Brutus men referred what was noble in the attempt against Caesar. Brutus was of gentle and fair condition, he bore a noble mind to his country. But his friend and fellow-conspirator, Cassius, was not so well given and conditioned, being often carried away from justice by gain, and suspected of making war more for absolute power than liberty. Brutus believed that Caesar would establish a tyranny hateful and fatal to Rome, he therefore subordinated his personal feelings, joined the conspirators, fought valiantly and died nobly. Cassius fought valiantly too, for though not so good a man he was full of Roman virtue. Nor were their adversaries ignoble. Antony took a big personal risk at the prompting of loyalty and Octavius spoke with magnanimity of fallen foes. In all this, and in Plutarch's sense of the effective and defining incident, the popular dramatist's work is half done. The outwardness, not in the least 'crude' or 'primitive', which makes *Julius Caesar* so admirable for reading in schools, translates the simple and heroic quality of the prose narrative. To object here to Brutus's stern and proud rebuke of Octavius

*Octavius* I was not borne to dye on *Brutus* Sword  
*Brutus* O if thou wer't the Noblest of thy Strame.  
 Yong-man, thou could'st not dye more honourable .

<sup>1</sup> *The Imperial Theme* (1931), p. 63.



or to the hard ring, as of bronze upon marble, of Caesar's speeches, is to bring forward criteria altogether inappropriate to the imaginative effect at which the dramatist at this level aims, one might as well except against

I am *Ulysses Laertides*,  
The fear of all the world for policies,  
For which, my facts as high as heaven resound

For every age instinctively recognizes as a right expression of *μεγαλοψυχία* speech of this sort in personages heroically conceived 'I love The name of Honor, more than I feare death' Here would be an inappropriate and boastful remark for a professor to offer in a seminar-room, but we need scarcely boggle over it as it is torn from Brutus hard upon the 'Flourish, and Shout' which may mean that Caesar has been crowned For, primarily, this is a direct and manly play, and one filled with straight talk

But the play exists in depth And when we achieve insight into that depth we have not been jostled from a primitive play into fragments of another and incongruous kind of play, as the 'realist' argument would maintain, rather we have been led, as a reflective mind before the spectacle of nature may be led, to view the ambiguities and complexities which perennially lie behind that simple and idealized pageant of himself which is native to man Nor do we find, in this fuller play, that the speeches of Brutus and Caesar lack propriety

Shakespeare's Brutus has nobility and great beauty—but Dante would have found that no figure in all the dramas commits a darker crime How came Brutus to join the conspirators? There is an element of unresolved mystery here, strongly underlined in that groping soliloquy in the orchard upon which so much commentators' ink has been spilt Cassius has pressed upon Brutus what are distinguishably the mere interests of an oligarchal class, and these Brutus has somewhat ambiguously admitted as stirring within himself But it is clear that he is concerned for his own disinterestedness He fumbles after some interpretation of the situation whereby it shall appear to be the whole body of the people who are endangered by tyranny Yet his final adherence to the plot is insufficiently considered and a matter of obscure emotions behind the stoic mask Is it because he does not acknowledge the lure of the pedestal that he is, for all his nobility, intellectually dishonest? At least there is a great blindness in the deed to which he gives his name and arm Politically it is futile committed in the name of sacred equality, it leads directly to a situation in which the populace shout for Brutus as king, Brutus must dominate Cassius, and Antony expounds the subordinate role of Lepidus to an Octavius who will eventually leave Antony himself no role whatever Ethically it is indefensible, for 'the principles of true politics are but those of morality enlarged', and the only refuge that all these Romans have amid their tooth-and-claw public struggles is in their private loyalties and domestic affections their only ultimate salvation would have been in working outwards from these Committed thus, Brutus is constrained to defend positions the falseness of which must always be on the fringes of his consciousness The people whom he harangues as having by Caesar's death escaped the shame of bondage are the same politically untroubled mechanicals who in the first scene were so inexpugnably cheerful beneath the censures of Flavius and Marullus Cassius, whom he berates for extortion, he has also to reproach for failing to send needed money Caesar, upon whose death he had agreed because of the corruption that power *might* bring, he comes to persuade himself had been 'strucke... but for supporting Robbers' Self-deception gathers

around him, and in the end he is reduced to that spiritually desperate condition distinguished by Mr T S Eliot as cheering oneself up

My heart doth joy, that yet in all my life,  
I found no man, but he was true to me

A Roman thought! But Caesar's last words had been *Et tu Brute*—and uttering them he had muffled up his face and struggled no more. And so when Brutus tends something to insist on his honour he is no more stepping out of himself to give us a bare notice of Shakespeare's intention at this level than is Antony when he harps ironically on the same endowment. For one who is seemingly a philosopher and a statesman Brutus has acted with too little of reason and self-scrutiny, and too much of precipitancy. But, like Romeo, he 'thought all for the best', and his sole buckler is this same honour—his conviction that he is 'aim'd so strong in honesty' that the tempests unloosed about him and within him are but idle wind. The conception steals rather often from his thoughts into his speech. But it is a travesty of our experience to declare that unless Shakespeare and direct self-explanation be called in to absolve Brutus from the responsibility of these utterances we are confronted with a character marked by vanity and boastfulness. What is behind this strain in his speeches is the instinct of a man over the threshold of whose awareness a terrible doubt perpetually threatens to lap.<sup>1</sup>

Shakespeare's Brutus, then, belongs in a sense to two worlds. Plutarch's in which action issues directly from simple disposition, and one taking account of certain complexities which underlie this appearance. What of Caesar? For Schucking, as we have seen, Shakespeare's Caesar is simply the great figure of popular tradition, 'the Noblest man That ever lived in the Tide of Times' but he is this figure not so much dramatically created as baldly announced by the method of direct self-explanation. Now, on this simple interpretation, why does Shakespeare here manipulate his material as he does? For, first, he modifies Plutarch to give Caesar a more striking nobility, magnanimity, for example. Plutarch's Caesar is prevented from reading Artemidorus's scroll by the press of people around him, whereas Shakespeare's Caesar is disinclined to do so when told that it deals with merely personal matters. Secondly, Shakespeare modifies Plutarch to give Caesar more of infirmity, both bodily and spiritual. Thus Plutarch's notable swimmer becomes the overconfident weakling who has to be rescued by Cassius whom he had challenged. And again, in Plutarch we are told that Calpurnia had not formerly been superstitious but was become so, but in Shakespeare this is transferred to Caesar

he is Superstitious growne of late,  
Quite from the maine Opinion he held once.

In these modifications it appears to me that Shakespeare is creating his *two* Caesars, the popular and the deeper Caesar, and is leading the judicious to discern that the overwhelming, immediate and public Caesar is the creation of an inflexible will, is a rigid mask which has proved so potent that its creator himself can scarcely regard it but with awe. Indeed, in Plutarch there is a hint for this, since we are told that Caesar's whole life was 'an emulation with himself—so North renders it—as with another man'. And the force of the struggle may be judged by the exhaustion it has brought. Caesar's utterances marvellously carry the impression of one physically fretted to decay and opposing to the first falterings of the mind an increasingly rigid and absolute assertion of the Caesar idea. As petulance, superstitious dread,

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted in places here to Sir Mark Hunter's *Politics and Character in Shakespeare's 'Julius Caesar'* (Trans. Royal Soc. Lit., vol. x, 1931), surely one of the best essays on the play.

vacillating judgement, a lifetime of sternly repressed fears gather for their final assault, he marks them, as Brutus could never do, with all the wary prescience of a great general, and opposes to their threat the impregnable *vallum* of a maimorean rhetoric

But I am constant as the Northerne Starre

It is much nearer to boastfulness and vainglory than to direct self-explanation—and yet it is not boastfulness and vainglory either. For Caesar is not pleased with himself, and he is not precisely cheering himself up. We are aware, indeed, that an ailing and inwardly faltering man is here vindicating a fiction with sounding words, but we are aware too, as Caesar is, of the power of the fiction. Caesar has created Caesarism and he speaks as the embodiment of this. It is something which cannot but escape the daggers of the conspirators, for it is an idea and mocks their thrusts. A grand irony of the play, indeed, lies here. To think of Caesar as now no more than an empty shell, reverberating hollowly, the life and virtue gone out of him', writes Mr Granville-Barker,<sup>1</sup> 'must weaken the play a little, for will it be so desperate an enterprise to conspire against such a Caesar?' But in just this consists the tragedy of Brutus. He has killed—and with inglorious ease—an old man, his friend, grown slightly ridiculous in the task of keeping physical and intellectual infirmity at bay. But the spirit at which he thinks to strike has only a deceptive habitation in the man who still speaks so resolutely—with so historic a note, indeed—in its accents. The spirit has gone out abroad over the earth, and on the field of Philippi is mighty yet.

The Elizabethans were concerned about politics, if only because politics might at any time intimately affect their lives. And politics at Elizabeth's court meant substantially the interplay of a small number of personalities—of personalities often sufficiently enigmatic, the historian now feels. Everyone had a motive for attempting some insight into these—for how many fortunes might turn, say, upon a true understanding of the Earl of Essex!—and this would make for some niceness of observation in the emotional hinterland of public professions. Moreover, the Elizabethans, when their education permitted it, delighted in historical parallels, and many of them would be prepared to bring to a Roman history an eye not less penetrating than that which they carried to Whitehall. If we do, therefore, take historical ground there seems no *a priori* case against Shakespeare's having desired to gratify an important section of his audience with a somewhat more delicate analysis of the springs of political action than Plutarch immediately suggests. In short, the 'Elizabethan' Shakespeare (Schucking's, I mean) cannot well be brought up in support of a primitivist interpretation of drama treating of the interior mechanisms of statecraft. For here a good part of the audience had a strong practical stake in sophistication—far more than Coleridge or Andrew Bradley ever had. Why, then, does criticism take the course it does? Perhaps there is regularly in the human mind some impulse to reject the artist's or scientist's psychological penetration where this conflicts with the simplifying and idealizing formulations of a culture. And Shakespeare here has a discomfiting realism, he disconcerted many romantic critics and set them to reassuring reverie. Thus the Brutus whose personal relationships are so beautiful and whose politics are so insufficient, so fatally of the unexamined life, the Brutus of whom Shakespeare's sombre portrait, sparsely touched by compassion, is so subtle and so fine, was discarded for Swinburne's 'very noblest figure of a typical and ideal republican in all the literature of the

<sup>1</sup> *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, First Series (1927), p. 83

world.<sup>1</sup> It is an interpretation that meets difficulty as soon as there is a careful scrutiny of the text. But to solve the problem by declaring that theatrical conditions permitted Shakespeare to work only in simple blacks and whites, and that what remains perplexing on this view is merely the consequence of a technique imperfectly dramatic and personative, is to make, in the name of historical realism, the very same rejection of that true realism, that deep and sensitive anatomy of the hidden man, which lies so often behind the outwardness and simplicity of Shakespeare's drama popularly viewed.

## II THE OBJECTIVE APPROPRIATENESS OF DRAMATIC TESTIMONY

Schucking extends his argument. Shakespeare's characters frequently describe *each other* with an unnatural objectivity.<sup>2</sup> A mature drama is like life, nowhere is there available (as there is in the novel) an extraneous authoritative voice, naturalism therefore demands that the characters appear to us only as filtered through their own or others' minds. But Shakespeare's art could not compass this and—far more than has been recognized—his characters in speaking of each other are mere mouth-pieces for passing on his own authoritative statements. They consistently see and report more objectively than they ought, and when we seek for the subjective element—the refractive index, as it were—in these reports we are crediting Shakespeare with a dramaturgy other and maturer than his own. Thus his villains frequently do justice to their victims in quite impartial judgements and we must regard this as instancing 'an almost childish primitiveness and a submission to traditional practice utterly regardless of the actual facts of life'. The theatrical motive is again, of course, clarity: if the villains displayed a realistic partiality and blooded over some darkened and distorted picture of their victims the audience might become confused. In *King Lear* Edmund's recognition of Edgar's qualities, belonging as it does to the exposition of the play, is a particularly obvious instance of the sacrifice of psychological truth to a good clear start.

Now, that Edmund should speak of his brother as noble is undoubtedly helpful to the simple-minded. But this is not the end of the matter:

Thou Nature art my Goddess, to thy Law  
My services are bound, wherefore should I  
Stand in the plague of custom?

φύσις and νόμος. Edmund has taken sides in an age-old debate. And, that side taken, to speak of another as noble is essentially not (what Schucking calls it) a 'confession of admiration'—rather it is an assessment such as the *torero* makes when he uses the word of the 'bull that is frank in its charges, brave, supple, and easily deceived'.<sup>3</sup>

A Credulous Father, and a Brother Noble,  
Whose nature is so farie from doing harmes,  
That he suspects none

On his father and brother Edmund is here making precisely the same statement each has a weakness which may be exploited. So that if Shakespeare in this place indeed shows 'submission to traditional practice' we have only an instance of his skill in making old scaffolding partake in the life of his design. Here is what renders the plays so deceptive, they invite the realist to enter and cut away the dead timber, he swings his axe, and sap starts from the wound, presently he is reduced to a rather trivial snuppeting. This will appear from a passage in *Macbeth* which

<sup>1</sup> *A Study of Shakespeare* (1879), p. 159

<sup>2</sup> Op cit Chap II

<sup>3</sup> Ernest Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon* (1932), p. 306

Schucking must here instance Macbeth has just sent for the two men whom he hopes to persuade to murder Banquo, and he says

To be thus, is nothing, but to be safely thus  
Our feares in *Banquo* sticke deepe,  
And in his Royaltie of Nature reignes that  
Which would be fear'd 'Tis much he dares,  
And to that dauntlesse temper of his Minde,  
He hath a Wisdome, that doth guide his Valour,  
To act in safetie

We are asked to find psychologically unconvincing 'the ungrudging recognition and boundless admiration' expressed in this monologue. But it is surely natural enough for Macbeth to assert that the enemy he fears and proposes to have assassinated is a formidable enemy, of regal temper, at once daring and prudent. Anyone who doubts this should try writing a speech for Macbeth in which Banquo is represented as timid, foolish and generally negligible.

We have now gained, Schucking declares hard upon this, 'an impression of the primitive and utterly unrealistic devices which Shakespeare allows himself' in his endeavour after an extreme clarity and simplicity. And it follows that 'our eyes are therefore opened to perceive a similar state of affairs in other places'.

Above all we observe that, as a rule, the poet is very careful, especially in the exposition, not to mislead us about the behaviour and the character of the hero by the remarks of persons who have a wrong or biased conception of him and who by expressing it might put the spectator on the wrong track. *The first mention in the drama of things which are important for the action or the characterisation of the central figure must never be allowed in the interest of the characterisation of secondary figures to distort the representation of the facts.*

But is this, with its impressive italics, really so weighty a statement? Indeed, as the exposition of a 'primitive and utterly unrealistic device', is it not demonstrably absurd? Every competent playwright will expound distorted views of a character or situation cautiously, and particularly at the beginning of his play. If he there never exploits something of the interest attaching to coloured or refracted views we may indeed regard his technique as thin and unenterprising. But is this so with Shakespeare? Schucking, affirming that it is, becomes involved in many pages of awkward comment on a crucial passage in *Macbeth*.

Glamys thou art, and Cawdor, and shalt be  
What thou art promis'd yet doe I feare thy Nature,  
It is too full o'th'Milke of humane kindnesse,  
To catch the neerest way Thou would'st be great,  
Art not without Ambition, but without  
The illnesse should attend it. What thou would'st highly,  
That would'st thou holily would'st not play false,  
And yet would'st wrongly winne.  
Thould'st have, great Glamys, that which cries,  
Thus thou must doe, if thou have it,  
And that which rather thou do'st feare to doe,  
Then wishest should be undone. High thee hither,  
That I may powre my Spirits in thine Eare,  
And chastise with the valour of my Tongue  
All that impeides thee from the Golden Round,  
Which Fate and Metaphysicall ayde doth seeme  
To have thee crown'd withall

If Shakespeare writes by the book, and with his critic elevates each working rule of the popular theatre into a *Vorschrift* or *Verbot* in defiance of which no grace may

be snatched, it is necessary to regard Lady Macbeth's opening speech as an 'objective' description of her husband, uncoloured 'in the interest of the characterization' of the 'secondary figure' of Lady Macbeth herself. Unfortunately, the speech presents some difficulty if read in Schucking's terms. Is it true that Macbeth is 'without illnesse', that he would like to attain his ends 'holily', that he is 'too full o'th Milke of humane kindnesse'? Confronting these awkward questions Schucking can only answer, 'Obviously not'. Two explanations alone are possible. Either Lady Macbeth is mistaken or Shakespeare is mistaken. But for Lady Macbeth to be mistaken—to be astray in the reading of her husband's character—violates the principle Schucking is concerned to assert: that of the invariably objective truth aimed at by the dramatist in such a report as this. 'Taking into consideration Shakespeare's peculiar technique, we cannot doubt for a moment that he means the character of the hero to be objectively described in the monologue. The error then must be *Shakespeare's*. In declaring that Macbeth is 'too full o'th Milke of humane kindnesse'—Schucking says—*the poet for a moment misjudges his own creation*'.

Poets, I suppose, may do this. Nevertheless must we not suspect that the critic has here been led astray by dogma and a disinclination to consider the particular circumstances of the case? For surely the speech will be satisfactory if we only admit that the portrayal of Lady Macbeth, and of her relations with her husband, are factors in it, and that a certain distortion of Macbeth's character is entailed in this? On Macbeth himself the speech does indeed throw new and useful light, such as is desirable in an exposition, for we chiefly gather from it that he is not likely to be immediately whole-hearted in villainy and that some spiritual struggle is to be expected of him. But the speech is also charged with certain feelings of Lady Macbeth's which lead her to exaggerate what she pervertedly regards as her husband's insufficiencies, and this renders more striking and terrible our first impression of her. The letter recounting Macbeth's meeting with the witches makes her the more impatient to hurry him into crime—and then upon the exultant 'Glamys thou art and Cawdor' comes the sudden realization of forces in his nature that may militate against her designs. These she does not review 'objectively' but magnifies in passion and scorn. And this should be clear to us. For we already know that Macbeth has murder in his thoughts, and 'black and deepe desires', he has been on the stage declaring these only a matter of seconds before Lady Macbeth's monologue begins. Lady Macbeth, then, when she censures him as having too much of the softness of common humanity and nothing of the ruthlessness ambition requires reveals herself as a woman so apt for evil that she regards her husband's near-black as an inadequate grey! We shall not be at all surprised when she presently echoes and overgoes his

Let not Light see my black and deepe desires  
with her own

Come, thick Night,  
And pall thee in the dunnest smoake of Hell.

Lady Macbeth's whole monologue, both before and after the entrance of the messenger with his tremendous news of Duncan's coming, is passionate. And in passionate speech—particularly in passionate upbraiding—not the simplest audience will expect only objective appraisal. The over-stating or distorting of a case is natural under such conditions, and Shakespeare follows nature.

J. I. M. STEWART

ADELAIDE

## SICILY IN THE 'NOVELLE' OF LUIGI PIRANDELLO

Seven years after Garibaldi landed at Marsala, there was born in Girgenti one who has been described as 'the greatest Agrigentine since Empedocles' and of whose early work, published between 1901 and 1919 as *Novelle* and subsequently collected in *Le Novelle per un anno*, Giovanni Papini was in 1938 to say

In alcune, e diciamo pur molte, novelle il meglio di lui come artista. tradizione siciliana, verghiana, naturalista. Il più sicuro gruzzolo di Pirandello è nascosto nelle *Novelle per un anno*, poco lette in Italia, quasi ignote fuori<sup>1</sup>

Working from what he first knew, and the love of which he never lost, Luigi Pirandello used 'the most beautiful country in the world' as a setting for many of his short stories, its people, even on the Continent, as characters for others. But much more subtle is the all-pervading Sicilian atmosphere which suffuses the environment in which the vivid dramas are played.

The extreme west of the island and the south-east find no place in the towns and villages mentioned by name. Palermo, with its traffic, its busy scenes, its fair in the Piazza Marina, plays its part as the wonderland to which Donna Mimma (ix, 19 seq.) and others go as the goal of the first railway journey of their lives, Bagheria, Messina, Catania, where smart clothes can be ordered, Nicosia, 'grosso borgo affacciato su una striscia di spiaggia del mare africano' and Porto Empedocle, with its ancient square and sombre castle, are the coastal towns which figure most prominently in the *Novelle* to the last is given pride of place.

Tornato a Porto Empedocle, aveva trovato il paese cresciuto quasi per prodigio, a spese della vecchia Girgenti che, sdraiata su l'alto colle a circa quattro miglia dal mare, si rassegnava a morir di lenta morte, per la quarta o quinta volta, guardando da una parte le rovine dell'antica Agrigento, dall'altra il porto del nascente paese (v, 125-6).

Inland places actually mentioned, whether to be found on a map or not, include Montelusa, Pisanello, Zùnica, Milocca, Farnia, the plain of Ravanusa, Nocera, the village of Stravignano near Sorifa, San Stefano di Camastra (the San Stefano north-west of Girgenti?), Nicosia to the east of the same town and the heights of San Gerlando. One direct reference is made to the islands of Lampedusa and of Pantelleria (v, 126).

But more truly Sicilian than actual place-names are the descriptions of the little towns in the interior, the countryside in the warm breath of the African sea, almonds and Saracen olives on the hillsides, *lumie* that are the fragrance of the homeland when brought to the mainland, vivid skies, 'il turchino ardente del cielo' (vi, 78), quiet seascapes, land asleep under the moon, and lands rendered mournfully arid by the avid sulphur mines or baked by the long, merciless heat of summer.

Una cittaduzza a montana, così silenziosa che pareva quasi deserta, sotto l'azzurro intenso, ardente del cielo, con le straduccole anguste, male acciottolate, tra le grezze cassette di pietra e calce, coi doccioni di creta e i tubi di latta scoperti.

Grande, placida, come in un fresco, luminoso oceano di silenzio, gli stava di faccia la luna (viii, 54).

Abitava [Bruno Celèsia] all'estremità del paese, dalla parte di ponente, dove la spiaggia svoltava sotto l'altipiano marnoso per descrivere un'altra lunga lunata. E lì era pace, una gran pace quasi stupefatta dall'infinito spettacolo del mare (pt of ix, 123).

<sup>1</sup> Almanaco Bompiano, 1938, *Epigrafe per Luigi Pirandello*, G. Papini, p. 69.

Di settembre, su quell' altipiano d' aride argille strapiombante fianoso sul mare africano, la campagna già marsa dalle rabbie dei lunghi soli estivi, era triste (IX, 123)

La viuzza rischiarava il livido squalore di quelle terre senza un filo d' erba, sfioracchiate dalle zolfare come da tanti enormi formichi (VIII, 46)

This last comparison is also used in I, 57

Underlying the gentle irony with which Puandello treats the unprogressive councillors of Milocca, afraid to take one step along the road of progress lest another become immediately necessary is the bald fact of the primitive state of life and development of public services in the island. Railway communications at the time were even fewer than now of how many characters are we told that at quite an advanced age they are making their first railway journey, roads were bad, even for naturally mountainous country

Quando però il giorno dopo vidi quell' altra strada lì, restai basito, non tanto perché c' ero passato quanto per il pensiero che se Dio misericordioso aveva permesso che non ci lasciassi la pelle, chi sa a quali terribili prove vuol dire che in ha predestinato! (V, 33)

and lighting, except in big towns, was primitive or non-existent

And what of the men and women whose lot is cast in such places? Repeatedly we are placed in presence of what is once designated 'lurida miseria', reinforced by the squalor of living conditions which, however different from squalor under northern skies, is, none the less, the fruit of extreme poverty

It is but natural that the sulphur mines should rivet the attention of one who lived in the region where they occupy the majority of the local men as miners, or in Porto Empedocle for the loading of trading vessels with the sulphur exported to the ends of the earth

E s' aggirò, faccente, con l' aria d'un furbo matricolato, in mezzo al traffico rumoroso del piccolo porto di mare, tra i grandi depositi di zolfo accatastati su la spiaggia, a bordo dei piroscafi d'ogni nazione, aspirando con voluttà l'odori del catrame e della pece, mentre gli occhi gli lacrimavano bruciati dalla polvere dello zolfo diffusa nell' aria (VI, 213)

With pitiless realism, based on a profusion of details, life in the mines is described, the exacting nature of the work under trying conditions and its vitiating effect on the health of those who engage in it, their bodies bent with the daily fatigue, the relentless underground journeyings from the galleries of the mines with their loads on their backs

A chi attendeva a riempire di minerale grezzo i forni o i 'calcheroni', a chi vigilava alla fusione della zolfra, o s' affacciava sotto i forni stessi a ricevere dentro ai giornelli che servivano da forme lo zolfo bruciato che vi colava lento come una densa morchia nerastia, la vista di tutto quel verde lontano alleviava anche la pena del respiro, l' agro oppressivo del fumo che s' aggrappava alla gola, fino a promuovere gli spasmi più crudeli e le rabbie dell' asfissia

I *carusi*, buttando giù il carico dalle spalle peste e scorticate, seduti su i sacchi, per rifrescare un po' all' aria, tutti imbrattati dai cietosi acquitrini lungo le gallerie o lungo la lubrica scala a gradino rotto della 'buca', grattandosi la testa e guardando a quella collina attraverso il vitreo fiato sulfureo che tremolava al sole vaporando dai 'calcheroni' accesi a dai forni, pensavano alla vita di campagna, vita lieta per loro, senza rischi, senza gravi stenti la all' aperto, sotto il sole, e invidiavano i contadini

— Beati loro!—(I, 58)

As if to offset these scenes, the unspoiled country beyond the mines becomes a land of which to dream

Per tutti, infine, era come un paese di sogno quella collina lontana. Di là veniva l'olio alle loro lucerne che a male pena rompevano il crudo tenebroso della zolfara, di là il



pane, quel pane solido e nero che li teneva in piedi per tutta la giornata, alla fatica bestiale, di là il vino, l'unico loro bene, la sera, il vino, che dava loro coraggio, la forza di durare a quella vita maladetta, so pur vita si poteva chiamare parevano, sotto terra, tanti morti affaccendati (I, 58)

And while the mineis envied the peasant the fair greenness of the countryside, the peasants cursed the greed of those landowners who had succumbed to the temptation of amassing a fortune and to achieve it had laid waste not only their own but their neighbours' land with the sulphur fumes 'il loro nemico il fumo devastatore' (I, 58)

Ashore mineis and peasants, afloat fishers and seafarers, with their womenfolk bearing large families, living secluded lives, broken only by help on the land at harvest time, when they give evidence of great industry by their readiness to stay overnight at the place of work so as to proceed as early as possible with the task in hand on the following day (V, 7), evidence also of extreme physical resistance by the work they undertake to keep their families alive

From among them a few women go as nurses on the mainland, some even forced to do so by their husbands, who are very much the masters in their own houses

'E comanda tu, a bacchetta, sai! Se no, vengo io a farti ubbidire e rispettare' (I, 27)

Submissive and obedient, they become good housewives, frequently entering on marriage with men much older than themselves, loveless matches but characterized by great fidelity and met very often by the watchful jealousy of their husbands, whose every desire and need is prevented with the utmost devotion. It is, however, noteworthy that in the most striking story of a husband's jealousy, where the wife was kept as in a fortress from which neither she nor her children ever went out, the husband was not actually a Sicilian (XIII, 2-17). Among the poor, church-going, shopping, and chatter round the village fountain, the sorrows and joys of their neighbours, into which they enter wholeheartedly, are as bright threads in the monotonous weave of the days for women 'practised from childhood in stifling vanity, always with a baby or a rosary in their hands'

From the girls whose dowry is provided by Maltese money given to the mother for fostering orphans, to the girl whose trousseau is lovingly put together thread by thread through the unsparing sacrifice of her mother, all bring to their new homes as adequate provisions of linen as possible

E quel corredo della figliuola, messo su, un filo oggi, un filo domani, con la pazienza d'un ragno, non si stancava di mostrarlo alle vicine (I, 43).

Among the middle classes, should the husband die, the woman who has always lived a carefully guarded life in a silent house—perhaps still a trace of Arab tradition—goes into mourning until she dies, going out only to church, receiving no one

Certain characteristics Sicilian peasants share with all others: their extreme caution, here evinced by reluctance to buy a new horse or repair a cart lest modern improvements outmode both (V, 33), reluctance to vote credits for adequate lighting facilities (V, 42), readiness to endure the inconvenience or even hardship of inadequate water supplies (V, 35)

Quà sono tutti in perpetua attesa di ciò che ci porterà il domani. Quà non si fabbricano case perchè domani, domani chi sa come si fabbricheranno le case, non si pensa a illuminare le strade, perchè domani chi sa che nuovi mezzi d'illuminazione scoprirà la scienza, domani! (VII, 112)

And the root reason, the universal peasant reason, is ever that improvements cost money, a reason covered by torrents of talk (V, 36)

Schooling plays a very small part in the lives of many of the people, acting on the principle that what was good enough for them may well be good enough for their children (iv, 48). Small wonder then that the terror of the evil eye is so real and that its effects on men and animals, making them perish by inches, are so unquestioningly and so generally accepted. On the other hand, among those who, through emigration, have seen something of the outside world, there is ambition for their children, sometimes pursued in the face of opposition and the patent inability of the child to better his condition by study (*Sciallu Nero*, I, 1).

The peasants' attitude to doctors, to whom they have recourse *in extremis*, and their preference for the quack who is cheaper and gives no prescriptions to run up big bills at the chemist's, are dramatically brought out in vii, 106, *Acqua è lì*, in the burst of popular fury supported by the local authority that greets the news that at last the doctor is to denounce the imposture of a local quack to the Prefect, and in the betrayal of the doctor by his own wife, a poor creature who, in common with all her fellow-citizens 'vede male la scienza del marito e ne diffida la stinca pericolosa', and who undermines his defences by consulting the quack for her own children. Small wonder that the average doctor lives in very poor conditions (vii, 107) and finds the long distances he is obliged to cover on foot detrimental to effective service.

Analogous is the story of Donna Mimma (ix, 1-39), who has practised midwifery successfully for years and is superseded by a young nurse with paper qualifications, though in this case the accredited nurse is finally adopted by the population because she handles them cleverly, showing to even the poorest a respect and deference to which they are unaccustomed but which they enjoy as a privilege shared with women 'on the continent'.

The rigid insistence on right conduct, on the strict observance of standards, is most powerfully brought out in the terrifying intransigence of the old peasant whose conscience cannot allow forgiveness of a son who, as a priest, has been faithless to his vows.

— Se Monsignore perdona .

— Monsignore, ma io no! rispose pronto il vecchio, indignato (vi, 235).

Or again, there is the peasant who cannot accept the fact that his son, a semi-naïst, has lost the Faith (ii, 16-17).

The same stern attitude is taken to anything which injures family life: adultery is adequately punished only by death, and the fury, a fury comprehensible indeed, of the father who, on emerging from prison, finds his old mother in hospital, his baby dead and his wife a nurse in Rome (vi, 143, *La Baha*), is not only the ebullience of warm blood but indignation at the violation of the sacredness of family life. But the Sicilian's charity to those deprived of their natural protectors by the death of father or mother is practically without limit: not only will a woman nurse along with her own child that of a neighbour, but families will adopt three, four, five, six orphaned relations, however straitened their own circumstances. And circumstances are frequently so, in humble homes where domestic animals share the one living room.

Ma se toglì loro l'asino, il porcellino e le galline dalla camera, non vi possono più dormire in pace. Devono star lì tutti insieme, fanno una famiglia sola (v, 165).

The little home of Ninfarosa (*L' altro figlio*, vi, 41) stands out sharply defined among its neighbours because of its superior furnishing.

La sua casa non era come quelle del vicinato. La vasta camera, un po' buja quando la porta era chiusa, perchè prendeva luce allora soltanto da una finestra ferrata che

s' apriva su la porta stessa, ora imbiancata, ammattonata, pulita e ben messa, con una letteria di ferro, un armadio, un cassettone dal piano di marmo, un tavolino impiallacciato di noce.

Much more frequent are references to beds that are nothing more than a sack of straw upon the floor. Once only is a country house, the interior of a country house, described

Quel buon odore di casa campestre perduta in mezzo agli olivi e ai mandorli, quelle camere patriarcali, nude, ampie, sonore, dai pavimenti avvallati, che sapevano di antiche granaglie e di mosto e del sudore di chi fatice al sole e del fumo che esalano la paglia e la ligne dei rozzi focolari (VIII, 111)

Apart from references to and occasional descriptions of feasts and rejoicings at weddings, little is described of local customs, allusion is made to All Souls' Day, which is to the children of the island what the Feast of the Epiphany is to all other Italian children: the souls of the dead bring them their toys, so that they rejoice while their elders weep (IX, 21)—to what is not unlike the Corsican lament for the dead, when prostrate, with her face to the ground, Filomena cried aloud her sorrow and the praises of the dead man (VII, 9)

The account of the statue which was to be restored to its own parish church from the Cathedral where it had been taken for a feast is not without some likeness to the squabble of the peasants in Daudet's *Diligence de Beaucaire* (*Lettres de mon Moulin*) (VII, 154) and the whole beautifully written story of *L'angelo centuno* in *Lo storno e l'angelo centuno* (IX, 113), with the bodyguard of angels accompanying Maragrazia Ajello through dangerous country on her way to the village of her daughter-in-law, presage of her imminent death, seems related to the *ankou* of Breton death stories

The great resource of emigration and the concurrent problem of the depopulation of the countryside find some echo in *L'altro figlio* (VI, 38). The letters of previous emigrants paint such golden pictures of conditions beyond the Atlantic that more and more young men are tempted to follow them, ignorant of the reverse side of the medal, while labour for the land at home grows less and less, old men, women and children the only tillers of the soil.

To the justice of the island in his early days and to its unofficial administration by the Mafia, there is, perhaps not unsurprisingly, only the most guarded reference. The necessity of having recourse to the services of this widespread agency for the recovery of lost property is, however, as definitely affirmed as in Cesare Mori's *Con la Mafia ai ferri corti*, where the positive advantages of reference to the Mafia are contrasted with the slender chances of redress through legal channels.

Con la bella giustizia che si amministrava in Sicilia! Non se fidavano neanche i signori (IX, 85).

But appeal to a powerful member of the Mafia set machinery in motion, lost cattle were restored in return for a payment—usually 30 % of the value—and for the promise of silence. Another aspect of the work of *la Lega* is the capture of a wealthy man in the hope of a ransom, though in XI, 88, *Lo scioglimento della Lega*, when the captors were assured that their prisoner's wife would not pay for his release, they found themselves with their victim on their hands until the day of his death.

Nor can Pirandello pass over in silence the violent nature of his compatriots when, in lonely places, men could be killed without much heart-burning and when self-exercised justice was short and deadly.

'Ammazzare il cane a un contadino siciliano voleva due farsi ammazzare senza remissione (IX, 93)' is a kind of prefatory epitaph of the little gulf who although innocent, was believed guilty of the death of a dog and paid the penalty for another.

'Comincio a dire che mai e poi mai avrebbe consentito ch'ella andasse sola a quel paese d'assassini [Fabaro] dove ammazzare un uomo era come ammazzare una mosca' (VIII, 116), is a statement supported by the stories of a man who tried out a new gun on the first passer-by or by that of another who murdered a child for a few pence 'Siamo oisi, caro mio' (V, 173)

Just as episodes from Prandello's own life and some of his own traits of character become the substance of more than one *novella*, so does Sicily provide settings without any striving after effect, any seeking after local colour. Passing references to peasant gulf with bright blue silk or flaming cotton handkerchiefs tied under their chins and to their wearing of a long, fringed shawl, a little mantellina, or to the large earrings still worn by men in remoter places are incidental, as is also Prandello's use of an occasional local term, which is pressed into service because it happens to be exact, the usual word, the one by which a particular object or a particular experience is most usually indicated, but just as aptly used are Piedmontese words in other connexions. Among Sicilian words we find

Doganieri del porto, andava coi *luntri*, di notte, in perlustrazione (I, 44).

I zolfatori venivan su dal fondo della *bucca* (I, 57)

I *carusi* pensavano alla vita di campagna (I, 57)

I *calcheroni*, accesi a dai forni (I, 58).

La *trazzera*, cioè la via mulattiera (I, 60)

L'*estaglio* (I, 70) quota, che doveva esser agata in naturo, sul prodotto lordo, al proprietario del suolo

*Babbalocchio* stupid (V, 167)

*Gna bonu* all right

La *calcana* (VIII, 45)

But the regionalism of Prandello is something more fundamental than that which depends on Sicilian words or even scenes. It is the life of the island interpreted by a Sicilian who has known and understood it and been wise enough not to repudiate it when the centralizing attraction of the capital drew him to the mainland.

M. J. MOORE

# JUSTINA'S TEMPTATION: AN APPROACH TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF CALDERÓN

## I

Justina is tempted, in *El Mágico Prodigioso*, III, 5-6, in this fashion. In the first scene there is music inciting to love, and turning the mind to amorous symbols: the nightingale, the vine embracing the elm, the sunflower following the sun. She resists these suggestions by remembering her past scorn of men, but when naming Cyprian she hesitates. She feels a twinge of feminine pity. At that moment the Demon appears, ready to take advantage of her thought of passion. He argues that sinful thoughts are sin, and that she should complete the sin in deed. His suggestion is that she should at once despair of forgiveness. Justina replies that she will not despair, sin lies not in thought but in the will, especially when the will is completed by the deed. The Demon retorts that the thought is a powerful inclination which she cannot resist. Justina replies that free will can overcome inclination. After one or two exchanges, the Demon asserts that his force will overcome her free will, but Justina appeals to God as her defence, and the Demon is defeated.

The central point of this episode is the invitation to despair. The word has lost its full connotation, there is nothing now damning in despair. But for Calderón, as for St Thomas Aquinas, *desperatio* was a refusal to entertain the hope of salvation, and consequently the irrevocable loss of a human soul. The question arose whether *desperatio* was not the worst of sins, and it was answered with an affirmative in one sense by St Thomas (*Summa*, II, II, qu. 20, art. III).

Virtutibus autem theologicis opponuntur infidelitas, desperatio et odium Dei. Inter quae odium et infidelitas, si desperationi comparentur, inveniuntur secundum se quidem, id est secundum rationem propriae speciei, graviora. Infidelitas et odium Dei sunt contra Deum secundum quod in se est, desperatio autem secundum quod eius bonum participatur a nobis. Unde maius peccatum est, secundum se loquendo, non credere Dei veritatem, vel odire Deum, quam non sperare consequi gloriam ab ipso.

Sed si comparetur desperatio ad alia duo peccata ex parte nostra, sic desperatio est periculosior, quia per spem revocamur a malis et inducimur ad bona prosequenda, et ideo sublata spe, irrefrenate homines labuntur in vitia et a bonis laboribus retrahuntur.

From this it is evident that the sin which inevitably damns is despair. It is this despair, a refusal to hope for the grace of God, which damns Paulo in Tirso's *Condenado por Desconfiado*. In *La Devoción de la Cruz*, Julia, shut out of her convent by the chance removal of the ladder to her window, falls into despair and, as St Thomas says, rushes into vice without rein. Every species of wickedness follows upon *desperatio*, and the point is made by Calderón who causes Julia to rush into banditry and commit five or six murders right off the reel, though it is, perhaps, surprising that so young a convent-bred girl should have had the technical skill to do so. Lisarda, in *El Esclavo del Demonio*, rushes likewise from a life of normal prudence into the wildest criminality as soon as she despairs. It is thus of profound theological significance that the motive of despair should have been introduced by the Demon in the midmost of Justina's temptation. It is the damning element in any temptation, on whatever grounds.

The grounds of Justina's temptation are also momentous. They concern the nature of sin and free will. The Demon argues sophistically on this point of sin,

since he insinuates that it can lie in the intellect, without the assent of the will In *Contra gentiles*, III, ix, Aquinas divides every action into four aspects

Primum igitur activum principium in actionibus moralibus est res apprehensa, secundum, vis apprehensiva, tertium, voluntas, quantum, vis motiva quae exequitur imperium voluntatis

The first lies outside the morality of the individual, and the latter is a matter of technical effect, void of moral issues except so far as they lie in the anterior willing The element of thought is also clear (in the *Summa* it is given as *intellectus*) since it is merely a representation of the thing apprehended

Actus vero quo res movet apprehensivam virtutem immunis est a vicio moris, movet enim, secundum ordinem naturalem, visibile visum, et quodlibet objectum potentiam passivam

It remains, therefore, that sin lies only in the will

Relinquitur igitur quod morale vitium in solo actu voluntatis primo et principaliter invenitur In actu igitur voluntatis quaerenda est radix et origo peccati moralis

The Demon's suggestion is, in consequence, sophistical, when he says to Justina

En haberlo imaginado  
hecha tienes la mitad,  
pues ya el pecado es pecado,  
no pares la voluntad  
el medio camino andado

Actually, since Justina's will is not engaged, there has been *no* progress in sin, and therefore there is *no* ground for despair This is what Justina says

Desconfiarne es en vano,  
aunque pensé, que aunque es llano  
que el pensar es empezar,  
no está en mi mano el pensar.  
y está el obrar en mi mano

The contest for the human soul is thus reduced to terms of free will Once again the Demon attempts to win by a sophism, by confusing inclination with necessity The point is discussed in the *Summa*, I, qu 115, 'De actione corporalis creaturae' and qu 116, 'De fato' All nature, including devils and fate, is on the plane of secondary causes Fate, for instance, is the disposition of secondary causes so as to carry out the will of God, as St Augustine had shown But the free will depends directly on the will of God, and is therefore exempt from the necessary action of secondary causes These latter control matter by necessary laws, leading to necessary apprehension of their effects (though there may be error in the intellect), and stirring up passions by a strong influence But the free will is equal to fate and nature, and can withstand passions (*Summa*, I, qu 115, art vi)

Quamvis ex impressione corporum caelestium fiant aliquae inclinationes in natura corporali, voluntas tamen non ex necessitate sequitur has inclinationes.

Justina rightly appeals to free will as sufficient to withstand any demonic force When the Demon seeks to apply that force she appeals to God, as the guarantor of free will, and wins 'virtus volendi a solo Deo causatur' (*Summa*, I, qu 105, art iv)

This is, as anyone knows, the most important principle in all Calderón's psychology It appears in innumerable applications, both within and without religious contexts Julia, in *La Devoción de la Cruz*, applies it to limit the *patria potestas* The rights of a father extend over goods, freedom and life but not over the free will,

Juha has the right to refuse consent to a marriage. It is implicit in Pedro Crespo's definition of honour as 'patrimonio del alma, y el alma es de Dios'. The soul *is* its free will. The wording differs on different occasions to suit the metre, but the full Calderonian formulation can be taken to be

el hado impío  
inclina, pero no fuerza, el albedrío.

God himself works by giving the soul an inclination towards good, though evil may result, his omnipotence appears in the fact that even evil works for his good ends. Evil is, in a sense, caused by good (*Contra gentiles*, III, x), since it is due to a false apprehension of good. It is permitted for the sake of the good of free will, and that permission is good (*Summa*, I, qu. 19, art. ix).

Deus igitur neque vult mala fieri neque vult mala non fieri, sed vult permittere mala fieri. Et hoc est bonum.

This permission is frankly recognized by the Demon in the original prologue to the *Mágico Prodigioso*, where he says

Pues es adonde vengo  
de la licencia usar que de Dios tengo,  
que aunque no tengo yo ley ni obediencia,  
nada puedo intentar sin su licencia.

Evil cannot be a cause of good, save *per accidens* (*Contra gentiles*, III, xiv), but it works within God's providence, which is directed wholly to good. In the case in point, the Demon is compelled to appear at the end of the play, to justify the martyrs and to declare to all the people that God is the only ruler of nature and men.

La digo, porque Dios mesmo  
me fuerza a que yo la diga,  
tan poco enseñado a hacerlo.

That he should do so, contrary to his own will, is evidence of one of God's prerogatives 'solus Deus potest voluntatem immutare' (*Summa*, I, qu. 116, art. 1).

One application of this doctrine of free will is to the claims of the astrologer, represented by Basilio in *La Vida es Sueño*. It was his aim to know so exactly the causes of things as to be able to control them. Basilio was conducting an experiment with fate,

por ver si el sabio tenía  
en las estrellas dominio (I, 6).

This was merely to corroborate the common claim of the astrologers as given in the *Summa*, I, qu. 115, art. iv.

Ipsi astrologi dicunt quod sapiens homo dominatur astris

The proposition is true, but not in the sense assumed by Basilio and the astrologers, because they ignored the freedom of the human will. The problem is correctly solved by Segismundo in his last great speech (III, sc. 14), and by St Thomas in *Summa*, I, qu. 115, art. iv. It hardly matters which one quotes. The celestial bodies are secondary causes with a necessary dominion over corporeal things. They

determine things, and the apprehension of things, and the passions thus aroused In this sense the stars are absolutely veridical

Lo que está determinado  
del cielo, y, en azul tabla,  
Dios con el dedo escribió,  
de quien son cifras y estampas  
tantos papeles azules  
que adornan letras doradas,  
nunca engaña, nunca mente,

Motus horum inferiorum corporum, qui sunt varii et multiformes, reducuntur in motum corporis caelestis sicut in causam (I, qu 115, art. III)

Intellectus ex necessitate accipit ab inferioribus viribus apprehensivis, unde turbata vi imaginativa vel cogitativa vel memorativa, ex necessitate turbatur actio intellectus (art IV)

But the will is free to oppose the inclination of matter and intellect and passion  
It is wrong for the astrologer to attempt to dominate nature by knowledge

quien mente y engaña,  
es quien, para usar mal dellas,  
las penetra y las alcanza

The proof is that Basilio has promoted precisely the evils which he sought to remove Within the providence of God his surrender to an evil passion for safety at the expense of justice imperilled his own safety, as Clarín's animal search for safety in concealment cost him his life The right solution is to dominate nature by virtue

.sapiens homo dominatur astris, inquantum scilicet dominatur suis passionibus (*Summa*, I, qu 115, art IV)

Segismundo gives the same conclusion by his formula 'en todo caso obrar bien', and at the end of the play it is he, not Basilio, who has conquered fate, since he has with free will withstood the inclination to tyranny given him by his father's treatment.

Thus one of the great themes of *La Vida es Sueño* is completely Thomistic I doubt if the other can be, since life cannot be a dream to those who hold, with Aquinas and Aristotle, that material things are certainly true and perceptions of them inevitably accurate, though conceptions may be erroneous But in respect of the nature and powers of free will, St Thomas seems only to put Augustinian doctrine into more cogent form Krenkel quotes (*Spanische Bühnendichtungen*, p 63 n) with approval from Morel-Fatio (p xxxiv of his Heilbronn edition of 1877).

Sorti du *Colegio Imperial*, le plus important institut de la société de Jésus en Espagne, il a toujours conservé une estime particulière pour la théologie des Révérends Pères—qui étaient alors les représentants les plus éminents de la doctrine du libre arbitre contre l'école de St Thomas et les protestants

That Calderón's immediate source of instruction was of Jesuit persuasion is not to be doubted Our knowledge of his genius would be much advanced if we knew definitely what they taught him, since he never deviated from allegiance to certain main dogmas There was some quarrel between Dominicans and Jesuits in this age concerning the efficiency of grace, but the doctrine of St Thomas is that of Calderón (One need hardly add that Morel-Fatio's omnibus use of the word 'Protestants' is nonsense in this context) Until the more immediate sources are published, the formulation of most doctrines by St Thomas offers convenient parallels for passages of Calderón



## II

We may say more briefly that the temptation of Cyprian followed similar lines. He was submitted to the inclination of a strong passion—desire for Justina—the strongest passion known to the stage and to philosophy. Unlike Justina he succumbed to despair. We have to keep clearly in mind the sense of *desperation*, 'refusal to entertain hope of salvation'. Cyprian refused to consider the salvation of his soul to be of more worth than the satisfaction of his passion, and in doing so was damned. He assigned his soul to the Demon, but on an impossible condition. The Demon undertook to surrender to him, irrespective of her free will, Justina. He could not do so because 'solus Deus potest voluntatem immutare'. He had entered into competition with God, and had failed. He then had recourse to miracle. The Demon would fashion a second Justina and surrender her to Cyprian. This touches on the miracle of creation, which belongs to God alone. God can perform things contrary to nature. Aquinas quotes from St Augustine (*Summa*, I, qu. 45, art. v) 'neque boni neque mali angeli possunt esse creatores alicuius rei'. It is possible, however, for superior beings to produce superior effects from natural substances (*Contra gentiles*, III, ciii).

Conveniens est igitur quod ex ipsis rebus naturalibus proveniant aliqui altiores effectus, ex hoc quod spirituales substantiae eis utuntur quasi instrumentis quibusdam. The case of the pseudo-Justina is precisely covered by a passage in *Summa*, I, qu. 114, art. iv.

Cum enim ipse (sc. daemon) possit formare corpus ex aere cuiuscumque formae et figurae, ut illud assumens in eo visibiliter appareat, potest eadem ratione circumponere cuiuscumque rei corporeae quaecumque formam corpoream, ut in eius specie videatur.

The actual method used was perhaps like that of the necromancers of I, qu. 115, art. v, who 'faciunt statuas loqui et moveri, et similia', since the phantom proves to be not air, but a skeleton. The main thing to be remembered, however, is that this use of superior knowledge does not constitute a true miracle.

Dicendum quod si miraculum proprie accipiatur, daemones miracula facere non possunt, nec aliqua creatura, sed solus Deus (*Summa*, I, qu. 114, art. iv; cf. *Contra gentiles*, III, ciii).

In the providence of God the falsity of the phantom is bound to be revealed.

Hence it is clear that the salvation of Justina involves the salvation of Cyprian. His desperation was conditional, and the condition was impossible. This brought him back at once to the crux with which the play had opened, before passion caused him to deviate into satanism. He had been studying Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, II, 7, with its definition of God

totus est sensus, totus visus, totus est auditus, totus animae, totus animi, totus sui

For Pliny himself these conditions seemed to be satisfied either by the Sun, as the visible ruler of the universe, or by the Universe itself ('Mundum numen esse credi par est'). It should be noted, however, that Cyprian's formula is not an exact translation of Pliny

Dios es una bondad suma,  
una esencia, una substancia,  
todo vista y todo manos (III, 3).

This includes the Stoic *summum bonum*, to which he later adds the Aristotelean *causa causarum*, but the middle terms are conveniently Thomistic, as may be seen from *Summa*, I, qu. 2, and still more by the whole argument of *Contra gentiles*, I. The fact is that Cyprian had reached the extreme limit of philosophy, which is to

attain to a degree of knowledge that excludes certain errors and is in accordance with the truth of Christianity

Veritatem aliquam investigantes ostendemus, qui errores per eam excludantur, et quomodo demonstrativa veritas fidei christianae religionis concordet (*Contra gentiles*, I, II)

The Demon appears first in the guise of a scholastic opponent, an *advocatus diaboli*. Such a person maintained the negative, not as a sign of unbelief, but to test the affirmative thesis. His argument might contain sophisms without discredit to himself, since it was only when he passed to the affirmative that he could be deemed to support a particular belief. The Demon's sophisms are destroyed by Cyprian's cogent reasoning. It would not, perhaps, necessarily occur to Cyprian to pass from the badness of his opponent's arguments to the badness of his character, and to that extent the contest was inconclusive. Nor without the grace of revelation, could Cyprian attain to the truth of the Christian religion. He was, however, in a position assumed to be that of the sincere pagan in the *Contra gentiles*, namely, that he could refute damnable errors, and held a doctrine only needing revelation to save his soul. It was an eminently proper moment for an exceptional effort by the powers of evil. The Demon took the inevitable line to subdue Cyprian to his passions. But this line led to a demonstration of the Demon's own impotence, thence to his inferiority to the initial definition of God, and finally to the revelation of the only God who meets the definition. In that moment of revelation there met in Cyprian the four things required by St Thomas (II, I, qu. 113: remissio peccatorum, gratiae infusio, motus liberi arbitrii, motus fidei) and they happened, as he says (art. VII), instantaneously. When the devil threatens him he at once appeals to God for aid: there is no half-way stage of hesitation. The infusion of grace is instantaneous, the motion of the will towards God is the same as its movement away from sin: faith is the instantaneous acceptance of grace. This doctrine of the instantaneous justification of the sinner is a favourite with Calderón and other Spanish dramatists, though a stumbling-block for modern readers. It gives rise to those swift (and to us, suspicious) conversions that crown long lives of villainy in *El Condado por Desconfiado* and *La Derrocción de la Cruz*. We should like to see some evidence of a change of heart, but none can be offered within the space of a moment. Cyprian, however, is not hurried through death into bliss: he undergoes martyrdom. His conversion is much more logically the result of his previous greatness and shortcomings, since his philosophic thought had brought him to the verge of Christianity, and his lapse into passion had served, *per accidens*, to bring to him the grace of revelation.

### III

We must add a note on the form of the play. It takes the form of a series of disputations such as might be held in the University of Salamanca in that epoch. The business of the action is to prove two related syllogisms:

God is Omnipotent

The Demon is not Omnipotent

. The Demon is not God

God has the characteristics of Pliny's definition.

Only the Christian God has those characteristics.

. Only the Christian God is God.

A subordinate disputation concerns free will and fate.

These arguments were, in that time, serious efforts to establish truth, and they continue to be held as weekly exercises, I understand, in convents of the Dominican Order. They were, even then, open to parody. Cervantes' typical Salamancean students are ready to brawl about any topic. If the one makes a statement, the other retorts *Nego*, and the first replies *Probo, sic*. The negative might be sophi-

stical, it would almost have to be, if the affirmative were true. The affirmative also might be sophistical, and can be best studied as mere form when it is so. Calderón has such an argument in *La Niña de Gómez Arias*, in the form of a syllogism:

Gómez Aunque tú tan necio seas,  
quero probarte, Ginés,  
que es voluntad más perfecta  
la voluntad que se muda,  
que no la que persevera.  
Ginés. Tú bien lo podrás probar,  
pero muna no lo sepan  
los familiares de amor,  
que es forzoso que te prendan,  
por sospechoso en su fe  
¿Mas cuál es la razón?  
Góm. Ésta  
para ser perfecto amor,  
perfecto ha de ser por fuerza  
el objeto que se ame  
Gin. La mayor concedo  
Góm. Espera,  
no hay tan perfecta mujer,  
que algún defecto no tenga.  
Gin. Concedo la menor  
Góm. Luego  
preciso es que me concedas,  
que no hay tan perfecto objeto,  
que todo un amor merezca,  
luego querer yo el alioño  
de una, de otra la belleza,  
de otra el ingenio, y de otra  
la calidad y las prendas,  
es tener perfecto amor,  
pues quiero en cada una dellas  
la perfección que hay en todas.  
Gin. Concedo la consecuencia

It is easy to see from this example why Bacon despaired of the syllogism.

Calderón normally employs the syllogism. The dilemma is used with conspicuous effect in *A Dios por razón de estado*, but it has never the formal conclusiveness of two unshakable premisses linked to a conclusion. As to conclusions, there are two cases in Calderón: in sublunary things no conclusions hold, and in heavenly things all conclusions hold. Our experience is illusory.<sup>1</sup> All living things are free, Segis-

<sup>1</sup> I have had the advantage of submitting this paper to Mr A. A. Parker who advises me that the above is an over-statement. 'As I read the comedias it is not that our experience is illusory but that life is confusing and perplexing. It seems to me that *confusion* always has a moral connotation rather than a sensory or epistemological one. In the more concrete moral issues of the comedias it denotes the bewilderment resulting from the realization, not that *things* are not what they seem, but that life does not always turn out as one expects, that it rarely presents a clear-cut course of action where a simple rule of thumb applies.'

I should therefore wish to suspend a decision upon my remarks and leave them merely as suggestions. Without more information concerning the celebrated achievement of the Salamanca

philosophers, who 'reconciled Plato with Aristotle', it is difficult to be quite certain what ontological theory was held by Calderón. The 'reconciliation' can hardly have been effected without loss to both. As stated above it is at least true concerning his style that the inconclusive syllogism characterizes his mundane plays.

As I understand the doctrine of St Thomas, based upon Aristotle, it is to the effect that *things* are real, and that the *senses* do not lie when reporting upon things. At the receiving end, in the intellect, *percepts* are true, but *concepts* based upon the percepts may be erroneous. By wrong concepts—as when we conceive an evil to be good—the passions are engaged to do wrong, and if the will consents, then comes sin. But the human will is the grand exception in the universe, since

mundo lives, but is not free. All lovehest things are queens, Rosaura is lovehest, but no queen. All kings are clement, but the King of Fez is a tyrant. When we come to heavenly things, however, the conclusions hold even if, as in the *auto* just mentioned, the basis of argument is unsound. For the conclusion is guaranteed by dogma, and is true for its own sake. It is only necessary for a popular poet that, in such a case, the premisses should be in a formally valid relation to the conclusion, and Calderón is not too anxious to secure his premisses. The conclusions of *El Mágico prodigioso* hold, because they are dogmatic: the premisses employed are also true, since they are dogmas, and not merely parts of an apparently valid demonstration. Pliny's definition of God, the result of Cyprian's philosophical studies, must be true as far as it goes, or it will not lead him to the truths of revelation. The whole play is a quite serious argument from the position of the candid pagan to that of the believing Christian, and it was in this respect eminently suited to entertain and instruct a devout audience on Corpus Christi Day.

The figure of the Demon is accommodated to this scheme of a Salamancan disputation. He appeals to tempt souls in plays by Mía de Amescua and Guillén de Castro, and he gives long allegorical accounts of himself. He is a noble who has been banished as a result of sedition against the King of kings, or he has rivalled the King of kings for love of a lady. The allegories are transparent—and irrelevant. A beaten noble or rejected lover has no qualifications to bargain for souls. Calderón's Demon comes as a rejected candidate for the Chair of Prime at Salamanca. Failure might have been due to electoral mischance. He is obviously suited to commence a dispute with Cyprian in matters affecting his eternal welfare. The guise of a theological professor is not without dignity, and, unlike that of the noble and the lover, it has links with the unseen world of truth. Since the Demon comes disguised as an expositor of the science of God, he is *ipso facto* a creature within God's universe, unequal to God, and using a licence from God to do evil, from which God will draw good in his own providence.

#### IV

When Mr A. A. Parker offered considerations of this kind in his epoch-making *Allegorical Drama of Calderón* he drew the fire of 'pure' critics. It was argued that the whole effort to analyse Calderón's thought was irrelevant to the enjoyment of his works. Sufficient for pure criticism is the Housmanian 'thrill', delight in the picturesqueness of Calderón's situations and the occasional riot of his words.

Were this to be conceded Calderonian scholarship would be following a road contrary to some of its compeers. Professor Dodds' recent edition of the *Bacchae* is especially rich in warnings that it is necessary to understand the author's intentions to get the right enjoyment from his work. Verrall, who saw in the *Bacchae* a nineteenth-century rationalist's satire against revivalistic religion, read the play with a secret and superior smile, but the latest editor profoundly moves us by reading the play as a representation of the non-moral forces of nature which, if thwarted, burst their dykes. Criticism smiles or shudders according as it understands the play. In another realm, no criticism, however pure, can have *Hamlet* without the

it is a direct consequence of the divine Will. It can overcome the passions, though the passions are themselves inevitably generated.

Mr Parker seems to place the dream-quality of life in the gap between *percepts* and *concepts*. This may be so. I do not find, however, that anything in the play is affirmed—neither the palace nor the

rocky grot. They may be, as Dr Moreno reminds me, no better than the shadows of the Platonic cave. The one certainty is moral: the difference between right and wrong, though no one can know what will be the immediate sublunary consequences of even a right action.

Prince of Denmark Whether the hero be effective or not is a thing to be known, as Professor Dover Wilson points out, only when we know *What happens in 'Hamlet'*

It can hardly be otherwise, even with Calderón One may mistake for a riot of words what is, in fact, the coldest logic, one may accuse him of obscurity when he is crystal clear There is a certain luxuriousness, no doubt, in using for *pájaro* the periphrasis *flor de pluma o ramillete con alas* Two of the four terms are, however, quite literally applied (*pluma, alas*) The other two belong to that system of interchange between the natural kingdoms which Dr Edward Wilson has already described in this *Review* But the interchange is integrated within the logic of Segismundo's soliloquy, which is to the effect that freedom accompanies life in all the natural realms, though not in his own experience Unless there is this parallelism, there can be no relevance between birds, beasts, fish and Segismundo There is the parallelism because all Nature is one Because all Nature is one the astrologer Basilio ventures to predict human fortunes from celestial motions, and to control one human free will. He is not in error with regard to all those things in the universe which proceed *ex necessitate* out of secondary causes, but he is wrong concerning the human will, as Segismundo points out The point I am making now, however, is that *flor de pluma o ramillete con alas* is not mere voluptuousness of language, and far less is it obscure It is an intrinsic part of the logic of the plot and the characters, and is indeed a severely matter of fact phrase To have used *pájaro* would have been to fall into Cartesian accidentalism

Concerning *El Mágico*, this question can be tested by citing a paragraph from Menéndez y Pelayo (*Teatro selecto de Calderón*, 1881, I, xlix), who submitted this play to the same naturalistic criterion that he found suitable for Lope de Vega

Lo mejor de *El Mágico* son los datos fundamentales que Calderón tomó de las actas de San Cipriano de Antioquía, escritas en griego por Simeon Metaphrastes, y traducidas al latín por Lipomano En lo demás, pienso que la ejecución es inferior a la grandeza del pensamiento y a la severa teología de las primeras escenas Cuando no hablan Cipriano y el Demonio, *El Mágico* (aunque la acción pase en Antioquia y en los primeros siglos de nuestra era) es una de tantas comedias de capa y espada, con dos galanes celosos y chistes de criados, y cuchilladas y escondites Los caracteres son débiles el demonio tiene mucho de ergotista y de leguleyo, y algo de prestidigitador hábil en escamoteos Justina es tipo vulgar y pálido, hasta que llega la escena admirable en que el tentador agota sus recursos para infundir en ella el ansia del placer, y acaba por confesar su derrota, exclamando 'Venciste, mujer, venciste, Con no dejarte vencer.' En esta escena y en la que sigue a la aparición del esqueleto está el verdadero drama Lo demás es un embrollo amoroso, que oscurece y rebaja la alta concepción de esa obra, en que el autor se propuso mostrar cómo la especulación racional es preparación para la fe, y cómo el libre albedrío ayudado por la gracia triunfa de todas las sugestiones diabólicas

The first phrase shows his dependence on Morel-Fatio's preface with its erroneous identification of Calderón's source It was somewhat rash to attribute Calderón's merits to what proves not to have been his principal guide, and the comparison with the *Legenda aurea* seems to me to reveal chiefly the skill by which Calderón has endowed with vast significance a vulgar piece of hagiography

The second sentence and the last show that in any case one must consider the theological intention of this play, but the issues are confusedly stated and there is no recognition that the temptation scenes and the apparition of the skeleton are also severely theological This interest is assigned to the opening scenes instead of to the whole play When the critic judges that the execution is inferior to the greatness of the thought, he implies that he knows what is the thought of this play, but it appears that he does not do so with any precision! All that follows this judgment is concerned with execution; but execution of what?

It is clear that even the naturalistic criterion does involve knowledge of the poet's intentions, though it provides no means of ascertaining them. The whole play, as we have seen, is a demonstration of the achievements and shortcomings of 'natural religion', as envisaged by Aquinas in the *Contra gentiles*. Philosophy can go so far as to formulate a definition of God which is not at variance with the Christian revelation. It suffices to break down the sophistry of the Evil One, who, since he resolves to defeat the truth, is necessarily a sophist and a trickster. It is no defect of Calderón's play to have represented him as such, it is a merit to have shown the tragic gravity of the Demon within the restricted sphere of his licence to tempt, and the perilous nature of his suggestions. Passion warps the understanding so that it deems evil to be its good. The philosopher is subjected by the Evil One to his passions until he despairs and considers his salvation of less importance than the satisfaction of his lusts. Yet his capitulation to despair is conditional upon an impossible term: that the Demon can force a human free will. The Demon can neither force a free will nor achieve a real miracle, and his double defeat reveals the Christian virtues which perfect the philosophic chain of reasoning. The attempt to do evil ends in martyrdom, which is a great evil so far as the individual is concerned, but which declares the purposes of God and constitutes the Christian victory. The Devil's licence to do wrong is overruled so as to accomplish the ends of Providence.

The abstract and intellectual plot of the play could not be more perfect within the framework of the given philosophy. To translate it into terms of human action and character is undoubtedly difficult. It was much better for Calderón when, in the *autos* of his last period, he was able to present his thoughts as a play of symbols only. It is hardly possible to avoid incongruence when making the abstract local and concrete. To make sin Calderón wanted only a passion. The legend and stage convention gave him a woman, who was needed for no more than one scene. Love for a single woman is too restricted to go well with the universal search for God in nature. She is an impediment to all Faustian plots. Margaret provides a pathetic little interlude in Goethe's poem, but Faust's philandering cannot be reasonably related to his quest for a moment of perfection. Marlowe's Helen is much better conceived: exquisite, unattainable and fugitive, no woman but a vision of what woman might be. We may take it that Justina is, except in the scene where she has employment of her own, a liability in this play, but it is not necessary to believe that the love-making would have been better done in third-century Antioch than in seventeenth-century Spain. Having been forced to include love-scenes, Calderón makes them intelligible to his audience. Had he used all the research of Flaubert, he would only have given the glacial antiquarianism of *Salammbo*. An abstract argument is no more and no less at home in the seventeenth century than in the third. It is unlucky, of course, that the Spanish seventeenth century is less to the taste of our age than the Roman third. If Calderón had been Shakespeare he might have found a way of indicating time and place by subtle departures from contemporary manners, and he might have developed the conflict of the natural woman and superinduced virginity in the mind of Justina, but Shakespeare would not have felt the attraction of a theme in high philosophy. Perhaps Shakespeare may have been the wiser soul when he pointed out the limitations of Horatio's philosophy; yet the great ideal constructions have their own beauty, and it is one such that Calderón seeks to declare by means of brittle human symbols.

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## JEAN PAUL AND IRELAND

The only work of Jean Paul's embodied in Mangan's *Anthologia Germanica* (the centenary of which occurred in June 1945) is 'The New Year's Night of a Miserable Man'.<sup>1</sup> When first publishing this 'admirable versification',<sup>2</sup> Mangan wrote

Many of the German prose moralists disfigured their essays or etchings by exuberance of embroidery and decoration. We should, last of any, be disposed to utter a disrespectful syllable against Richter, but that he has now and then squandered the wealth of his mind on fantastic fripperies, none will doubt.<sup>3</sup>

O'Donoghue rightly remarks on this passage

It is to be feared that the offence which Mangan alleges against Richter of 'spending the wealth of his mind on fantastic fripperies', though unjustified, may be charged with equal truth to himself.<sup>4</sup>

The only other Irish author who, to my knowledge, has written on Jean Paul, Lady Speranza Wilde, the mother of Oscar Wilde,<sup>5</sup> made the same point, though giving it a more favourable interpretation.

In his early youth were laid the foundations of that truly wonderful varied extent of knowledge, that unlimited power of illustration from all sciences, all literatures, which is such a distinguished peculiarity of his writings.<sup>6</sup>

For the foreign reader, Jean Paul's continuous digressions, his far-fetched similes and impertinent anecdotes must be one of the most puzzling features in his writings,<sup>7</sup> even when it is realized that in this respect more than in any other Jean Paul imitated the work of a great Anglo-Irish writer, Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. Even less romantic natures than Lady Speranza's, however, may get some amusement out of Jean Paul's digressions when they regard them as a source of our information on the knowledge which Jean Paul and his contemporaries had on all conceivable subjects.<sup>8</sup>

Examining the 1840 edition of Richter's works preserved in University College, Dublin, I noticed that the only passage relating to Ireland which Miss Maud Joynt, the great Celtist (who formerly owned that edition), had marked was that in *Fliegelyahre*, § 22, where Jean Paul speaks of 'the custom of servants in Ireland to sweep the stairs of their masters' houses with their wigs'. This is a characteristic example of the kind of knowledge of Ireland still prevailing on the Continent during the early nineteenth century, and just this type of information on Ireland must have been particularly attractive for Jean Paul, as it lent itself to merely decorative or illustrative purposes.

To anticipate the result of the survey which I intend to give in this paper of the references made in Jean Paul's works<sup>9</sup> to Ireland, his Irish associations seem to me of greater interest than the references made to Ireland in contemporary travel

<sup>1</sup> I, 194, also in Mangan's *Poems* (Dublin, 1886), p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> O'Donoghue, *Mangan* (1897), p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Dublin University Magazine* (1835), v, 400.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> On Speranza see Wilson, *Victorian Doctor* (London, 1942), Appendix.

<sup>6</sup> *Notes on Men, Women and Books* (London, 1891), p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*

(1874), v, 280 f., Kurz, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (1876), III, 573.

<sup>8</sup> J. F. Coar, *Studies in German Literature* (New York, 1903), p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Of the works quoted in this article, only *Hesperus* and *Levana* have so far been translated into English. As E. Berend's critical edition of Richter's works (Berlin, 1927 ff.) is not available to me, I quote from the 1840 edition.

books or even in the few German books on Ireland published up to his time,<sup>1</sup> the latter show what individual students of Ireland knew, and what their readers could have known, if they had been really interested in Ireland as such.<sup>2</sup> Jean Paul, however, who had no personal relations with, and not even any special interest in Ireland, shows us what an educated man of his time actually knew. The scrappiness of his knowledge shows clearly enough that it was merely incidental. Yet, he marks exactly the point where the legend of Ireland, handed down on the Continent from the late Middle Ages, was superseded by the more serious and scholarly interest in modern Ireland: the growth of this interest was one of the most important factors in the history not only of Celtology but also of political and cultural relations between Ireland and the Continent.

Jean Paul's associations touch a great variety of spheres of Irish life past and present, and it is against this broader background that his literary relations with Ireland should be newly and fully appreciated. The study of the relations between German and English, including Anglo-Irish, literature has hitherto been confined to the study of the mutual appreciation and interdependence of individual writers. So far, none of the numerous books and theses devoted to this subject has proceeded to investigation into the mutual knowledge of historical, social, economic or physical conditions underlying those literary relations.

Miss Philippovic, for example, has collected the references made by Jean Paul and other German writers to Swift, but she has not tried to find out whether the reading of Swift's works conveyed to Germany a knowledge of conditions in Ireland, or to what extent Swift's associations with Ireland were realized.<sup>3</sup> Jean Paul has almost a hundred references to Swift, he wrote whole essays on his qualities as a humorist. Once only he calls him 'Dechant Swift' (XIII 101), that Swift was Dean of St Patrick's Dublin was a fact generally known in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Continental literature.<sup>4</sup> The only passage where Jean Paul expressly refers to Swift as Irish, and, in fact, to Anglo-Irish literature in general, is his *Untersuchung des Lächerlichen*, § 23 of the *Vorschule der Aesthetik*.

Einste Nationen hatten den hohen und innigern Sinn für das Komische, Bitten Spanier. Führt man diese historischen Zufälligkeiten ohne Anmaßung eines schärfen Entscheidens an, so kann man vielleicht fortfahren und sogar dazu setzen, daß das trube Irland (*sic*) meisterhafte Komiker—die mithin eine große Zahl anderer, wenn auch nur geselliger voraussetzt—gezeugt, von welchen nach Swift und Sterne noch der Graf Hamilton zu nennen, welcher, wie der berühmte Pariser Carlin, so still und ernst im Leben gewesen.<sup>5</sup>

The study of the interrelation between climate (and other physical conditions) and intellectual life is a very modern line of study. J. Nadler's *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme*,<sup>6</sup> perhaps the most advanced work in that respect, gives a fine picture of the influence exercised on Jean Paul's writings by the climate and scenery of central Germany, a district which he practically never left.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Namely, Volkmann's *Schottland und Irland* (1784) and Kuttner's *Briefe über Irland* (1785).

<sup>2</sup> Only the two last pages of Prof. Kelly's study *England and the Englishmen in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1921) relate to Ireland.

<sup>3</sup> See my article, 'Voltaire and Ireland', *The Dublin Magazine* (January-March 1944), pp. 35 f.

<sup>4</sup> See Teerink's *Swift Bibliography* (The Hague, 1937).

<sup>5</sup> Anthony Hamilton, the French classic, was a native of Roscrea, Co. Tipperary (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (1908), VIII 1019), portrait in Read's *Cabinet of Irish Literature*, I 94. On Carlin, the French comedian, see *Biographie Universelle* (1813), VII 152.

<sup>6</sup> Regensburg 1923 ff., III, 372.

<sup>7</sup> As one of the most important facts of Richter's life, Lady Speranza states 'He never beheld the sea or the mountains' (op. cit. p. 2).



With regard to Ireland, a similar study would make contributions to the answering of such interesting and topical questions as what conditions brought about the remarkably quick assimilation to Ireland of the various waves of invaders and settlers, a process doubtless influenced by the land rather than the people (It is an idea generally accepted that it is due to the different climate that Irishmen abroad are more active than they used to be at home) And what is an Irish writer?<sup>1</sup> Only the Gaelic-speaking offspring of a Milesian family, or also Swift, Dublin-born of English parents, cursing his exile in Ireland and yet taking up the fight for the rights of his country, or Sterne, Irish-born<sup>2</sup> of an Irish Catholic mother, little interested in his country, and still—as Goethe noticed—showing the sense of humour characteristic of the Irish?<sup>3</sup> Has Celtic twilight something to do with the haze and mist, which, according to Continental observers,<sup>4</sup> is the outstanding characteristic of Irish climate?

Stories of ghosts, strange crimes and passions, weird lives and feelings, a sombre melancholy, that is what we should expect of *das trübe Irland*. Of Irish ghost stories, Jean Paul seems to have been well aware. Treating of 'organic magnetism', in a note to his *Museum* he quoted from John Aubrey's *De Miscellanis*<sup>5</sup>

die merkwürdige Angabe, daß der Irlander in der Stunde, wo er das doppelte Gesicht (*second sight*) der nächsten Zukunft hat, diese prophetische Kraft dem mittheilen können, auf dessen Fuß er im Schauen trete (xxvii, 22)

Aubrey actually got his information from the Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland. That Jean Paul speaks of *der Irlander* is probably due to Aubrey's later remark 'They generally term this second-sight in Irish *Taishitaraughk* and such as have it *Taishatrim* from *Taish*, which is a shadowy substance'<sup>6</sup> This confusion may have already arisen in the *Monatliche Unterhaltungen vom Reiche der Geister* from which Jean Paul gathered this quotation.

Yet, according to Richter, the Irish climate is to be thanked in the first instance for the masterpieces of humorous literature produced by writers whose Irish birth may be regarded as merely accidental.<sup>7</sup>

The story of his relations with Sterne is a field still wider than that of his relations with Swift.<sup>8</sup> While Sterne's influence on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Continental literature has been studied very much indeed, it has, so far as I am aware, never been ascertained whether this influence increased Continental knowledge of Ireland.<sup>9</sup>

Jean Paul says that Irish productiveness in masters of literary humour indicates

<sup>1</sup> See *Selections from A Dictionary of Irish Writers*, edited by Joseph Hone for the Irish Academy of Letters (Dublin, 1944). The present writer has the honour of being among its contributors (*ibid.* pp. 16 f.)

<sup>2</sup> Kuttner (*op. cit.* p. 105) visited Clonmel, 'a town which has nothing curious but that it is Sterne's birthplace'.

<sup>3</sup> See my article on Goethe in *The Dublin Magazine* (January 1943), p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Kuttner, *op. cit.* pp. 23 ff. Goethe based some of his meteorological research on the fact that Ireland was the country with the highest rainfall in Europe. See my article quoted above, note 18, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> 1695. In the London edition of 1784 this passage is found on p. 253. In his own additions

to Th. Crofton Croker's notes to *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (London, 1825), in the translation of that work published Leipzig (1826) under the title *Irische Elfenmärchen*, Wilhelm Grimm quotes p. 216 Aubrey's *Miscellen*. The article on Aubrey in Jocher's *Gelehrten-Lexicon*, I, (1750) states that in 1660, on his way back from 'Irland', Aubrey was shipwrecked. Incidentally, this article seems to be one of those originally compiled by Jocher.

<sup>6</sup> 1784 edition, p. 271.

<sup>7</sup> See n. 3 above.

<sup>8</sup> See L. M. Price's survey of Jean Paul's relations with Sterne in *German-English Literary Relations* (Berkeley, 1919), pp. 328 ff. and 476.

<sup>9</sup> See n. 2 above.

that sense of humour is a general characteristic of the people among whom those writers lived. He makes it clear that this is a mere suggestion. The things which Continental people do not know of Ireland are perhaps even more interesting than the few things which they do know. The correctness of Jean Paul's suggestion shows that his 'polymathy' was not quite as sterile as has been sometimes alleged.<sup>1</sup>

In the passage which I quoted from the *Vorschule*, the name of Ireland is given in its English form, perhaps an indication of an English source from which Jean Paul quoted. The earliest mention of the German word *Inland* in his works is found in the *Gionlandische Prozesse*, the first of his works to show Sterne's influence. He says there (ix. 93) that 'nach Bleskenius<sup>2</sup> kann ein See in Irland das gemeine Holz, das seinen Boden berührt, in Eisen umschaffen'. This story clearly belongs to the Continental tradition of Irish legends. It is related with the story of the generation of barnacle geese from rotting ships in the Irish Sea,<sup>3</sup> and with the reference made in Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* (1669, vi, 14) to die zweien Brunnen in Irland,<sup>4</sup> darin das eine Wasser wann es getrunken wird, alt und grau das andere aber hubsch jung macht. All these legends relate to water. It is a well-established fact that some of the early Irish missionaries to the Continent were regarded as Saints merely because they had come across the sea from the outskirts of the world, and they were frequently associated with wells.<sup>5</sup> That Ireland is an island is one of the few facts which every Continental school-child knows of that country.

The transition from this purely legendary knowledge of Ireland to a more serious study of modern conditions in that country is marked by another early passage, found in Jean Paul's *Jubelsenor* (x, 147)

Ich finde in Troil's Reisebeschreibung,<sup>6</sup> daß sonst die alten Barden in Irland ganze Strecken Landes geschenkt bekommen haben und daß im 6ten Jahrhundert ein Drittel des irlandischen Volkes aus Barden bestand. In den neuen Reiseberichten treffen wir (hoff ich), im namlichen Irland dieselbe Anzahl Strassen-Barden an.

As in his reference to Irish humour, Jean Paul in this passage also draws a conclusion from what he is told. Whether his hope was fulfilled or not, I do not venture to decide. The extraordinary number of outstanding street singers, not only in Dublin, but also in the country, for instance at the Galway Races, was noticed by Count Puckler, and still earlier by Kuttner. Even in this respect, however, Ireland still is, for Jean Paul at least, a fabulous wonderland.

This wonderland and her people show other, less attractive, aspects. Lady Wilde was one of the few writers in English to point to Jean Paul's *Hesperus* as an interesting example of the tradition of the cultural influence exercised by English nobility on the Continent.<sup>7</sup> Prince Januar, a German autocrat, is educated by an English lord in exactly the same sense as is the prince in Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* by Lady

<sup>1</sup> See n. 7, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Bleskenius? Was Jean Paul's source not rather P. L. Berkenmeyer's *Cuivoser Antiquarius* (Hamburg 1720) which attributes this miraculous quality to a lake called Niach near Armagh (Lough Neagh)? See Macallister in *Journal of the Royal Soc. of Antiquar. of Ireland*, xxxvi (1906), 397, also Kelly, *op. cit.* p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (1941), vi, 279 and 288. See my review in *The Irish Booklover* (1944), xxxix, 21 f.

<sup>4</sup> See my article 'Simplicissimus's British Relations', in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* (1945), xl, 37.

<sup>5</sup> See my article, 'Irish Saints in the tradition of Central Europe', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vth series, lxii, 182 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The most important reference made to Irish literature in the *Letters on Iceland* by Uno von Troil, a high dignitary of the Swedish Church, is found in the Dublin 1780 edition, p. 21 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 9. Merimee's *Colomba* shows us an Irish lord on the Continent. See also Kelly, *op. cit.* p. 123.

Milford During his love affairs with Lord Hornon's niece, the prince contracts a nervous fever At the point of death he makes, at the suggestion of his confessor, a vow of continence No sooner has he recovered from his illness than he realizes how rash this vow was (v, 52)

Ein geschickter Exjesuit aus Irland, der blos fur Gewissenszweifel lebte und selber conscientiam dubiam hatte, sprang dem Zweifler bei und machte ihm faßlich, daß er ohne Einwilligung seiner Gemahlin weder geloben durfte, noch einwilligen konnte

This acute suggestion facilitates Januar in resuming his adulterous life What made Jean Paul assume that this ex-Jesuit came from Ireland? Why not from Italy or Spain, where German writers otherwise procure their ubiquitous, sinister Jesuits? Was it just the quaintness and indecency of the argument? The history of Irish monasticism on the Continent as well as the history of the Catholic Church in America offers us many examples of queer Irish characters, causing trouble to the authorities The Irishman spiritually lapsed and professionally shipwrecked, often-times an ex-cleric or an ex-pupil of the Jesuits, has become almost a standard figure in the history of world literature The story of the generation of barnacle geese was not the only contribution made by queer Irish clerics to the Irish legend on the Continent,<sup>1</sup> nor was the smart advice given to George Primrose by 'the Irish student returning from Louvain'<sup>2</sup> the only mischief done by such odd characters

The lives of Goldsmith, Sterne, Thomas Parnell and Swift (the latter, for example, reflected in Goethe's *Stella*) illustrate the fact that this trend of Irish tradition extended also to the Reformed churches It is hardly incidental that 'das irlandische Wappen, nämlich ein Kleeblatt' is referred to as a symbol of family life in the address delivered at his *Selbstertrauung* by the *schottischer Pfarrer Scander-y mit Maß Sucky-z* (xxx, 195), one of the most entertaining pieces of Jean Paul's humour Such self-weddings were not unknown in Ireland The last case of a clandestine wedding in the United Kingdom (discussed by the Lords in 1861) was concerned with the Rev Samuel Beamish, a Church of Ireland minister, who married in 1831 one Isabelle Frazer at Cork, not only performing the marriage ceremony himself but even bestowing upon himself and his bride the nuptial blessing

Regarding the rather suggestive reference to the symbolism of the shamrock leaf as well as the spiritual advice given by the Irish ex-Jesuit, it may be mentioned that Jean Paul revered Swift as the pioneer of what Carlyle in his essay on Jean Paul called the fight 'against the French principle of literary jurisprudence', especially, however, the ideal of 'decency' established by those whom Carlyle described as 'the Literary Gentlemen' rather than 'Men of Letters' Richter regarded Swift as the initiator of the literary movement aiming at a more sincere self-exposure of man, a movement which in our days James Joyce has led to its climax

Jean Paul quotes a more definitely historic example of a queer Irish Protestant clergyman abroad In one of his literary essays he records that

ein irlandischer Pfarrer, namens Eccles, sich dadurch für den Verfasser von Mackenzie's *Mann von Gefühl* auszugeben gedachte, daß er von dem Buch eine Kopie genommen und sie mit Einschießeln und Rasuren versehen, um sie als Manuskript zu produzieren (xiv, 232 f)

This is one of the numerous instances where Jean Paul quotes from Boswell's *Life*

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, J Brodrick, S J, *The Origin of the Jesuits* (London, 1940, pp 110 f and L Gougaud, O S B, *Les Saints irlandais hors d'Irlande* (Oxford, 1939), Appendix

<sup>2</sup> Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, chap xx

of Johnson. What he calls 'ein irlandischer Pfarrer', was, according to that work, 'a young Irish clergyman', who died in 1777.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike more superficial, if perhaps more directly informed, writers on modern Ireland, Jean Paul did not draw lighthearted conclusions from those quaint specimens of the Irish people, though the one reference made in his works to the character of the Irish nation as a whole is not too favourable either.

'Der Deutsche', he says in one of his early political essays (1805, XXIII, 244), 'ist redlicher als jede Nation, nur er darf die Phrase "deutsch handeln" für "gerade handeln" nehmen. Italienisch, französisch, englisch, irlandisch handeln bedeutet bei den Völkern selbst etwas anderes.'

On what authority did Jean Paul place the Irish on one level with the Italians, French and English whose 'perfidy' is generally assumed by the average German?<sup>2</sup> That the Irish are mentioned in this instance besides the three leading nations of Europe is certainly remarkable, especially when we consider the subsequent words: 'und zugleich ist er (der Deutsche) als Volk von Natur unpoetischer als jedes'.

We may conjecture how far Jean Paul attributed the lack of straightness in the national character to the vicissitudes of Irish history. In *Levana*, his great educational work, he says:

Es gibt eine höhere Tapferkeit die Tapferkeit des Friedens, der Mut zu Haus Manches Volk [ist] im Vaterlande ein feigduldender Knecht, außer demselben ein kühnfassender Held (§ 102, XXII, 297)

Comparing this passage with the beginning of Schenk's introduction to Kuttner's *Letters on Ireland*,<sup>3</sup> we may assume that Jean Paul refers to the opinion at that time prevailing on modern Ireland:

Ein Volk, das seit unserem Gedenken in einer sklavischen Abhängigkeit lebt und mit einer sklavischen Feigheit sein Joch zu tragen scheint, ist für uns kein Volk, an dessen Schicksal wir besonderen Anteil nehmen konnten (pp. v f.)

Both Schenk and Richter were well aware of the injustice of this idea, which, as Schenk (and, at the same time, O Halloran) suggested, was deliberately spread by the English. Applying the idea of magnetism to the political sphere, Jean Paul says later in the same paragraph of *Levana*: 'Der weite Raum lost die britische Freiheit schon in Irland unglaublich auf wie sonst nur in Nordamerika.' What he means is that the British idea of freedom, so much admired on the Continent throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, had undergone certain 'modifications' through its application to large spaces.

'Auf dem Meere, in den Kolonien', Jean Paul continues, 'ist sie [die Freiheit] durch die Entfernung bis zu einem Grade weggedunstet, daß nur noch das scharfe Auge eines Kapitäns oder Nabobs sie von ganzlicher Knechtschaft unterscheiden kann.'

<sup>1</sup> Hill's edition (Oxford, 1887, I, 360), in Shorter's edition (London, 1924, I, 235). Hill's note has been shortened. This Mr Eccles seems to have been one of the two sons of the Rev Robert Eccles, of Co. Fermanagh, who were in Trinity College, Dublin. For Mackenzie's relations with German literature see Cooke, *Mod Lang Rev* (1916), XI, 156 f., and Willoughby, *ibid* (1921), XVI, 237. Has it ever been noticed that in the introduction to *The Man of Feeling* the editor of Harley's Memoirs says that while the curate used that manuscript for wadding,

he 'had actually in his pocket an edition of one of the German Illustrations for the same purpose', the earliest reference to Mackenzie's reading of German classics? L. M. Price (see p. 192, n. 8) makes no reference to Mackenzie's influence in Germany.

<sup>2</sup> 'Nem, ein Deutscher soll nicht lügen/Soll ein Fremder das nicht rügen', lines three times repeated in Goethe's *Singspiel, Die ungleichen Hausgenossen*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 192, n. 2.

Ten years later, in his *Politisches Allerlei*, Jean Paul complains of the general adaptation of this idea of 'freedom' throughout Metternich's Europe. The only partner in this system of oppression who can at least claim to live up to a certain dignified tradition is England, of whom is well known 'der alte Ruhm, mit dem es sein Irland und Ostindien regiert' (xxxii, 169). In a later passage of that essay, Jean Paul says

Ein gahrendes<sup>1</sup> Volk wurde auf einem politisch unzuganglichen Eiland<sup>2</sup> seine kampfenden Kräfte bald durch die moralischen Schwer- und Anziehungspunkte zu einer harmonischen Welt abgerundet sehen

Continuing 'Man wende hier nicht England ein', he makes it clear that he does not suggest that the English of his age were a 'fermenting nation'. In fact, he subsequently compares English pseudo-harmony to ale, which 'never bursts its container'. In Ireland, on the other hand, he suggests, the process of national fermentation is always accompanied by the development (as in Continental beer) of an exuberant amount of short-lived froth. While thus anticipating, in this last reference made in his works to Ireland, the doubts regarding the political future of Ireland, which Kuttner had expressed with regard to pre-Union Ireland,<sup>3</sup> and which Goethe expressed in reference to Daniel O'Connell,<sup>4</sup> Jean Paul has freed himself from the traditional lore of Ireland and attained to a serious consideration of Ireland's place in the modern world.

JOHN HENNIG

DUBLIN

<sup>1</sup> 'Sie wissen, daß seit ein Paar Jahren hier alles in Garung ist', Kuttner, op cit p 51 (writing from Dublin)

<sup>2</sup> 'Eiland', an old-fashioned word, not only suggesting relationship with English 'island', but also implying a certain affectionate note, there-

fore invariably occurring with regard to Ireland in the more sentimental type of German writings on that country

<sup>3</sup> Op cit p 112

<sup>4</sup> *Werke*, Sophie-edition, XLII, 1, 58

## THE POETRY OF DUTCH RESISTANCE

In a sense 'poetry of resistance' is a contradiction in terms. The permanent value of poetry is not affected by the fact that it sprang from war experience or that war is its subject-matter. With the passage of time the subject becomes immaterial, and that which was once topical proves a hindrance, a crux interesting to the historian and the philologist only. But to the contemporary reader the appeal, even the purely aesthetic appeal, of poetry cannot be entirely separated from its subject-matter, its topicality. He identifies it with his own experience to such an extent that, try as he will, he cannot close his mind to the appeal it makes to his sympathy as an expression of kindred experience, as a *document humanum*. The emotion it arouses in him is an inextricable mixture of aesthetic pleasure and human sympathy, whilst his intellectual interest is partly of a psychological nature. From these limitations no one who ventures to write on contemporary poetry is wholly free. But if he is at a disadvantage compared with later critics in this respect, his interpretation may be of value in that it preserves for posterity some of those undertones in the music of his time that might escape later ears, attuned to different harmonies.

This survey is an attempt to trace in a number of contemporary Dutch poems a line of spiritual development. It is therefore psychological rather than aesthetic in its approach. But the writer trusts that by consistently rejecting merely topical verse and building his analysis on an interpretation of poems outstanding for their aesthetic merits, he will have been able to contribute something to the literary history of our time.

It should be borne in mind that what has reached us of the poetry of Holland, and of occupied Europe in general, is a mere fraction of the total poetical output. It must be interpreted with the same caution as the remains of medieval poetry. For we have no reason to suppose that what we possess is necessarily either the best or the most significant. Nearly all these poems appeared in the established periodicals, which were either suppressed or *gleichgeschaltet* in 1942, only a few were published in underground papers or reached us in typewritten form. Poetry of a militant character, such as we should expect to have been written, could scarcely reach us through these channels,<sup>1</sup> and anything written after 1942 was excluded owing to the Nazi control of all periodicals. Therefore we can only go by what little we have at present, bearing in mind that it is incomplete and but partially representative, whilst at least one genre probably cultivated is hardly represented at all.<sup>2</sup>

It has become a commonplace that this war was being waged by spiritual means long before it was declared. In the realm of the mind it had become a conscious struggle even before 1933. In Dutch poetry the first unmistakable signs that the challenge was understood and accepted were Albert Verwey's volumes *Het lachende raadsel* (1935) and *In de kooits van het kortstondige* (1936). This poet, then in his seventieth year, had retired into solitude at the end of a period of some forty years, during which he was the leading critic and one of the great poets. He clearly

<sup>1</sup> Some Norwegian poetry of this kind has been published in Sweden, such as *Kampdikt fra Norge* 1940-1943 av Gunnar Reiss-Andersen (Albert Bonniers Forlag, Stockholm, 1943).

<sup>2</sup> Many of the poems discussed here have been

published in *Gedichten uit bezet Nederland*, verzameld door Merv R. Maarsman en anderen (The Netherlands Publishing Co. Ltd., London, W 1, 1944).

saw the trend of development, and was under no illusions as to where it was leading. In the sequence *De nieuwe straat*, born of his regret for the country lane alongside his house that was made into a street, he found the image that symbolized the process which he was witnessing around him: a world ruthlessly advancing along a straight line, imprisoning the field under its dead weight of platitudinarian enthusiasm. He foresaw the thunderstorm that would ensue from the clash of nations, mere shapeless clouds about to be torn asunder by the dagger of lightning. But returning to his original image, the rectilinear street, he remembered the astronomical truth that symbolized for him the promise of ultimate liberation: there are no straight lines, only curves and waves.

Er is geen rechte lijn de bocht,  
de golf is in haar en verzelt  
Haar starre vaart op iedre tocht  
En in haar hart bewaart ze 't veld.  
Ik ben—zegt ze—oorsprong en begin,  
Die alle straten overwin.

Thus the great poet of the past period had, shortly before his death (1937), passed through the spiritual crisis which can be traced in the poetry of the years through which we are living.<sup>1</sup>

Younger poets too saw the disaster looming, but to them its gloom seemed impenetrable and final. A. Roland Holst, in 'Zwaar weer op til' (dated 12 August 1939), conveyed the sense of impending doom in a vivid evocation of 'the hordes of the possessed, driven by the hectic intoxication of death, hurling themselves sombrely singing into the black smoke of the fires of destruction'.

If Holst saw a despairing world, helplessly awaiting its doom at the hands of the wickers, his contemporary H. Marsman (torpedoed and drowned on his way to South Africa in 1940) knew a deeper despair, the conviction that the representatives of the living mind were like hunted men marked out as the prey of the beasts of one horde only apparently divided into two warring camps. The very rhythm of his 'Dies Irae' conveys the despair of this fearless fighter in the face of an apparently hopeless situation.

Neergedwongen in de lage zeden  
Van een sombren Godvergeten tijd  
gaan wij schichtig om tusschen de beesten  
dien wij langzaam zijn ten prooi bereid.

Thus far the dominating note is the sense of foreboding which Britain to some extent shared with the nations of the Continent. It is with the German invasion that a new element entered into the poetry of occupied Europe, to which there is no English counterpart except in the work of a poet in captivity such as John Buxton: the experience of battle and defeat. It has already found an unforgettable expression in *Le Crève-cœur* by Louis Aragon.<sup>2</sup> There we find the poignancy of tragic illusion rudely shattered ('Les lilas et les roses'), the panorama of collapsing France ('Tapisserie de la grande peur', 'Complainte pour l'orgue de la nouvelle barbarie') and the feelings of a French soldier after the defeat. In this case we had the rare fortune of a complete volume by a great poet being smuggled out of France and reprinted here.<sup>3</sup> No complete volume by any Dutch poet has so far

<sup>1</sup> The prophecy of the coming liberation from Nazism is much more explicit in Verwey's *De Dichter en het Derde Rijk* (1936), but the poetical value of this work is not so great.

<sup>2</sup> Londres, Edition Horizon-La France libre, 1942, reprinted 1944.

<sup>3</sup> The French edition of 250 copies was soon suppressed by the German authorities as being 'too patriotic'.

(September 1944) reached this country, and it is therefore impossible to say at this moment whether any similar picture in verse of the fighting in Holland exists. All we have is a few short lyrics, which lack the dramatic power that is so conspicuous a feature of *Le Crève-cœur*. Two poems called forth by the destruction of Rotterdam contain flashes of terrified realization which evoke sharply outlined images, but on the whole the poets were too near the event, their feelings were too violent, too chaotic to be disciplined, and their inspiration was not strong enough to prevent sudden lapses into rhymed journalism or rhetoric. There is one notable exception, however. Top Naeff's 'Voerman, waarheen?' is a much smaller canvas than 'Tapisserie de la grande peur', in that it depicts a momentary lull in the fighting instead of the frenzied horror itself. But the silence is ominous; one senses that in the background the storm is gathering strength for another outbreak. The cruel 'bombers' moon' is rising.

De late schemering valt koel en zacht  
Over verhitte stad, het moordlend ionken,  
Dat weder aanraast tegen middernacht,  
Laat even af, de zon is weggezunken,  
Een wreede maan nog niet op volle kracht.  
Maar ook die bleke stilte is verdacht,  
Waarin gesmoord de schreeuw van maatloos lyden....

Against this background a horse and cart appear—a long narrow cart, its load hidden under a tilt. The driver draws up to ask a question of the solitary passer-by—then urges on the horse and proceeds with his hidden burden. The last lines bring the sad explanation.

Ik wist het al—o Mensch aan 't kruis geslagen—  
Toen mij de weg naar 't kerkhof werd gevraagd

In its severe economy, its balance and sober understatement this poem has great dramatic power. The little scene is enacted silently in a brief succession of images on the retina of the mind—the poem contains its own characterization in the parenthesis 'beklemmend schimmenspel' (oppressive phantasmagoria), and its significance as a tiny fragment of the great tragedy is subtly conveyed.

This is the experience that separates Holland, and all occupied Europe, from those among us who have not seen their homes and their familiar world destroyed before their eyes. The break was clearly realized in the lines

Wij zijn zoo recht en koud,  
Zoo ijel, zonder gewicht  
Niets is ons meer verhoud.  
Dit is ons nieuw gezicht  
(CLARA EGGINK, 'Aan den anderen kant'.)

The very limpness of the rhythm conveys the grey despondency of exhaustion that followed defeat.

It was the invader himself who put an end to this temporary apathy by introducing the prison atmosphere inseparable from the presence of the *Gestapo* and all that it implied. This soon produced an acute sense of insecurity and a feeling that one could no longer trust anyone outside the circle of one's intimate friends. The world seemed to shrink daily before one's eyes. But a deeper humiliation was yet to come. Defeat was followed by the rise of Quislingism. Not until the secret drawers of poets are unlocked shall we learn to what depth of despair the feelings of sensitive minds descended when they saw traitors shamelessly strutting about



in the guise of conquerors But we see a glimpse in A Donker's poem 'Kreet', of which the passionate rhythm, the violent metaphors are shrill with horrorstruck indignation These are the opening lines

O kon ik de kreet slaken  
als de gil van een man die plotseling verbrandt,  
de signaalstoot van locomotief boven de kloof,  
de carillonslag van instortenden toren,  
dat de doodsche stervelingen ontwaken  
en hem onontkoombaar hooren

How was this despair overcome? The answer was given by an unknown voice, which almost in a whisper spoke of newly found consolation

Is het misschien  
het diepe verdriet  
dat ons brengt  
waar de grenzen  
van 't tijdelijk leven  
gaan wijken  
en waar wij de verten  
zien die verder liggen  
dan deze dagen,  
die verder reiken  
dan deze tijd?

(EMKA.)

It spoke of the community of sorrow that links the solitary individual with suffering humanity and with the creatures of nature—of the consolation that lies in the realization of the unity of all life With unerring intuition this poetess found the secret of Holland's hidden strength A nation was reborn through suffering, through the sense of forming one great family bearing a common grief They had been struck down and, stunned by the blow, had lived on for a time in dumb resignation In some cases the realization of the collapse of European civilization, as it then seemed, had led to despair But the healing process began with the first stirrings of grief, the liberation that came with the tears shed in regret for 'that which was taken from us' This is the theme of Ida Gerhardt's poem 'Het Carillon'. It evokes a morning in a Dutch town. The passers-by look haggard, grey with tiredness and dejection But suddenly a ray of inner light shines in these faces, a look of intent listening For high up in the church tower, after the clock had struck the hour, the carillon had begun to play the melody of an old patriotic hymn, a stately strain punctuated by the deep notes of a heavy bell, with a sprinkling of high-pitched bells interspersed

Valerius —een statig zingen  
waarin de zware klok bewoog  
doorstrooid van lichter sprankelingen,  
'wij slaan het oog tot U omhoog'<sup>1</sup>

En een tusschen de naamloos velen  
gedrongen aan de huizenkant  
stond ik te luistren naar dit spelen  
dat zong van mijn geteisterd land.

Dit sprakeloze samenkomen  
en Hollands licht over de stad—  
Nooit heb ik wat ons werd ontnomen  
zoo bitter, bitter hefgehad

<sup>1</sup> This line is quoted from the hymn 'O Heer die daer des Hemels tente spreyt' in *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck* (1626) by Adriaen Valerius

The importance of this poem can hardly be overrated. It was given to this poet to achieve what some of the greatest poets of modern times have striven for in vain: to voice the feelings of a community, and thus to create a folk-song in the highest sense of the word. We witness here the rebirth of the genuine sense of nationhood under the pressure of a perverted alien nationalism. It is a national consciousness able to rise above its hatred of the destructive forces temporarily in power, because its love of the best qualities of its own people is stronger still.

This was the beginning of the new life, which was inevitably also an unconscious resistance: a silent sorrow borne in common. But against this background life largely resumed its normality, ignoring those figures in field grey—'het grauwe volk' (Clara Eggink)—who were and remained outside the pale. But their presence, and the permanent sense of insecurity pervading the whole of existence, lent to joy and beauty an additional intensity, a sharp sense of their preciousness. Never was love so triumphant, never was the beauty of Amsterdam seen from the top of the Westertoren realized so acutely, with the unspoken awareness of its precarious fragility (Beitrus Aafjes, *Op de Toren*). Once more it is the poetess Emka who expresses the essence of this feeling in the closing lines of a short poem:

Er is mij niet gevraagd of ik wou komen  
De hemel heeft mij ongevroegd genomen

Her absolute surrender to ecstasy, a gentle smiling wonder at being 'taken by Heaven unasked' epitomizes the infinite preciousness of life surrounded by the forces of death.

This heightened awareness of eternal values pervades all poetry in wartime. But the mind is not content with the experience alone, it wants to understand its meaning, to penetrate to the core of its significance. Surrounded by powers so manifestly evil the poet is forced to ponder the sense of the world catastrophe. The thought that even the healing power of the spirit appears powerless against 'the Beast that rages to the world's undoing' (A. Marja) demands an answer. It is found in the realization that the world of our age, evil as it is, already contains within itself the spiritual forces of the future—A father is watching his child sleeping peacefully, undisturbed by the noise of exploding bombs; its consciousness withdrawn into the blood which silently flows through the young body: a dormant self-contained world of great potential strength that will one day invade the dark external world of the present. And the poet realizes that here is a new world already in being amidst the convulsions of the evil world that will pass (D. A. M. Binnendijk, 'Slapend kind').

Something akin to the self-communion of which this poem was the outcome must have taken place in the minds of many poets before they could emerge from the national crisis with the quiet sense of superiority to the enemy in their midst: that is so unmistakably implied in some of their utterances. The surest sign of this sense of superiority is the humour of the only poem directly concerned with soldiers of an invading army which to my knowledge appeared in a regular periodical. It is called 'Soldaat Anno 1812'. A young French soldier—'Een moedig man, een onderofficier'—the anticlimax is a choice characterization of exaggerated self-importance—is carousing in a Russian beer cellar. In high spirits he raises his tankard to drink a woman's health:

Maar bij het heffen van alweer een volle  
rijst in den spiegel uit den rook de holle  
blik van een kind en vraagt: Wat doe je hier?

The mirror's reflection is enough to deflate the vainglory of this valiant warrior, for he sees

Een vreemde vrouw Een kroes Een kinderhand.  
Een verre Keizer Een ver Vaderland,  
en kleine kinderen in te groote jassen

The literary qualities of this piece of dry irony need no comment. At the same time the poem is psychologically significant. For here is an artistic expression of the quiet amused contempt that proved so deadly to the morale of the German armies of occupation.

However, if the instruments of the oppressor were contemptible, this in a sense rendered the oppression all the harder to bear. It is one thing to look down on the pitiful tools of Nazidom when one sees them exhibiting their immaturity in the matter-of-fact world of daylight, but quite another to bear the anxiety and the longing for freedom that comes over one in the solitary hours of night. There is a sonnet (published in February 1941) which flawlessly expresses both the languid beauty of a hot summer's night and the unbearable longing that springs up in the heart of a sleepless man as he leans out of his window into the darkness and hears the faint call of migrating geese passing over invisibly—away to fold their wings in happy lands, where nations still live in peace and freedom. And the poet sighs

Ay, vreemde vogelen, die komt overzweven  
en ongestoord de breede vlerken vouwt  
in landen waar nog vredig volken leven,  
vertelt hun, hoe men hier den vrede rouwt  
en welk een ongeluk de menschen lyden  
die d' overgaande trekganzen benijden

(N. E. M. PAREAU, 'Aan de ganzen')

It is at night that both longing and fear are strongest. Then it is that the secret police are on the prowl, ready to pounce on anyone suspected of patriotic activity, when doors are bolted and any knock on the front door may spell disaster. It is the time when some wife may be breathlessly waiting for her husband, who still has not come home. But it is also at night that the desire to resist, to 'do something about it'—the typically masculine reaction—takes hold of a man, causing him to think and think through

de lange uren van een nacht  
waarin de slaap niet komt  
en 't zware lopen van de wacht  
steeds aanzwelt en verstomt,  
waarin de maan een schaduw werpt  
van spijlen, die ik tel  
en in mijn hersenen zijn verscherpt  
tot tralen van een cel,  
er glanzen wapens in het rek,  
een flikkert als een ster,  
ik staar verbeten naar die plek  
en grijp, maar 't is te ver

(C. STOOVE, 'De groene bloemen van't behang')

The prison atmosphere, the longed-for arms, the vain attempt to grasp them—these need no psycho-analysis to demonstrate their meaning. The poem is a vivid evocation of the state of mind that may lead to a decision to become an underground fighter.

There is a resistance of the heart and one of the mind. The poet of 'De groene bloemen' does not reason why he wants to take up arms, his desire to resist is instinctive. The resistance that is the outcome of thought, of the realization that the enemy's propaganda is slowly undermining the very foundation of intellectual life, is naturally less likely to express itself in poetry. One poem has reached us, however, which is a moving if imperfect expression of this state of mind. The poet sees the words emptied of their meaning by enemy propaganda as birds' eggs blown and strung together, gaped at by wanton hooligans'. She ends with the lament

Mijn broeder, hoe u te bereiken  
 Waar zwart is wit, en wit is zwart?  
 Het zwijgend hart dreigt te bezwijken  
 Dat in woords strikken hangt verward  
 (TOP NAEFF, 'In den beginne was het woord')

'The silent heart is almost stifled' For in the end it is always in silence and solitude that the almost unbearable must be borne. In the long hours of inactivity, the hours of waiting, the support of the community falls away, and no book, no human language can bring the tranquillity for which the heart yearns.

Er is geen boek dat mij de wijsheid leert  
 die rust geeft in de lange nachten  
 en die de starheid van een groot verdriet  
 verdrijven kan uit mijn gedachten  
 Er is geen taal die openbaren kan  
 wat mij de zon zegt in zijn woordeloosheid  
 en wat de eenvoud van het kleine kind  
 mij leeren kan in al zijn broosheid  
 De zon, het kind, en dan de wondre bloemen,  
 de wind, de regen en het wijde land,  
 zij zijn het die mij kunnen noemen  
 de groote schat van alle tijden,  
 van alle lief en alle lijdens. (EMKA)

Again it is the same unknown poetess, who in her lumpid gently flowing lines conveys the unutterable mystery of consolation. In their apparently artless simplicity—there is in this poem not a single metaphor, and not one word or expression that is not part of everyday speech—these lines yet have the unearthly beauty, the transparent purity of the mystic poetry of all ages. I do not know if this poet is one of those—there may be many—who in their deep need prayed, and found they had written poetry.

This is the deep well of strength that can inspire human beings when all else seems to fail. But its fragility was supported and protected by the masculine element in the Dutch national character, a sturdy dour strength that is symbolized by Jan Engelman in 'De Dijk'. Holland became what it is in and through the struggle against her eternal enemy, the sea—hence her rugged strength is embodied in the dyke, that plain unassuming but immovable barrier that was slowly erected by human hands. In its stubborn resistance against the waves of the lawless sea—danger and chaos which it masters like beasts raging at its feet—the dyke is the symbol of Holland's invincible strength.

Hardnekkig is de mensch geschapen,  
 hoe zwak zijn lichaam schijnt  
 Onsterfelijkheid gaf hem tot wapen  
 den geest die niet verdwijnt

Die geest is nimmer te beperken,  
 die geest zal, recht en slecht,  
 in menschen gansch opnieuw gaan werken  
 als men hem heeft geknecht  
 De dijk, die, rijzend uit ons leven,  
 de zee het land ontsteelt,  
 is van dat onophoudlijk streven  
 het eeuwig zinnebeeld

To anyone who can read between the lines and feel the spirit that animates them, these lines are the creed of the many who risked their all in active resistance. As such they form a fitting note on which to close this survey. There are a few poems of a more openly militant character, some of them written to commemorate definite events in the as yet unwritten history of underground resistance. Though imperfect, they are often deeply moving, and they contain flashes of genuine poetry. But seeing that by its very nature this genre could not come out into the open, we may safely assume that the great majority of poems belonging to it are still unknown to us, and it is therefore impossible to judge of the importance of the genre as a whole. The isolated representatives of it which we possess at present are no more than glimpses—a few roofs and tree tops of a submerged landscape whose features are hidden from the eye.

It would be tempting to search the specimens of resistance poetry in the wider sense which we possess for traces of a new style expressive of the spirit of a movement that may well transform the character of Europe. This may be possible in a few years' time, but for the moment any such attempt would be premature. The poems discussed in this essay certainly are as different aesthetically as any specimens of contemporary verse can be. All we can say is that spiritually they have one important trait in common: a withdrawal of the mind into its inner fortress, a heightened sense of the value of life which is often strongly religious in character.

TH WEEVERS<sup>1</sup>

LONDON

<sup>1</sup> The publication of this article, which reached the Editor in September 1944 (see p. 199 above), was necessarily held over until after the liberation of Holland. EDITOR

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

### WHALE-HUNTING, THE BARNACLE GOOSE, AND THE DATE OF THE 'ANCIENT RIDDLE' THREE NOTES ON OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

#### I *Whale-hunting*

Every student of Old English is acquainted with the words of Ohthere to his lord, King Alfred, on the subject of whale-hunting that he 'syxa sum', i.e. with five others, killed sixty whales in two days. We are given no details of the slaughter, and in this connexion it is interesting to compare the account quoted by the Arab cosmographer, Qazwini (d. 1283), from the Hispano-Arab Al Udhri (c. 1083), in his description of Ireland (Iceland?). It is uncertain whether Al Udhri's account is based on first-hand knowledge, but it should be remembered that the great centres for whale-fishing from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries were the Basque provinces of France and Spain which supplied Europe with oil and whalebone. In any case the Arab's account of the method employed is early enough in date to form an interesting commentary on Ohthere's statement.

Young whales were born in September and were hunted in October, November, December and January, after which their flesh became too tough to eat.

The hunters congregate in ships. They have a great iron blade [harpoon] with sharp teeth, and on the blade is a great strong ring and on the ring a strong rope. When they approach a young whale they clap their hands and cry out. Then the young whale is amused and pleased by the hand-clapping and confidently swims up to the ships. One of the sailors, drawing near, strikes its head hard and this gives pleasure to the young whale. Then he places the blade in the very middle of its head, takes a strong iron hammer and with it strikes three times with all his might on the blade. The whale is not sensitive to the first stroke, but after the second and third it becomes greatly excited and sometimes smites some of the ships with its tail and dashes them to pieces. And so it remains in violent agitation until weariness exhausts it. Then the skilful sailors helping each other, pull it to the shore. Sometimes the mother whale becomes aware of the plight of her young and follows it. Against this contingency the sailors hold in readiness a large quantity of powdered garlic and sprinkle it on the water. When the smell of the garlic reaches her she finds it so disgusting that she turns away and makes good her retreat. Then they cut up the flesh of the young whale and pickle it. And its flesh is as white as snow and its hide as black as ink.<sup>1</sup>

#### II *The Barnacle Goose Legend*

The earliest English reference to the fascinating legend of the Barnacle goose is, as far as I know, in Riddle 10

Neb waes min on nearwe,      and ic neopan waetre,  
Flode, underflowen,      firgenstreamum  
Swiþe besuncen,      and on sunde awox  
Ufan yþum þeahit,      anum getenge  
Lifendum wuda      lce mine, etc

of which the solution, now generally accepted, is Barnacle goose. The account which Giraldus Cambrensis gives of these fabulous birds, whose Arctic nesting places were then unknown, is familiar enough.

They resemble the marsh-geese, but are smaller. Being at first gummy excrescences from pine-beams floating on the waters and then enclosed in shells to secure their free

<sup>1</sup> *Quellen zur Deutschen Volkskunde Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe aus dem 9 und 10 Jahrhundert Ins Deutsche übertragen und mit Fußnoten versehen von Georg Jacob Berlin and Leipzig, 1927.*

growth, they hang by their beaks, like seaweeds attached to the timber. Being in process of time well covered with feathers, they either fall into the water or take their flight in the free air, their nourishment and growth being supplied, while they are bred in this very unaccountable and curious manner, from the juices of the wood in the sea-water.<sup>1</sup>

Gervase of Tilbury, in his *Otia Imperialis*, written for the Emperor Otto IV (1197–1212), adds the information that the birds were found growing in the neighbourhood of the Abbey of Faveisham. The Arabian cosmographer Qazwini's description of the bird tallies with Gerald's. In his account of England he cites it as one of the wonders of the country and adds that it is never found alive but always washed up dead on the shore. It is a dark bird, like the bird called 'divei'. Quoting from his early source, Al Udhrī, he concludes with the story that

A man broke off a branch on which there was already the beginning of a cluster of eggs and brought it to a king. And the king commanded that over it a dome-like structure similar to a cage should be made, and that it should be left in the water and remain on the shore continually until the bird should detach itself from the wood within the cage.<sup>2</sup>

The action related here has all the appearance of healthy scepticism, or a genuine spirit of inquiry, rare enough at the time, especially with regard to this legend, which persisted, as Max Müller showed,<sup>3</sup> as late as the seventeenth century.

### III. *The Date of the Ancrêne Riwle*

There is in the seventh part of this work a passage which, as far as I know, has so far escaped the notice of editors. It is a small piece of evidence which should be taken into account in discussions concerning the date of composition. It would at least suggest a limit before which it is improbable that the author composed his book. The passage follows the well-known 'parable' of the lady besieged within an earthen castle. Explaining his 'vorbisne' the author says that Christ

Dude him in turnement, & hefde uor his leofmonnes luue, his schelde me uhte, ase kene kniht, on eueriche half i-purled. Dis scheld þet wreih his Godhed was his leoue licome þat was ispred o rode, brod ase scheld buuen in his streiht earmes, and neruh bmeoðen, ase þe on uot, efter þet me wenep, sete upon þe oðer uote.<sup>4</sup>

In the first representations of the Crucifixion Christ is shown adhering to the Cross, not hanging forward from it. He is alive and triumphant, His head is erect, and He is clad in a long sleeveless garment which reaches the knees. Christ is reigning from the wood, the *lignum vitae*. It is this conception which is implicit in the *Dream of the Rood*. At this stage the figure was shown fastened with four nails, the feet resting side by side on a suppedaneum. This was the ancient tradition as we know from Gregory of Tours: 'Clavorum ergo dominicorum gratia quod quattuor fuerint haec est ratio: duo sunt affixi in palmis, et duo in plantis'.<sup>5</sup> The traditional colubium or long tunic remained until the ninth century and was shortened as realism crept into Christian art in the tenth century. Later still the head was made to droop on the breast, the crown of thorns was introduced and the body was depicted distorted with agony. But it was not until the thirteenth century that complete realism was reached by the substitution of one nail in the feet instead of the

<sup>1</sup> *Topography of Ireland*, bk I, chap 11.

<sup>2</sup> Op cit.

<sup>3</sup> *Science of Language*, 1865.

<sup>4</sup> Nero Text, Camden Soc. ed. p. 390. The passage is not, apparently, an interpolation.

<sup>5</sup> Migne, *Patrologia*, xxi, 710. There was some divergence of opinion in ancient times over the

number of nails. Gregory Nazianzen uses the phrase 'three-nailed wood', which occurs again in the tragedy *Christus Patiens*. The *Mediationes Vitae Christi* follows the same tradition. The *History of the Holy Rood Tree*, E. E. S. Original Series 103, is unique in mentioning five nails.

*traditional two* This innovation resulted in the crossing of the legs in an attitude which emphasized the suffering and which produced artistically a beautiful line.<sup>1</sup> Apparently there are no examples of this pose in Western art before 1200. It has been alleged that in almost all pictures before the year 1300 and in all of Greek origin two nails are used in the nailing of the sacred feet.<sup>2</sup>

The influence of St Bernard's mysticism here, in this changing conception, is obvious. The fervency of his realistic contemplation of the sufferings of the Saviour produced what has been called 'a pathetic element in religion' and 'pathetic naturalism', of a type very evident in the *Ancient Rite* and devotional works like *The Worshipping of our Lorde*. At first literature (and the model was St Bernard and such works as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* attributed to St Bonaventura) was in advance of pictorial and plastic art in the rendering of physical detail, but at the end of the fourteenth century the position was reversed.<sup>3</sup>

The subsequent history of these ancient crucifixes, one of which may still be seen at Romsey Abbey, has been very fully dealt with by Coulton.<sup>4</sup> When the use of the crucifix with undraped figure and three nails became general the bearded, clothed figure fastened with four nails to the older type of crucifix was taken to be female and the legend of Saint Liberata was invented to account for it. The beard, according to the legend, was miraculously bestowed on her to save her from marriage with a pagan. In France she was called St Wilgeforte, in Germany and the Netherlands Sankt Onkommer. It seems that some of the representations ascribed to her are really copies of the old draped crucifix of Lucca. Bale calls her 'Maid Uncumber', the Palmer of *The Foure P P* had been 'at Saynt Toncomber', and St Thomas More, describing her worship in England at St Paul's, says, 'Women call her saynt Uncumber, because they reken that for a pecke of Otes she will not faile to uncomber them of their housbondes', adding that 'all the otes of an hole year's offring will not finde in gees and a gander a weke together'.<sup>5</sup> The archaic rood here referred to was removed from St Paul's in the reign of Henry VIII.<sup>6</sup>

How great was the veneration for tradition in religious representation is clear from Coulton's reference to a letter headed 'For the matter of the Crucifix wrongly carved' in the register of Bishop Baldock of London, 1306. And it is still more evident in his quotation from Luke, Bishop of Tuy in Spain, who wrote of the heretics who dared to carve images of our Lord *with one foot laid over the other*, so that both are pierced by a single nail, thus starving either to annul or to render doubtful men's faith in the Holy Cross and the traditions of the sainted Fathers, by superinducing these diversities or novelties.<sup>7</sup>

There is nothing in the text of the *Ancient Rite* to suggest that the orthodoxy of its author could be challenged, and though the words *as me ueneþ, as men suppose*, forbid any too dogmatic an assertion, the inference from the passage quoted is, in view of the evidence above, that the date of composition was not earlier than 1200.

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<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion see *Cath. Encycl.* iv, 517.

<sup>2</sup> Birch and Jenner, *Early Drawings and Illustrations in the British Museum* 1889.

<sup>3</sup> Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> *Five Centuries of Religion*, i, 546, *Mediaeval Panorama*, p. 567, *Art and the Reformation*, p. 288.

<sup>5</sup> *Dialogue Concerning Tyndale*, bk. II, cap. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Reliquiae Antiquae*, II, 31.

<sup>7</sup> *Mediaeval Panorama*, p. 567. Coulton gives no reference but the passage is quoted in the *Realencyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, XI, 704.



## 'HERE AND HOWNE' IN 'TROIUS AND CRISEYDE'

But Antenor, he shal com hoom to toune,  
And she shal out, thus seyde here and howne (TC, iv, 209-10)

Robinson (*Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 1933, p. 940) annotates this well-known crux as follows 'an unexplained phrase, which seems to mean "people of all sorts, everybody"'. The interpretation "hare and hound", as Skeat shows, does not fit the form of either word. Skeat's own suggestion, "gentle and savage" (from AS *heore* and *huna*), is possible, but lacks support. Root offers another explanation—*howne* from ON *hun*, young bear, hence urchin, and *here* from ON *hei*, lord, master—but recognizes that it is equally unconvincing. Root, in the note referred to (*T and C* 1930, p. 505), remarks that 'the reading is clearly attested by the MSS', and he justly characterizes the two chief variant readings of the second line of the couplet, viz

pus seyde þei up & down (MS Harleian 4912)

and

thus al they sayde & sowne (Caxton ed.)

as presenting merely 'bungling attempts at emendation'.

On these notes I venture to make two comments. First, that however bungling the emendations may be, they do at least indicate that the meaning of *hei(e)* and *houn(e)* was obscure from a very early date—both belong to the fifteenth century. They suggest too that it was the *phrase* which was the chief puzzle. Neither Robinson nor Root, I think, gives this point the importance it deserves. For even if 'support' were found for both of its constituent words, support for the phrase would still remain wanting. Yet such phrases are apt to persist.

Secondly, is the reading so 'clearly attested' after all? For *here*, Root lists variants, *he*, *her* (two MSS), *heei*, and *heere*, for *howne* *hounne*, *houn* (two MSS), and *houn* (two MSS). The four last monosyllabic readings are particularly remarkable. *Her* and the well attested singular *seyde*<sup>1</sup> are also noteworthy.

On my first point, that of the early obscurity of the phrase, I now venture further and hazard the idea that in fact such a phrase never existed, and that the solution of the mystery may possibly be traced to its invention by some over-ingenuous scribe. Is it utterly unreasonable to suppose that the latter, confronted with

## HERRANDOUN

—a run of letters which, except for the AND, defeated all his powers of recognition, misread it as

## HEREAND[H]OUN

—thus begetting at once the second 'h' and this 'unsolved puzzle of Chaucerian lexicography'.<sup>2</sup> Whereas Chaucer had actually intended

HER RANDOUN<sup>2</sup>

At any rate this hypothesis does release a perfectly intelligible word, *randoun*, one described by the *OED*. (s.v. *Random*) as in 'common use' from 1300 to 1400.<sup>2</sup> Moreover the *OED* cites a special sense of *randoun* which is peculiarly apposite here—'a rush or stream (of words, fire)'—based on the definition found in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* 'Randone, or longe renye of wurdys, or other thyngys.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf e.g. MSS Harleian 1230, 2280, 3943, Camb Gg 4 27, Corp Chr 61

<sup>2</sup> The word occurs, for example, at least five times in the prose *Merlin* (c. 1450)

*haringga*'<sup>1</sup> Its ordinary meaning is given as 'impetuosity great speed, force, or violence'. Certainly the special sense ('this was the burden of their *haringue*') fits the context, with its suggestion of a violent and precipitate tirade, remarkably happily. For in the previous stanza we read

The noyse of peple up-sterre thanne at ones  
As breme as blase of straw y-set on fire

and in the next, of Antenor,

they quitte him out to rathe  
O nice world, lo, thy discrecioun!

It may be objected that to make *randoun* the subject of *seyde* is both awkward and un-Chaucerian. But the objection cannot be sustained. On the contrary, speech, sermon, book, and similar words, function normally in Middle English as subjects to the verb *say*. Only a few lines above can be noted

But resoun seyde him, on that othei syde (iv, 164)

while phrases like 'thus seith the book' (*LGW*, 1022) are familiar enough.<sup>2</sup> One instance of this usage in Chaucer is perhaps worth full quotation

And with that soun he herde a murmuringe  
Ful lowe and dim, that sayde thus (CT, A 2432-3)

A much more considerable objection, however, can be raised against the reading 'thus seyde her *randoun*'.<sup>3</sup> For *randon* is French<sup>4</sup> and disyllabic, and the rime here is 'hoom to towne'. But did Chaucer necessarily write *tourne* or *toune*? This brings me to my second point, the alleged clear attestation of the MS readings

*Skeat* is followed by both Root and Robinson in preferring the disyllabic forms *toune* and *houne*, and there are two cogent reasons for this judgement. For the words occur as end-rimes in the final couplet of the 7-line stanza, where the rime in Chaucer is normally feminine. Then again there is the evidence of the first line of the couplet, ending with *hoom to toune*, *to toune* being the recognized form of the Middle English idiom.

A careful study of his actual practice, however, makes one doubtful whether this correctness of Chaucer can be so readily assumed. There are some 77 *toun(e)* oblique case rimes in Chaucer, of which nine only are disyllabic.<sup>5</sup> In the *Troilus* itself there are 21, with four only disyllabic. Of the nine exceptions, all are certainly, or at least probably, idiomatic, that is, where *toune* means no particular 'town'. Here is one of the 21 monosyllabic instances from the *Troilus*—

And whan that he com rydinge in to toun (iii, 1782, rime *lyoun*)

Naturally in this poem *toun* does ordinarily refer to Troy, its idiomatic use (as in iii, 188, 570, 1091, iv, 588) is generally clearly differentiated. In iv, 209, 'com hoom to toun(e)', the meaning is necessarily somewhat ambiguous, either simply 'return home', or 'come to his home town (of Troy)'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> EETS ed (Extra Series, CXX), col 365

<sup>2</sup> Cf *HF*, 429, *LGW*, A305, *TC*, ii 96, *CT*, A178, B969, 4461, 4549, C622, E748, F813, G120 (ed Skeat)

<sup>3</sup> It is not necessary, for this reading, to insist on the hiatus *seyde her* the two words were probably elided, according to Chaucer's usual practice. For the clearly marked caesura pause after 'And she shal out' inevitably gives the last word (>pelt out in some MSS) a disyllabic effect

—And shé shal out(e), thus seyde hér randoun  
Cf iii, 417—Parforme it out, for now is most need, and see Root's note thereon

<sup>4</sup> The French word occurs in Gower's *Mirour de l'Homme*, 14182

<sup>5</sup> *CT*, A566, B1983, 2028, D1571, 2294, *TC*, iii, 188, 570, 1091, iv, 588. I follow Skeat's text throughout in these analyses

<sup>6</sup> One MS (the Phillips) omits *hoom* altogether

It must be admitted that there is no instance of a monosyllabic *toun* rime occurring in a final couplet of the 7-line stanza in Chaucer. Nevertheless *Troilus* does show an astonishing increase in strongly accented 'masculine' rimes in this position. There are plenty of double rimes in the final couplet in Chaucer's other poems written in this stanza (in *Parlement of Foules*, *Seconde Nonnes Tale*, *Man of Lawes Tale*, *Anelida*, for instance), but not one example of the masculine rime proper. The *Troilus*, however, can provide some 35 examples not to be classed as mere double rimes, like *other* and *brother*. Here are five specimens: *hadde or noon lete it goon* (I, 132-3), *al this wo been al-so* (I, 944-5), *that ye woot trouthe, I noot* (II, 1196-7), *lewed be wel, pardee* (III, 398-9), *man, wher art a fare-cart* (V, 1161-2).

The MS readings 'in to (the) toun',<sup>1</sup> and the masculine rime in IV, 209-10 are therefore by no means altogether objectionable.

To sum up the root of this problem of interpretation, the crux within the crux, seems to lie in the alliterative phrase 'her & houn'. Evidently this has been the heart of the puzzle from the beginning. The substitution for it of 'her randoun' fits the sense and syntax, well enough perhaps to justify the 'emendation'. At any rate there is 'play' enough in Chaucer's linguistic and metrical usage to justify the *-oun* rime.

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#### 'ORDER' IN THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

It was perhaps inevitable that the chapter on 'order' in Dr Tillyard's *The Elizabethan World Picture* should recall the collect for St Michael and All Angels with its suggestive wording ' . God, who hast ordained and constituted the services of angels and men in a wonderful order . ' The Prayer Book indeed was likely to be a prominent object in an Elizabethan world picture. A book that transferred the medieval services into the First Prayer Book of 1549, passed through the successive changes and revisions of 1552, 1559 and 1604, until it handed on the forms of the past to the changed world at its final revision in 1662, could hardly avoid carrying traces of current thought.

It is no unexpected consequence that the word 'order' is prominent throughout the Prayer Book. What is interesting in the evidence the book affords is the direction and emphasis given to the thought of order and related ideas, their 'spread' over the Elizabethan age. The evidence is not difficult to find; it is mainly illustrative of conclusions already reached elsewhere, though some minor trends appear to call for mention.

Except for purposes of cumulative emphasis it would be unfair to stress the use of the word 'order' in the descriptions of the services, in the arguments of the various prefaces that justify liturgical forms of worship, and in the ordinal. But all this may help to strengthen the conception of order as a commonplace. Evidence of a different kind is, however, provided when we examine the idea of 'order' in specific prayers. These are given below, placed after their Latin originals—where originals exist, and with their dates of composition and brief notes. In this way they largely tell their own tale.

*Morning Prayer: Collect for Grace.*

. . ut omnis nostra actio tuo moderamine dirigatur. *Sarum.*

. . but that all our doings may be ordered by thy governance . . 1549 and since

<sup>1</sup> Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Gg. 4. 27 'in to', MS. Harleian 4912 B.M. 'in to þe', MS. Philipps 8250 Cheltenham 'in' for 'hom to'.

*Trinity Five*

ut et mundi cursus pacifice nobis tuo ordine dirigatur. *Sarum.*

that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by thy governance.

1549 and since

*St Michael and All Angels*

Deus, qui miro ordine angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas *Sarum.*

O everlasting God, who hast ordained and constituted the services of angels and men in a wonderful order . . . 1549 and since.

*Ember Weeks*

No Latin original

Almighty God, who of thy divine providence hast appointed divers Orders in thy Church 1662

'The occasional prayers are entirely English compositions. The prayers to be said in Ember Weeks were added at the last revision. They are peculiar to the English ritual. The second (the prayer above) is in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637.' Procter, *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 264

*Prayer for the High Court of Parliament.*

No Latin original.

that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavours . . . 1662

This prayer as a whole was composed by Laud, but a new portion, including the passage above, was inserted in 1662

*Easter Four*

Deus, qui fidelium mentes unius efficit voluntatis, . . . *Sarum.*

which dost make the minds of all faithful men to be of one will . . . 1549, 1552, 1559, 1604

. . . who alone canst order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men. . . 1662

*Trinity Eight*

Deus, cuius providentia in sui dispositione non fallitur, . . . *Sarum*

God, whose providence is never deceived, . . . 1549, 1552, 1559, 1604

O God, whose never-failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth, . . . 1662

Apart from the use of 'order' as a theme, one definite trend seems to appear: 'order' becomes most prominent at the revision of 1662. Of the seven examples, four date from 1662, and three of these are the result of a deliberate change in the wording of established prayers. The revision of 1662 was a result of the restoration of Charles II, and contrary to many hopes became a triumph for the strong Anglicans, though it began as an attempt to formulate a Prayer Book that would also be acceptable to Puritans and Dissenters. In these prayers we seem to have an indication of the use of the Prayer Book to convey a current political concept. 'Order' appears to have been the theme of those who supported the Restoration settlement; it was that element in the earlier liturgy which they chose to stress and amplify.

This particular trend becomes clearer when we look at another example. In 1662 special forms of prayer were appointed for the twenty-ninth of May. In 1685 James II ordered the revision of these forms, and 'alterations were made by the bishops by authority of the Crown, neither Convocation nor the Parliament being consulted' (Lathbury, *History of Convocation*, p. 313, quoted in Procter, *op. cit.* p. 452). The original services of 1662 contained a somewhat colourless and conventional prayer for the Sovereign at the end of the Litany. In the version of 1685

this prayer was completely rewritten and considerably lengthened. It contains the following notable passage

that signal and wonderful delverance by thy wise and good providence . to our then most gracious Sovereign, King Charles the Second, and all the Royal Family and in them and with them to this whole Church and State, and all orders and degrees of men in both, from the unnatural Rebellion, Usurpation and Tyranny of ungodly and cruel men, and from the sad confusion and run thereupon ensuing

The resemblance of this passage—as a brief summary—to the various well-known Elizabethan passages on ‘order’ is at once obvious. It may be remarked in passing that ‘unnatural’ is the adjective commonly used to qualify ‘rebellion’ in the many special forms of prayer issued throughout this period and particularly in the reign of Elizabeth.

In sum it is interesting to find this compact statement of a Tudor commonplace so late as 1685, but not remarkable when we remember the backward-looking attitude of the Stuarts and of James II in particular. By strong contrast the revision in 1692 of the form of prayer appointed for the Fifth of November contains as part of a new prayer the following passage

. so for this thy late marvellous loving-kindness to our Church and Nation, in the preservation of our Religion and Liberties

Bishop Patrick revised this service at the behest of William III. In 1685 monarchy stood by ‘orders and degrees’, in 1692 it stood by ‘liberties’ which were not far removed from the aims of what in 1685 was ‘unnatural rebellion’. The inclusion of the word ‘liberties’, in this modern sense, in a liturgical setting, must have been somewhat daring in 1692.

There are in the Prayer Book copious examples of the use of the words ‘govern’, ‘governance’, ‘governour’. God is a governing monarch, and the world is subject to his governance, which is exercised on mankind as a whole, on the Church, on the hearts of kings and on the individual. There are upwards of a score of prominent examples in various petitions and prayers. Two points about them call for remark. They all but one seem to have entered the Prayer Book in the time of Edward VI (Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552),<sup>1</sup> and they illustrate how the idea of the ‘governour’ represented the political thinking of the time. It may profit to handle this latter point now. ‘Govern’ was the word that indicated the current conception of the function of a monarch, for it is used to translate such different Latin words as *moderari*, *gubernare*, *regere*, *dirigere* in the Sarum use. Or it is (just as happened in 1662 with ‘order’) introduced when the Latin gives no warrant. *Deus, in cuius manu sunt corda regum*, of the *Missa pro rege* becomes, ‘We are taught by thy holy word that the hearts of kings are in thy rule and governance’. Of similar interest is the fact that the use of the idea of ‘government’ belongs to the Prayer Books of Edward VI. Where ‘govern’ occurs, it was not, it is true, removed in later revisions, but it was not imitated. That conception of the function had seemingly faded away. The minds that in 1662 or 1685 were busy stressing ‘order’, refer to the monarch—with very rare exceptions—as ‘our Sovereign Lord’ or ‘our gracious Sovereign’, but no longer as ‘our King and Governour’. It was probably Bishop Sanderson who not inappropriately wrote, ‘O Almighty God, the Sovereign Commander of all the world’, in the collect after victory included in the *Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea*, added to the Prayer Book in 1662.

<sup>1</sup> The single exception referred to is ‘guided and governed by thy good Spirit’ in the Prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men, written by Bishop Gunning for the Prayer Book of 1662.

As a matter of interest one further collect may be quoted in full, because implicit in the wording, both in the Latin and in the English, is the whole conception of the divine government of the Church, wherein each has an appointed station in a settled order. It is a prayer that unites all the conceptions touched on above and ultimately carries us back to St Paul's argument in 1 Corinthians xii

*Good Friday.*

Omnipotens, sempiterna Deus, cuius spiritu totum corpus ecclesiae sanctificatur et regitur exaudi nos pro universis ordinibus supplicantes, ut gratiae tuae munere ab omnibus tibi gradibus fideliter serviatur *Sarum*

Almighty and everlasting God, by whose Spirit the whole body of the Church is governed and sanctified, Receive our supplications and prayers which we offer before thee for all estates of men in thy holy Church, that every member of the same in his vocation and ministry may truly and godly serve thee 1549 and since

The two extracts that follow have some relation to what has gone before. The first is part of a prayer by Erasmus *pro pace Ecclesiae* Translated into English, it was issued by authority in the reign of Elizabeth among the many special forms of prayer that appeared in her reign. It may be of some note as an addition to the sources of the idea of 'order'

Tu solus res quamlibet discordes redigis in concordiam, unicus pacis auctor et tutor. Tu chaos illud vetus, in quo nullo ordine nulloque decore confusa iacebant discordia rerum semina, digessim, et admirabili ordine quae natura pugnant, aeterno foedere sociasti. At quanto turpius est chaos, ubi nulla est caritas, nulla fides, nulla foedera, nulla legum, nulla praepositorum reverentia, nulla dogmatum consensus, sed velut in dissono choro suam quisque canit cantionem? Inter coelestes orbes nullum est dissidium, elementa suum quaeque locum servant, suis quaeque funguntur muneribus. Et sponsam tuam, in cuius gratiam condita sunt universa, sine perpetuo dissidio ire pessum? Patieris ut impii spiritus discordiarum auctores in tuo regno tyrannidem exerceant impune?

The wording of the English version is independently of some interest

Thou alone bringest things, that be never so out of order, into order again, which art the only author and maintainer of peace. Thou framedst that old confusion, which we call Chaos, wherein without order, without fashion, confusedly lay the discordant seeds of things, and, with wonderful order, the things that of nature fought together thou didst ally, and knit in a perpetual band. But how much greater confusion is this, where is no charity, no fidelity, no bonds of love, no reverence, neither of laws, nor yet of rulers, no agreement of opinions, but, as it were in a misordered quire, every man singeth a contrary note. Among the heavenly planets is no dissension, all four elements keep their place, every one do their office, whereunto they be appointed. And wilt thou suffer thy spouse, for whose sake all things were made, thus by continual discords to perish and go to wreck? Shalt thou suffer the wicked spirits, which be authors and workers of discord, to bear such a swing in thy kingdom unchecked?

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#### NOTES ON 'HAMLET'

##### (1) *Hamlet's supposed earlier entry at II, ii, 159<sup>1</sup>*

Professor Dover Wilson's suggestion<sup>2</sup> that in II, ii Hamlet should have an earlier entry, on the inner stage, and so overhear the scheme to 'loose Ophelia' to him, is so attractive that it seems almost a pity that later studies, such as Miss Helen L. Gardner's examination of the conventions of Shakespearean eavesdropping in

<sup>1</sup> All Shakespearean references are to the 'New Shakespeare' edition

<sup>2</sup> See the 'New Shakespeare', *Hamlet*, pp. lviff, 170, and *What Happens in 'Hamlet'*, pp. 106 ff

her article entitled 'Lawful Espials' in *MLR* (1938), xxxiii, 345 ff,<sup>1</sup> should apparently have put it out of court. Nevertheless, the device, whether or not it is ultimately acceptable to scholarship, solves so many difficulties that it may well establish itself in theatrical usage. It is therefore not out of place to consider Professor Dover Wilson's proposed staging of it, which is surely the least happy part of his suggestion. 'The entry', he writes on p. lviii of his edition of the play, 'must, of course, seem unpremeditated and no impression must be given of deliberate spying on Hamlet's part, it would never do, for example, to let him linger in his place of concealment'. Why 'of course', and why would it never do? Hamlet has just received a message, from a supernatural source, which, if true, will by the conventions of 'revenge drama' not merely justify, but demand, his killing his uncle in order to avenge his father. The struggle between the two men is the main-spring of the play, which, after such incidents as the 'Mousetrap' and Hamlet's short way with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, culminates in their violent deaths at each other's hands. Clearly, if the Ghost's story is true, nothing less than life and death is at stake from the beginning, why then (Elizabethan stage conventions apart) Hamlet on his side should be supposed to stick at a little deliberate eaves-dropping is hard to see.

(2) III, II, 135. 'Marry, this is mitching mallecho it means mischief'

Professor Dover Wilson, on p. 201 of his edition and p. 157 of *What Happens*, explains these words as a reference to 'the *skulking iniquity* of the players, who have introduced this unauthorized and ridiculous dumb-show, and so have almost ruined the whole plot', and he gives in support the usual, and surely most apposite, quotation from Shirley's *Gentleman of Venice*, 'Be humble, thou man of mallecho, or thou diest'. That *mitching mallecho* does in fact mean something like 'skulking iniquity' is no doubt true, but that Professor Dover Wilson's interpretation of the speech as a whole is right I find it difficult to believe.

In a paper entitled "'Mitiching Malcho" and the Play Scene in 'Hamlet'" (*MLR*, 1936, xxxi, 513 ff.), Miss Alice Walker gave a number of objections to Professor Dover Wilson's interpretation, her contentions, so far as they are relevant here, may be summarized thus:

(i) *Malhecho* in Spanish means, not 'evil' or 'iniquity' in the abstract, but 'a (particular) misdeed', like the Latin *malefactum* from which it is derived, therefore, if the words *mitiching mallecho* are to stand, something, if it is only the indefinite article, must be supplied before them.

(ii) For *malcho* Miss Walker would read *Malchus* (or *Malchus*), the name of the poisoner of Antipater, this, as she points out, would be very much to the point here, since 'Antipater's son Herod discovered the crime and revenged his father's murder by instigating Malichus' assassination'.

(iii) Furthermore, if Hamlet's speech means what Professor Dover Wilson supposes, 'Marry!' is a most inappropriate introduction to it, since it by no means indicates horror or anger, but rather 'good-humoured raillery' (loc. cit. pp. 513f n.).

(iv) The Dumb-show is intentionally 'inexplicable' (this is surely much less likely, unless gross dramatic incompetence, at a climax of the play, is to be attri-

<sup>1</sup> Miss Gardner shows that cases of deliberate overhearing are made clear to the audience either by being announced beforehand by the intending eavesdropper or by his comments during or after the overhearing, and that apart from such cases

'the audience is asked to assume that no one on the stage can hear anything that he is not intended to hear, he can hear what is said to him directly and nothing else' (loc. cit. p. 346).

buted to Shakespeare), and is probably, as Professor Dover Wilson and others have thought, a satire on the Admiral's Men. This last view is doubtless true of the spoken part of the 'Mousetrap' play, though whether, as Miss Walker apparently supposes, the satire extends to the Dumb-show as well seems much more doubtful. However, there certainly appears to be intentional parody in some of the Players' lines, although such scholars as A. C. Bradley (following Warburton, Schlegel, and Coleridge) have denied it. Bradley's argument, set out on pp. 413 ff. of *Shakespearean Tragedy*, is based chiefly on the remarkable parallels to many of the 'Mousetrap' lines to be found in other works of Shakespeare's where certainly no parody is intended, and he suggests that the bombast in the 'Mousetrap' play, though undeniable, is equally unintentional. To this view there are at least two objections.

(a) I pass over the question (touched upon by Bradley, loc. cit. p. 418) whether all the lines and expressions cited were in fact written by Shakespeare even if they were, does it follow that because Shakespeare occasionally wrote bombastically, even for several lines or whole speeches at a time, he could therefore have done so, in one of his maturest works, for nearly 200 lines consecutively without realizing it?

(b) That the Prologue, at least, was satirically intended seems indisputable: if anyone doubts it after reading the lines themselves, let him consider Hamlet's comment on them: 'Is this a prologue, or the posy to a ring?' On this Professor Dover Wilson in his edition cites *Merchant of Venice*, v, 1, 149 ff., 'whose posy was For all the world like cutler's poetry', but not the equally contemptuous remark in *As You Like It*, III, II, 250 ff. 'You are full of pretty answers. Have you not been acquainted with goldsmiths' wives, and conned them out of rings?' Clearly, 'posies' were regarded by the judicious (it is significant that two of the above speeches are uttered, one by Hamlet and the other by Jaques) much as cracker-mottoes might be now, and Hamlet's criticism of the Prologue reflects as much upon its style as upon its brevity.

So much by way of summary of Miss Walker's arguments. Her conclusion (that the inexplicable Dumb-show, the Prologue jangle and the frost-bound lines of the Player King and Queen were a deliberate exhibition of the dramatically inept which not only failed to catch Claudius' conscience but even failed to arouse his suspicions' *ibid.* p. 517) surely attributes too much dramatic ineptitude to Shakespeare himself to be easily credible, but it is rather with her interpretation of the 'miching mallecho' line that I am now concerned. The case for emending it is, as we have seen, linguistic—that if *mallecho* represents the Spanish *malhecho*, the phrase 'This is miching mallecho' is awkward or impossible. But this is surely to assume too much. Miss Walker does not mention the remarkable parallel from Shirley already quoted, and her view implies that Shakespeare's use of foreign words and phrases (except, of course, for the large class of deliberate malapropisms) is always completely accurate and idiomatic. This seems unlikely in itself, and we certainly have no right to assume it without further study. Meanwhile, I would put forward the following interpretation of Hamlet's speech, an interpretation which, though it had occurred to me before I read Miss Walker's article, derives at one point considerable support from it.

First, then, I cannot think that Professor Dover Wilson is right in supposing the Dumb-show to have been foisted in without Hamlet's knowledge or, consequently, that the present speech expresses anger or indignation at it. (Here Miss Walker's remarks, already quoted in part, about the tone of *Merry* are very much to the point.) I would suggest, on the contrary, that the traditional view of the speech is



much nearer the truth—that, in fact, Hamlet is here gloating in anticipation, ostensibly over the fate of Gonzago and the exciting entertainment that the play promises, but really and with characteristic irony, at the trouble ('mischief') that is in store for Claudius. So interpreted, the line will mean 'Why, this is stealthy [or 'underhand'] malice—it means trouble', and will create something of the same atmosphere as is evoked by Chaucer's 'smiler with the knife under the cloak'. Compare also, for a similar remark in comedy, Dionysus's anticipatory *ῥῆκει τῷ κακόν* before the beating-match in the *Frogs* (l. 606), and, for a 'passive' use of *knavery* that is exactly analogous to the use of *mischief* here, the words in which, at III, IV, 204 f, Hamlet speaks of his forthcoming visit to England 'They [*sc* Rosencrantz and Guildenstern] bear the mandate—they must sweep the way And marshal me to knavery'—i.e. as the context clearly shows, to trouble.

E. M. TREHERN

AMPLEFORTH

### 'CRISTAL, VIDRIO, VIDRIERA'

En su precioso librito sobre *La poesía de San Juan de la Cruz* (Madrid, 1942), mi excelente amigo Dámaso Alonso ha dedicado (págs. 262–3) una nota de gran interés al empleo de la palabra *vidriera* como imagen de la Virgen. Y cita, entre otros, los siguientes textos:

1º de Don Juan Manuel (explicando cómo María 'fincó virgen seyendo preñada')  
*el sol, que es criatura, entra et sale por una vedriera et la vedriera siempre finca sana*

2º de Fr. Iñigo de Mendoza *Tú quedarás tan entera/de la preñez del infante/qual queda la vedriera/quando en ella reverbera/el sol y passa adelante*

3º del *Cancionero espiritual* (Valladolid, 1549) *Esta [la Virgen] es vedriera rica/quel sol sin corrompiendo/la traciende*

Desde luego no pudo ni pretendió Dámaso Alonso presentar un inventario completo. Además, de los tres textos que voy a recordar, sólo uno contiene la palabra *vidriera*. Pero la imagen resulta muy parecida.

El primero es el primer terceto de un soneto de Fr. Luis de León del año 1578 que el maestro Menéndez Pidal publicó ya en 1917 y reprodujo después en sus *Estudios literarios* (Madrid, s.a. = 1920), pág. 166.

Quedando el claustro virginal muy sano,  
qual sol pasa por vidrio transparente,  
dél nasce Dios, de nuestro amor movido.

El segundo se encuentra en una glosa a Nuestra Señora escrita en castellano por el poeta portugués Fr. Agostinho da Cruz (1540–1619), que es interesante comparar con los versos de Fr. Luis (véase *Obras de Fr. Agostinho da Cruz*, ed. Mendes dos Remedios, Coimbra, 1918, pág. 370)

Quedastes mas sin lesion  
quel cristal del sol herido,  
puerta abierta de perdon,  
del yerro de Eva nacido  
y velo de Gedeon.

En fin—en prosa, pero más característico por contener la palabra *vidriera*—hay un tercer texto, también de Fr. Luis de León, en los *Nombres de Cristo* (t. III, col. Clás. cast., núm. 41, ed. Federico de Onís, pág. 57): 'Y como el que nascía era, según su divinidad, rayo, como ahora dezíamos, y era resplandor que manava con

pureza, dió también a su humanidad condiciones de luz, y salió de la madre como el rayo del sol passa por la vidriera sin daño

Habría notado el lector que la metáfora de la *vidriera* (o *vidrio* o *crystal*) queda aplicada, según el caso, a dos cosas ligadas entre sí, pero distintas: la concepción virginal del Niño Jesús (que no hay que confundir con la Inmaculada Concepción de la Virgen) y su Nacimiento. En realidad, trátase de una metáfora tradicional y antigua. Se encuentra ya en Gonzalo de Berceo (*Loores de Nuestra Señora*, 204)

En el vidrio podría asmar esta razón,  
como lo pasa el rayo del sol sin lesión,  
tú así engendraste sin nulla corrupción

Y comentando estos versos en su libro *Les vieux auteurs castillans* (vol. I, 2a ed., París, pág. 278), el conde de Puymaigre cita varios pasajes de poetas de la Edad Media que la emplean bajo sus diferentes aspectos

[The Editor takes pleasure in welcoming this direct contribution to the *Review* by a French scholar, as a prelude to renewed academic co-operation between France and Britain]

ROBERT RICARD

UNIVERSIDAD DE ARGEL

#### NEW MOSCOW LINGUISTICS INSTITUTE

Until recently all the Academy of Sciences' work on study of the Russian language was centred in the Institute of Language and Thought, which studied all languages of the world, with the exception of the numerous eastern languages of the Asiatic group, which was centred in the Institute of Orientology

With a view to broadening the study of the Russian language, the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. has founded an Institute of the Russian language. It will also study other Slavonic languages, as well as those of the Baltic countries. Plans have been drawn up for the study of the Russian language, Russian dialectology and the history of the Russian language

The plan includes the publication of an Academy dictionary of the Russian language and a grammar. The dictionary will give only those words, definitions and derivative forms which are current in the standard Russian of to-day, and will consist of fifteen volumes, the third of which will be issued this year. The Grammar part of this, which has already been written, will also concern itself only with the standard language of modern times. It will consist of two volumes, the first including phonetics and morphology, the second, syntax. Plans also include the publication of a popular, concise dictionary in one volume, which has already been written and is now being edited

In addition to special research in Russian dialectology, work has been going on for several years on drawing up a dialect atlas of the Russian language. Supervised by the Institute, the work is being carried on by professors of various higher schools. Material has already been collected on a number of districts and regions, among them the north-western region, Vologda, Kuibishev, Penza and Voronezh

Immediate plans include research in Russian language monuments, mainly manuscripts. The Institute will publish monuments having major significance in the study of the language. Among the publications planned is a large historical dictionary of the Russian language in ten or twelve volumes which will discuss words from the time the written language had its inception (in the eleventh century)

up to and including the epoch of Peter I. The material included in this dictionary will thus take us up to the period covered by the Academic dictionary (the end of the eighteenth century), and will present a complete conception of the development of the vocabulary of the Russian language.

The Institute also studies the theory of the Russian language and questions having practical significance, such as rules of spelling and the establishment of correct pronunciation. An Orthographic dictionary of the Russian language will be published this year, and will be followed by handbooks on Russian spelling and orthoepy.

The Institute has several departments: history, modern Russian, Russian dialects, the department of dictionaries, and others, headed by such men as Academician Derzhavin, Academician Shcherba, corresponding members of the Academy Istina and Chernishev, Professor Vinogradov.

The Institute's main departments are in Moscow, but they have branches in Leningrad as well.

S. N. OBNORSKY<sup>1</sup>

Moscow

<sup>1</sup> Professor Obnorsky, who is a member of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., is also Director of the Institute of the Russian Language, whose work he describes with authority.

## REVIEWS

*Studies in the Middle English Dialects of Devon and London* By HJORDIS BOHMAN.  
Goteborg Pehrsson 1944 xvi+364 pp 14.50 Swedish crowns.

This doctoral dissertation, which was begun many years ago at the instigation of the late Professor R. E. Zachrisson of Uppsala, throws new light upon the value of place-name spellings as evidence and, incidentally, it makes no small contribution to our knowledge of the rise of Standard English. Medieval Devonshire was a county remote from London but many names of towns, villages and manors were recorded not by natives but by the King's itinerant officers who were London or Westminster men. These men would naturally incline to pronounce strange names in their own fashion and they would tend to reproduce their own speech sounds, especially their own vowel qualities, in their writing which would follow well-established orthographic traditions. Assuming that these sounds and symbols are ascertainable from recorded London place-names, can the investigator then proceed to determine the characteristic features of the Devon dialect in Middle English? This problem Dr Bohman attempts to solve in his thesis. He examines the Old English vowels *æ* and *ȝ* and the diphthongs *ēa* and *eo* with their *i*-mutated forms and, in the first half of the book, he scrutinizes all their derivatives as they appear in the place-names of Devon and London.

Since the editors of *The Place-Names of Devonshire* (1931-2) were primarily concerned with the elucidation and not with the phonology of names, the author has not found adequate information in the Society's volumes and he has been obliged to re-examine all the available sources for his purpose. In the second half of the book he presents this relevant material in full. He has found it profitable to classify documents as 'central', written by Court scribes resident in Westminster, 'half-central', written in the west country in the presence of visiting officials, and 'local', written by town and village functionaries or by private persons. As was to be expected, the influence of the Westminster and the London dialects was first apparent in the forms of common words used as place-name elements and in the names of well-known places and distinguished families. It was discovered that, particularly in early Middle English, the official language of the 'central' authorities in Westminster differed considerably from the City of London dialect. As for social or class dialects, their existence was manifest at almost every turn but data were incomplete and the difficulties encountered in any attempt to determine their features seemed insuperable. Clearly the metropolis had three contesting regional dialects: the City of London, East Middlesex and Westminster. The last of these was the most important and it absorbed elements from the other two. 'The Westminster official spelling, which to some extent had adopted the City and the Middlesex types, is the dominating factor in the moulding and stamping process that creates a uniform spelling in London in later Middle English' (p. 174).

Valuable notes and alternative interpretations are given in the second part of the book, complementary rather than contradictory to the notes and interpretations offered by the Society's volumes on *The Place-Names of Devonshire* and by Eilert Ekwall's *Concise Oxford Dictionary*. Here the author shows himself to be complete master of his material, exercising that advanced knowledge of language which we have learnt to attribute to the Schools of English in the Universities of Scandinavia. The place-name student can here find entertainment in abundance.

The printing of this complicated text has been no light task and it has been performed with conspicuous accuracy. All the more surprising, therefore, are such disconcerting misprints in the Bibliography as 'Anecdota Oloniensa' for 'Anecdota

Oxoniensia' (p viii, l 14), Ecclesiæ for 'Ecclesiæ' (p x, l 9), and 'der englische Sprache' for 'der englischen Sprache' (p xiii, l 16)

SIMEON POTTER

LIVERPOOL

*The Year's Work in English Studies* Vol XXIII, 1942 Edited for the English Association by FREDERICK S BOAS London H Milford, Oxford University Press 1944 246 pp 10s 6d

Once more we owe to the English Association and to Dr Boas this valuable survey of a year's work in English scholarship Only those who are engaged in editorial work will realize to the full the patience, effort, skill, and good will necessary to the production of this volume within the allotted period, on the part of the editor, his collaborators, and his publishers Newcomers to this co-operative work are Dr D J Gordon and Mr Strickland Gibson, while Miss Whitelock and Professor Martin have doubled their contributions this year

A welcome innovation is a select List of Subjects The volume has, however, fallen below its high standard of printing, and misprints are frequent A regrettable error which will grieve Dr Boas deprives Miss Hilda Hulme of the credit for an interesting article on Derbyshire dialect, which is attributed to a non-existent 'Miss Hilda Holmes' (p 27 and Index, p 237) I am reminded how the only purely philological article I ever wrote for a learned journal was unworthily graced, with a printer's assistance, by the signature of Mr Sisam, a clear case of epic accretion

During the year under review, a number of books of importance appeared, on a great variety of subjects The earlier period gives E van K Dobbie's *Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* and J C Pope's *The Rhythm of Beowulf* A further important volume in place-name studies is *The Place-Names of Middlesex*, the last which we can have with the late Sir Allen Mawer as joint author with Mr Gover and Professor Stenton Dr Edith Batho and Miss Winifred Husbands completed the edition of Hector Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland* The Elizabethan period gives J C Adams's monumental book, *The Globe Playhouse*, Don Cameron Allen's *The Star-Crossed Renaissance*, and J Bakeless's completed work on *Christopher Marlowe* From later periods one might single out A D McKillop's *Background of Thomson's 'Seasons'* The section on Bibliographica records the sumptuous and important *Catalogue of the Carl H Pforzheimer Library, 1475-1700*, in three volumes with sixty plates But selection of this sort is invidious, where so much other good work has been done, a great deal of it in the unpretentious form of articles in learned journals *The Year's Work* is not least valuable in the help it gives the scholar to keep up with much of importance appearing in this form

C. J SISSON

LONDON

*Shakespeare and the Tragic Theme* By ARTHUR H. R FAIRCHILD (*University of Missouri Studies*, xix, 2) Columbia University of Missouri Press 1944 149 pp \$1.50

The first part of these studies contains articles on *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Lear* and *Macbeth*, the second part deals with tragic ideas and themes with particular reference to the four tragedies studied in the first part Professor Fairchild disagrees with the nineteenth-century critics who saw Shakespeare's tragedies as examples of the struggle between good and evil The position he holds is that Shakespeare detached himself from the assumption of a Divine Order and placed the tragic conflict within the heart and mind of his hero, or more generally that Shakespeare is a dramatic artist and not designedly a moralist

He considers *Hamlet* to be the tragedy of an idealist in an age of transition, and makes a good point in stressing Hamlet's adolescence. Indeed, 'adolescent', with all that it implies, is probably a more appropriate description of Hamlet's qualities than idealist. This study is a little laboured, and there is some unnecessary repetition of ideas. *Othello* he regards as a tragedy of revenge for honour rather than a tragedy of jealousy. The Caroline imitations of *Othello* suggest contemporary support for this view. The study of *Lear*, naked against Nature, is convincing and very well written. Professor Fairchild shows how remorselessly the social institutions are broken down and *Lear* is isolated. After the fury of his raging, all passion spent, *Lear* finally achieves at-one-ment with Nature. Bradley's assumption that *Macbeth* is assailed by his conscience is rejected, and it is suggested that *Macbeth* falls a victim to his own thoughts. This does not seem entirely satisfactory as it implies random, unrelated speculation on *Macbeth's* part.

Some of the themes treated in the second part demand a wider field of reference than has been given them. The identification of the reader with an idealized tragic hero which is there put forward has something to commend it, but it is not a whole view, it is not the emotion roused by the Fight at Finnsburg. There is more, however, to commend the placing of the central issue of Shakespearean tragedy between sentimentalism and will, and not between good and evil. Consistently with this Professor Fairchild indicates that Shakespeare, for the purposes of tragedy, adopts a Greek rather than a specifically Christian view. Here the issue seems oversimplified. Shakespeare's cosmic order is more complex, in some respects it approaches closely to the dualism of Bruno. At one point (if I read him rightly) Professor Fairchild seems to credit Shakespeare with an anticipation of the mechanistic doctrines. In this matter reference to the historical plays of Shakespeare might have helped to determine the nature and relationships of Shakespeare's cosmic order.

Professor Fairchild has produced a most stimulating book. A similar series of studies over a wider range of Shakespeare's plays, including *Troilus and Cressida*, *Richard II* and *Timon of Athens*, would be well worth his consideration.

J. H. WALTER

GRIMSBY

*Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition* By S. L. BETHELL. London: P. S. King and Staples. 1944. 164 pp. 10s. 6d.

A true drama, as opposed to a mere stage play, is a picture of life that has a meaning or idea animating it, and the greater the drama, the greater this meaning is, and the more thoroughly it impregnates every detail of the action. It is therefore impossible for a dramatist to be completely naturalistic in his working out of plot or character or in the speech which he gives his characters: everything must be many times more concentrated than when it occurs in everyday life. Mr Bethell sees this, and unlike other writers on Shakespeare who have been interested in exploring his conventions, he finds reason for admiring Shakespeare's skilful use of them. His book wins sympathy by its appreciative approach as well as by its frequent insight.

Nevertheless, Mr Bethell is, I think, too much influenced by the present-day fashion in Shakespeare criticism. He defines the underlying unity of a play of Shakespeare's as its 'poetry', a word which, however sacred to the lover of poetry, is too limited in its scope to exhaust the meaning of one of Shakespeare's plays for most readers, and which Mr Bethell himself (though not always) is inclined to interpret as a use of symbolic imagery. Symbolic imagery is, indeed, important in Shakespeare's plays, but much more of their final meaning is communicated through character (which, by the way, is not the same thing as psychological analysis) than through 'poetry' in this narrow sense of the word.

In general Mr Bethell's approach to particular plays is sane. There are only a few things that strike me as definitely unlike Shakespeare. Such are his reference to 'the weakness' of Othello's 'chivalric type' ('Shakespeare's judgment on the soldier'!) and his comparison of Hamlet to 'a privileged young blood on a shilling stool'. Criticism of this belittling kind (quite different from the criticism one must make of Macbeth) is, for me, altogether against the spirit of poetry and of Shakespeare. Shakespeare's heroes may not all be perfect, but it is his greatness as a poet and a man that he can see and reveal the greatness in so many different types of lives and characters. Mr Bethell himself does this well (and incidentally makes good use of poetic symbols) in his analysis of *Antony and Cleopatra*, though I think it is quite untrue to say that the play is contradictory 'psychologically', or that *Cleopatra* is a 'metaphysical concert'!

In conclusion, I should like to recommend Mr Bethell's book to all Shakespeare scholars. It is full of matter, its outlook as a whole is enthusiastic and sincere, it clarifies many minor points (as in the three sections of the last chapter), and even where one feels inclined to criticize (which is, indeed, in my case, very often) it is the type of book which really helps one to define one's own point of view.

J. W. R. PURSER

GLASGOW

*Albumazar A Comedy* [1615] By THOMAS TOMKIS Edited by HUGH G. DICK  
(*University of California Publications in English*, vol. XIII) Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press, London H. Milford 1944 x+218 pp \$2.00

Mr Dick's edition of *Albumazar* will be welcomed by students of the period who formerly had to rely on Dodsley or on the *Ancient British Drama* (1810).

The Introduction contains a careful summing up of the speculation as to the authorship of the play, and presents a conclusive case for Thomas Tomkis of Staffordshire, the author of *Lingua*, together with some details of his life. Mr Dick favours the late date January 1615 as the probable time of composition. This, however, still leaves unexplained both Dryden's assertion that the *Alchemist* owes much to *Albumazar* and Jonson's own denial of any such debt. The existence of *Albumazar* in some form at an earlier date might help to explain this, and, moreover, why the Master of Trinity sent for Tomkis some four years after he had gone down to provide a play for the entertainment of James I.

That part of the Introduction dealing with judicial astrology is overlong. But it contains much that is of importance and establishes the relationship of *Albumazar* to the anti-astrological literature of the period, correcting, by the way, some current misapprehensions.

The scene division is presumably based on that of *Lo Astologo*, it is certainly unusual.

Mr Dick confesses that his explanatory notes 'err on the side of generosity'. In one note, that on Cargo (2752), his generosity becomes almost irrelevance, for the reference to the East Anglian dialect word 'carwo' is surely straining possibility. Incidentally, the expletive 'cargo' also occurs in *John of Bordeaux* (Malone Society Reprints, I 538). The possibility of deriving it from 'carga' seems worth exploring.

'Seare' (868) has a close relationship in the context with 'soare' (1310). Is it possible that the former is the result of an *o* *e* misprint, and should read 'soare'?

Gravesend (1296 note) is much less than thirty miles below London.

This is a careful, thorough and well documented piece of work.

J. H. WALTER

GRIMSBY

*Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1640-1800* By ERNEST JONES (*University of California Publications in English*, vol v, no 3) Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press 1944 pp 357-442 No price stated.

Despite the popularity enjoyed during the Middle Ages by Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, its veracity had been impugned at a very early stage, witness the story told by Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Itinerarium Cambriae* concerning the demoniac of Caerleon for the devils who tormented him, after vanishing when the Gospel of St John was laid upon his breast, returned in greater multitudes than ever, as soon as the book of 'Geoffrey Arthur' took its place, and even settled on the book itself! With the revival of learning his reputation began to wane and by 1640 had been so badly shaken that the theme of this learned and competent treatise is the story of its decline and fall. The topic can hardly claim to be in itself of great interest or importance, and it is inevitable that its exposition should be in the nature of a *Catalogue raisonné*—but Mr Jones justly claims that 'the record of these opinions is part of the history of historiography in England' and 'of legal and ecclesiastical controversy' from 1640 to 1800. Thus, though the opinions recorded may in the majority of cases have little intrinsic interest or worth, they collectively have a real historical value. The concluding section of the treatise, which deals with Geoffrey's influence on later literature, contains an interesting list of poems on themes directly or indirectly derived from the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and records a number of curious speculations on the origins of mediaeval romances.

Mr Jones has carried out his task not only with great industry but with admirable skill and lucidity, while the notes and bibliography appended to the text are excellent.

H E BUTLER

LEATHERHEAD

*Robert Bridges, 1844-1930* By EDWARD THOMPSON London Oxford University Press 1944 131 pp 7s 6d

This book is a centenary tribute to Bridges—and a very charming tribute it is. Mr Thompson has gathered up a great deal of the 'oral' tradition about the poet in his Oxford sphere and thrown in with modest deprecation something of his own intimate association with him in the later years. The result is an extraordinarily sympathetic evasion of Bridges' wish that there should be no biography. And we are the gainers. What would we not give for such a first-hand presentation of earlier Oxford poets, information about whom trickles unreliably through the authors of lives of the poets, including Dr Johnson.

In the personal part of the book Bridges appears as we all expected he would, only the brusqueness or eccentricity is sympathetically toned down or made to appear, as no doubt it was, rather engaging. Partial quotation might be dangerous here as where Mr Thompson says 'An aristocracy of appearance and manner, revealed in all his gestures, sometimes seemed to awe even the impersonal forces which rule our life'. The reader wants to be told that this is a mock-epical gambit to an amusing story of how Bridges insisted on travelling by a train which was not scheduled in the time-table—and did! He was the sort of old man Pater loved to portray and did strikingly in Fronto in *Marius the Epicurean*, though Fronto would not have allowed himself Bridges' latitude in whim and odd opinion. But the study of the poems is the thing—or is it not?

'Bridges was the last of our classical English poets, the last who could work deliberately as sure of his place in a stately procession'. So he was, but time is testing him there, and time has nothing of the solicitude for the poet's fame which shows on every page of this book. Of the sonnet sequence *The Growth of Love*,



Mr Thompson says 'It ranks, of course, lower than Shakespeare's Sonnets But among other sequences its only superior is *The House of Life*' This is a disquieting verdict for the modern reader of that excellent pastiche

I am afraid I am committed to the view that in his earlier work, *The Growth of Love* sequence, the narrative poem *Eros and Psyche*, and even certain poems in *Shorter Poems*, Bridges, with all his technical cunning, gives evidence of an uncommonly protracted adolescence On pp 34-5, Mr Thompson endorses the highest praise by the late Professor de Selincourt and Mr Brett Young of *Eros and Psyche* and proceeds to quote 'beauties', e g

The prodigal of an immortal day  
For ever spending, and yet never spent

which is passable, and the line 'Eastward of Ida, in a little town', about which he tells us 'all the quietness that was or ever was or can be seems to subside into one infinitely restful moment' Every reader should recognize the line as pastiche A poet cannot go on churning out hundreds of stanzas of a set pattern without acquiring more than superficial expertness, so, admittedly, when Bridges has warmed to his work, we find in *Eros and Psyche* a great deal of lovely texture which vies with the best Elizabethan

*Shorter Poems* is, of course, the test Mr Thompson endorses the hyperbolic praise of De Selincourt and (surprising tribute from that quarter) A E Housman—and I confess I would not like to disturb any reader's admiration for this book of lyrics as a whole *London Snow*, *A Passer-by*, *Elegy Among the Tombs*, *On a Dead Child* are secure of their place in our lyric treasury But how are we to agree with this, 'Only once do I find a resemblance to Elizabethan lyric which strikes me as close', and this, 'All this amounts to the smallest debt ever owed by a poet'? One can only suppose that Mr Thompson fails to distinguish between the servile echoing of other poets and the employment of the general cast or idiom of a poet or period Let us hasten to add that in *Shorter Poems* Bridges restores the bloom to dead fashions, even, incredible feat, to eighteenth-century pseudo-romantic, as in that fine poem *Elegy Among the Tombs*. And this, if I mistake not, is his title to fame Virtuosity is involved of course rather than spontaneous genius, but there is virtuosity and virtuosity

The blank-verse dramas Mr Thompson reluctantly dismisses—after copious quotation of 'beauties'. Blank verse was not Bridges' forte or the heroic couplet either, though *The Isle of Achilles* is rightly praised (his best performance in the couplet is, however, the autobiographic introduction to *Later Poems*) The reason, I imagine, for his coldness to these mediums is that he could not impose his peculiar virtuosity on such standard forms Mr Thompson puts it in a different way, which avoids any talk about virtuosity

I cannot quarrel with Mr Thompson's somewhat tepid treatment of the poems in *New Verse* which most decisively show Bridges coming into line with modern poetry He quotes from the more traditional ones, and for him *Poor Poll* is 'on the least imaginative level' of the poet's genius It is a matter of temperament, and Mr Thompson has taken his stand, with other distinguished critics, on *Shorter Poems* That he understands modern taste is shown by his remarks on the influence of Hopkins on certain passages of *The Testament of Beauty*. For this crowning feat of the poet's toil Mr Thompson makes sober claims with which we can all agree It is not after all a *Prelude* It will live by individual passages It will interest us always as the evening talk of a grand old man and poet One word more—by what standards does Mr Thompson judge? What does he mean by saying that the lines

things supreme in themselves, eternal, unnumbered  
in the unexplored necessities of Life and Love

are 'among the greatest ever written'! But enough of such cavils on a book which I have read with the greatest pleasure

GEORGE KITCHIN

EDINBURGH

*The Life of Saint Dominic in Old French Verse* Critically edited by WARREN FRANCIS MANNING (*Harvard Studies in Romance Languages*, no 20) Cambridge Harvard University Press, London H Milford 1944 xi+353 pp \$4

Professor Manning provides us with a sound and judicious edition of the thirteenth-century French *Life of Saint Dominic*, with a useful appendix on the extant legendaries containing prose lives of the saint and the one mystery play on his life. He is successful in establishing the fact that the poem is a fairly close rendering of the *Legenda* of Petrus Ferrandi, enlivened, as medieval translations so often are, by some replacement of indirect by direct speech and the introduction of a few personal or topical allusions, as, for instance, his mention of the new '*Cymerhere bele et grant*', which was donated to the Dominican Convent of St Jacques at Paris in 1256. From this allusion and other internal evidence the editor deduces that the author was in all probability a member of this community and that he composed his work between 1356 and 1359. The text is contained in two manuscripts—Arras 307 (A) and Paris B N f fr 19351 (P), these appear to be independent copies executed by Picard scribes, A, probably, by one resident in Arras or its neighbourhood, P by a 'native of the north-eastern region of Picardy, near the Walloon border'. On the basis of the evidence supplied by rhymes and metre Professor Manning suggests the Beauvaisis for the place of origin of the author, but from his carefully collected data I am inclined to locate him to the south-west of Paris rather than to the north-west, cf. points 1 (b), 3, 7 (b), (8), 9 (e), 20 and possibly 34 (d).

MS A lacks several folios, but as it follows rather more closely the Latin life and appears to be a slightly more accurate copy Professor Manning has taken it for his basic manuscript and filled in the gaps from P. The text of both MSS has been 'allowed to remain, for the most part, as it came from the hands of the scribes'. A prudent decision. It is for the most part a satisfactory text, but there are a few amendments that may be suggested and a few passages in which the punctuation might be modified to advantage in my opinion.

ll 406, 621, 2897 retain *qui* of A, reading *qu'i* or *qu'i*[l], 553 *fus*, correct *fus*[t], 1133 omit otiose *Qu'*, possibly caught up from 1135, 1983 *Tunt*, read *T'nt*, 2242, 4217 *le*, substitute *lé* or *le[s]*, 2336 *cor.* read *toi*, 2910 retain *ont* of A, 3080 correct by reading *da[e]rainers*, cf. *daerrain* of l 348, 3132 *tel*, read *cel*, end l 240 substitute comma for colon, end 618 comma, end 1624 delete comma, end 1625 add full stop, in 1648 omit comma, end 2444 add semi-colon, end 3017 add comma and delete comma in 3018, 1133-6 read *En lor capulle s'asamblèrent Et tot a une vois loerent Qu'il en fesoient sosprieur, Asses lor en venroit d'oneur*, 1167-73 *Et si religieux estoit En orison son tans metoit* (So devout was he [that] he spent his time in prayer) *Que parier n'en voloit por rien, Car en lui avoit tant de bien, Et douceur et humilité Il ne faisoit pas . .*, 2237-42 *Avant vos volere proier Que vos laus[iss]és a trenchier Ma treste et les rex tous sains, Des autre membres, c'est li mains Que je vos volere proier, Que vous lé fessies trenchier L'un apres l'autre*, ll 2679-82 *Ausi ert il, ce m'est (P) a vis, Dedens cels se mal non n'avot, Por pou biens iscor n'en poot* (Thus it was, me-thinks, within these there was naught but evil, on that account no good thing could issue forth)

A few passages seem to me to need comment or interpretation: the construction is obscure or difficult in ll 389-91, 630-6 (cf. P), 2680-1 (cf. above), 2798-801, 4356-7 (adverbial use of *tal*), ll 63 and 64 remain obscure in spite of the note, I think it is possible that l 63 should read *S'il (sc. Jhesu Chris) nes amende(nt) autrement*.

In the glossary<sup>1</sup> some entries seem to me to be unnecessary (e.g. *alaine*, *apostle*, *bure*, *canonne*, *edefier*, etc.), and, more serious, there are a considerable number of words and locutions which might with advantage have found a place in it or in the notes, since they are rather unusual either in form (e.g. *affait* 2262, *eurent* (< *oren*) 1894, *fens* 4110, *hes* 911) or in use or interpretation. Examples are *aporter* (*le blé*) 992, *atorner* (*le sens*) 261, *avivé* 191, *cure* (*metre*, *remetre sa cure* 960, 966), *doctrienes* 175, *entiers* 2540, *entociés* 1557, *estude* 857, *leue* 4130, *portaire* 1378, 4104, *portaiter* 1389, 4344, *Que que* 1495, *regart* (*Au regart de*) 1068, *rouver* 1234, *Sou gou que* 1138, *viés* 1241, *viés* 478 (Is it derived from *vetus* or *viles*? the rhyme seems to require the former, the sense the latter). I hesitate to admit the word *pareillement* P 1545, and would suggest correction of the line to *de reube et [a]pareillement* and for *atenchier* in 2238 and *esloenges* in 5049 would substitute *a trenchier* and *es loenges*.

The edition as a whole reaches such a good standard, the examination of the phonology and morphology is carried out with such skill and competence,<sup>2</sup> that one regrets the more that syntax and vocabulary should have received such relatively slight attention.

M. K. POPE

OXFORD

*Ystone de la Passion* Edited by EDITH ARMSTRONG WRIGHT (*The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages*, vol. XLV) Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press 1944 8s 6d

This thirteenth-century Old French poem is the work of a northern Italian poet, 'probably a Lombard', who dedicates it, if ll 35-40 are correctly interpreted, to a 'lady of the Canavalese family'. The text reads satisfactorily<sup>3</sup> and the editor has supplied a careful study of the sources, all of the earlier type, but, as she herself remarks, 'the main interest of the work, aside from a few original details, lies in the hybrid language'. To the investigation of this notoriously difficult question Miss Wright brings a careful study of previous editions of Franco-Italian texts<sup>4</sup> and some acquaintance with Italian and Old French, but of this latter language it hardly appears to me that her knowledge is wide or full enough. Some interesting features of the language are omitted, e.g. the perfects, the almost consistent replacement of the possessive adjective *lor* by the forms derived from *suus*, and some remarks are erroneous or confused, e.g. the use of rhymes in *-or* to show early date (p. 11), the mention of 'intervocalic' *l* in forms such as *beu* (p. 21), the coupling of *davant* with *ensament*, of *soure* with *paroules* and *ouse*, etc. As Miss Wright points out (p. 24), the literary model followed by the poet is Old French Romance, a point one would like to see discussed in editions of these Franco-Italian poems is the type of French language employed by the poet: colloquial, acquired mainly orally, or literary.

M. K. POPE

OXFORD

<sup>1</sup> I must confess I do not understand what is meant by using 'the glossary of the *Roman de la Rose* as a control'.

<sup>2</sup> Here are two or three errors that I have noted: *tars* 861 is an analogical form, *poust* 2520 is not an *i*-perfect but a widespread dialectal form of *poust*, in *desrien* 101 *s* is an inorganic

intrusion, *sen* (*san*) 261 is a derivative of Germ *sein*.

<sup>3</sup> Line 995 should perhaps read *Mes ge nen a conté*, *engnoions* l. 929 is from OF *a genouillons*.

<sup>4</sup> Curiously little use seems to be made of the edition of *L'Entrée d'Espagne* by A. Thomas.

*L'amour lointain de Jaufré Rudel et le sens de la poésie des troubadours* By L. SPITZER (*University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literature*, no 5) Chapel Hill 1944 74 pp 50c.

Professor Spitzer's booklet should be read by a far larger public than the section of medievalists to which the title would seem to make the readiest appeal, for it is a vigorous attack on the Gradgrinds of literary criticism who exhaust themselves on external facts and never consider the spirit of a work of art or the spirit of the age in which it was produced. The particular case envisaged is that of critics who would make of Rudel's *amor de lonh* an allegorized Holy Land, or the Virgin Mary, or in fact anything but a courtly *dompna*, the particular adversary is Mrs Grace Frank.

To demonstrate his view that Rudel sings courtly love and makes a reality of a dream Professor Spitzer gives a most penetrating and interesting examination of the poems of the *amor de lonh* cycle, illuminating the poet's theme and expression in one of the best pieces of Provençal criticism I have come across for a long time. From an eminently well-stocked mind come arguments and illustrations of the most varying kinds, all revealing fresh aspects of the texts under examination. To accompany the author, step by step, through these poems is a thrilling experience. There must be few readers who will put the book down without having gained a new understanding of, and a new respect for, courtly love. The author is bitterly opposed to the 'orthodox' interpretation of troubadour poetry. 'L'idée de chercher dans les tourments de l'amour massouvi une intensité de sensations plus rare et plus précieuse que sa satisfaction même' which A. Jeanroy found impossible to attribute to a medieval poet, he accepts—and makes acceptable to his readers—as the only basis for an understanding of the Provençal lyric.

It is not to be expected that so violent an attack can command approbation in every detail. It is not necessary to be a 'liberal Protestant' to fall into the various errors that beset students of these lyrics. It would seem that the authors of *vidas* and *razos* dabbled fairly well in the 'biographical' heresy without this excuse. Personally I object to being told (p. 33) that if I dance, I really want to rape my partner but am kept back by an 'apriori chrétien' and an inherited restraint that modern society owes to the troubadours—but then I am not a dancing man. Many of Jeanroy's remarks about the lack of variety in the *canço* still seem to be justified, particularly as they are but the echo of contemporary Provençal criticism.

The preparation and presentation of this book leave much to be desired. It bears every sign of haste in the writing and the printing—even the numbering of the notes is evidence of a multitude of afterthoughts. A phrase like 'c'est un des expédients les plus élémentaires de la stylistique telle que je la pratique depuis longtemps.' addressed to Mrs Frank in criticism strikes an unpleasant note, and invites the query whether it is worth while being a professor of stylistics and cultivating such a jumbled French style, made up of parenthetical jerks to the sentence and faded literary blossoms like 'entre Scylla et Charydis' (*sic*) and 'quod erat demonstrandum', as that which the Professor uses in this booklet. This is certainly the most carelessly printed book I have ever seen. The number of misprints and printer's errors of various kinds must run into hundreds, from the 'lontain' of the cover to the 'estprit' of the last line of the notes. The errors are indifferently sprinkled over proper names (Sarah Bernhardt, Mme Frank), references (e.g. p. 40 *for* vol III, 1914 *read* vol I, 1934), various languages (French *passim*, O Prov *nulrs* *for* *nulhs*, *chanter* *for* *chanzar*, *driet* *for* *dreit*, Ital *purament*[é], *une* *for* *una*, Ger. *Zeit*[s]chr, *Tupfehen* *for* *Tupfchen*), while the typographical presentation of two extracts from poem III (pp. 28–9) is unfortunate, and the reference III, 3 does not apply to the line against which it is placed.

R. C. JOHNSTON

*Propalladia and other works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro* Edited by JOSEPH E. GILLET Bryn Mawr College (Pennsylvania) Orders to George Banta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wis Vol 1, 1943 292 pp

It was somewhat over twenty-five years ago that Professor and Mrs Gillet began the studies which have now begun to appear in the most handsome and scholarly edition ever accorded to a Spanish playwright. At intervals articles have appeared as *parerga* of this edition, and have in themselves sufficed to place Professor Gillet in the front rank of bibliographers and syntacticians in the Spanish field. The finished work, however, exceeds expectations. It opens with 127 pages of bibliographical introduction followed by 58 plates. As there exists a *princeps* of undoubted authority for most of Torres' work, and the other most reputable sources can be identified at no great length, it is evident that this introduction is not made merely to subserve the edition. So far as that purpose reaches it is disposed of in three pages on the preparation of the text. The complete and complicated story from the *Tinellana sin año* down to the expurgated Madrid edition of 1573 (with extensions to 1590, 1880-1900, and 1936) is told as a chapter in a science apart.

Unfortunately, owing to enemy action, it has not been possible to submit this work to the detailed criticism of our leading British Hispanic bibliographer, and the observations I can make are far from adequate as a measure of the skill displayed by Professor Gillet. A minor point, though far from lacking in suggestiveness, is that I have not encountered any misprint in such an array of pages which bristle with invitations to misplace accents, substitute modern for old forms, misuse capitals, and in general apply different criteria in the vast welter of facts to be classified and explained. Each edition is described in a model paragraph, which details such things as watermarks, the use of red ink, and the provenance of woodcuts. All extant copies of the oldest editions seem to be located and described. The literary history of each edition is traced through the bibliographies, sometimes with curious results. The *princeps* itself failed to be recognized as such. Luzán gave first place to the expurgated edition of 1573, though Nicolás Antonio had spoken of one of 1520. It was only in the second quarter of the nineteenth century that the *princeps* (Naples, 1517) was identified, thereby killing a false inference which assigned it to Rome, but as late as 1936 the Spanish Academy was not aware that the only complete copy was in Copenhagen. Sevilla 1520 stands on the faith of Hernán Colón. Alleged editions of 1563 and 1590 seem to be phantoms, but Professor Gillet's notes show how one bibliographer, relying on the faith of another, rolls up a considerable snowball of affirmations until, with the loss of a query, the void becomes being! In the career of the luckless Estéban Jamete one sees what mischances might befall anyone who kept too open a mind in the Spain of the early sixteenth century, and on the other hand the persistence of the *Propalladia* in face of the *Index*, until a compromise was reached by the expurgated edition of 1573, is proof of a certain tenacity of independent judgement.

The celebrated comedies do not form part of this volume, though their 'Prohemio' is here. The non-dramatic works contain little of value as poetry, apart from some of the *romances* and the 'appendix' to the *Diálogo del Nacimiento*. But they illustrate a curious figure, whose intentions (like those of Cervantes in his dramas) quite outstripped his art. The Spaniard had not sloughed off his medievalism though he wrote in the Rome of Leo X and was reasonably well acquainted with Italian Renaissance models. He thought of his work as a venture like the fleets of discovery then setting out for the New World. Not without justification: if one remembers that Cortés had not then loomed on the horizon of history, there is a fair parallel between Torres' creative daring and the still medieval voyages of Columbus's comrades. Torres has learning. Like Cervantes he approved the classical division of five acts, and he forged an un-Greek compound noun for his title. The non-

dramatic works seem designed to provoke comparison with those of Horace, with their *Satyna*, *Capitulos* and *Epistolas*, yet they are planned upon the crude analogy of a three-course dinner. Of contemporary letters he has little to say. He cites Torroellas as an enemy of women, thus illustrating his own backward-mindedness in certain respects, which so strangely contrasts with his anticipations of dramatic designs executed almost a hundred years later. There is an unhiterary flavour about his life, which parallels that of Cervantes in its captivity and ransom, and yet his energy was so evidently concentrated upon literary achievement. Let us hope that Professor Gillet, who knows Torres Naharro so much more intimately than any other living scholar can, will find room somewhere in the second volume to reflect on the paradoxes of this writer's genius.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE

OXFORD

A. W. Schlegel's *Lectures on German Literature from Gottsched to Goethe, given at the University of Bonn and taken down by George Toynbee in 1833, together with Toynbee's 'Continuation to Heine', with Introduction, Notes, and a Portrait.* Edited by H. G. FIEDLER. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1944. 96 pp. (1 plate) 10s.

In 1838 Bisset Hawkins published a work entitled *Germany: the Spirit of her History, Literature, Social Condition and National Economy*. The section on German literature was contributed by George Toynbee, uncle of the social reformer Arnold Toynbee, and a fellow-student of Schack at Bonn in 1833 and an acquaintance of Mazzini in London. Toynbee attended Schlegel's lectures and reproduced the notes he took; he added a 'Continuation' of his own to cover the period from the death of Schiller to the rise to fame of Heine, as well as a chronological list of the principal events in German literature, art and learning and an account of the German universities as he knew them, giving details of numbers of professors and students and particulars of courses, etc. As Professor Fiedler points out, Hawkins has wrongly been given the credit which is really Toynbee's (and ultimately Schlegel's) by F. Ewen in his *Prestige of Schiller in England* and, we may add, by H. Tronchon in his *Le jeune Edgar Quinet* (Paris, 1937, p. 263).

It is of interest to have an echo of Schlegel's criticism to add to the older precipitate in *De l'Allemagne*. We do not, of course, expect to find more than thumb-nail sketches in a student's note-book. But Toynbee was a man of discernment and independence. He is well ahead of William Taylor of Norwich. He resisted Schlegel's hostility to Schiller, and his own 'Continuation' reveals a warm approach to Jean Paul and no little sharpness *vis-à-vis* Heine. He was well aware of Schlegel's vanity. He adds bibliographical data concerning each author, which provide useful information on English translations from the German, supplementary to existing knowledge.

Hawkins's book seems to have been little noticed in its day, and Professor Fiedler has done a real service in publishing and annotating Toynbee's work, in so doing he had access to Toynbee's diary. We are much indebted to Professor Fiedler's energy, wisdom and scholarship.

So this review should have ended. It is with sorrow that I add, as it goes through the press, a note recording the death of Professor Fiedler. For long the *doyen* of German studies in this country, he enjoyed the highest regard of his colleagues, not only as a scholar but as a man of the most genial humanity and generous understanding.

A. GILLIES

HULL

## SHORT NOTICES

The twenty-ninth volume of *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, for 1943 (Oxford Clarendon Press 1944 100 pp 7s 6d) has been collected by Dr Una Ellis-Fermor, and is mainly concerned with Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. The one exception—an important one—is the opening essay on 'Criticism and Creation: their interactions', in which Sir Herbert Grierson ranges from Aristotle to T. S. Eliot and Herbert Read, discussing the varying aims and claims of criticism, interpretative and authoritative. Professor C. L. Wrenn, 'On Re-reading Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*', notes various points of literary and linguistic interest, comparing the flower-passage in the April Eclogue with those in Shakespeare and in *Pearl*, considering the influence of Chaucer (as he was known to Spenser in the sixteenth-century editions) on the beast fable in the May Eclogue and on the metre and diction generally, 'prying into the quality and origin' of many of Spenser's words. Miss G. D. Willcock contributes a valuable paper on 'Shakespeare and Rhetoric', emphasizing the difference between the Elizabethan attitude to rhetoric and our own, and examining its place in Shakespeare's art. Dr F. S. Boas considers 'Charles Lamb and the Elizabethan Dramatists', reviewing Lamb's *Specimens and Extracts* in the light of our fuller knowledge of the plays, and adding notes on Cotgrave and others who anticipated Lamb's rediscovery of them. In 'Jonson and Dickens: a study in the Comic Genus of London' Mrs Evelyn M. Simpson compares and contrasts the two pictures of London. Finally, Mrs Katharine A. Esdaile writes of 'Ben Jonson and the Devil Tavern', she gives an illustration of the terracotta bust of Apollo which formerly graced the Apollo Room and now is preserved in Child's Bank, and suggests reasons for thinking that it may be the work of Edward Marshall, Master Mason to the Crown. But a reviewer in the *Modern Language Review* may be allowed to express regret that Mrs Esdaile should have overlooked the article on the same subject which Dr Percy Simpson contributed to this *Journal* in July 1939 (Vol xxxiv, pp 367-73)—an article which might have saved her from the slip (p 95, ll 3, 4) by which she confuses the 'Rules' (which were in Latin and were destroyed when the tavern was pulled down) with the verses over the door to the Apollo Room.

WINIFRED HUSBANDS

LONDON

In times of disturbed values and moral disorder Professor Hardin Craig's *Shakespeare and the Normal World* (*The Rice Institute Pamphlet*, vol xxxi, no 1 1944 vi + 49 pp) is very welcome. These three lectures discuss with lucidity and sincerity the moral aspects of Shakespeare. They are a fitting tribute to the memory of Stockton Axson. Professor Craig indicates the moral views of Renaissance Christianity and Shakespeare's position as 'an innovator and discoverer of profound significances in human life', and 'quite generally speaking the greatest poet of Christianity'. From Shakespeare's humanity and catholic sympathy the theme turns to the range of human action from mastery to despair, and finally to the discovery of truth through self-realization. The field is wide, and Professor Craig does not pretend to explore all of it, yet his guidance is so sure and his wisdom so memorably expressed that the whole heart of the matter is revealed. It is possible to disagree with occasional interpretations. Thus Hamlet's speech, 'Now might I do it pat', is usually considered as an attempt by Hamlet to explain away his own reluctance to stab Claudius, as a piece of rationalization it fits in with Hamlet's unreadiness. But this in no way invalidates the main contention of the lecture.

Professor Craig's lectures are most enjoyable to read and most challenging to reflexion.

J. H. WALTER

GRIMSBY

Dr Richard Nicholas Foley, in his *Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866 to 1916* (Washington, D C The Catholic University of America Press 1944 vi+169 pp) traces with copious reference and quotation the reaction of the literary critics in American periodicals to the work of Henry James during his lifetime. He has endeavoured to plot the ups and downs of James's reputation, as far as these can be deduced from a body of professional criticism, and to record the general critical opinion on his genius. What results is a fluctuating line in which the peaks, consequent on the publication of *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), *The Tragic Muse* (1890) and *The Ambassadors* (1903) are separated by troughs of coolness and apathy. The bulk of the notices examined are invarious, they repeat *ad nauseam* the charges against James of inconclusiveness, over-elaborate analysis, neglect of feeling, an un-American outlook, and, in the later phases of his career, a too anxiously complicated style. To set against this there is the steady advocacy of W D Howells and the appearance in the twentieth century of enlightening comment from a younger generation of critics.

The book is not exciting, no unexpected discoveries have been made, but general impressions as to the reception of Henry James in his own country have now been established upon a factual basis, and this is available for reference.

J M S TOMPKINS

LONDON

Professor Norman A Bennetton's study of the *Social Significance of the Duel in Seventeenth Century French Drama* (Johns Hopkins and Oxford University Presses. 1938 159 pp 6s) divides its subject into chapters on the judicial combat, the point of honour, social restrictions on the duel, and open opposition, each chapter being bisected between legislation and the stage. The citations from plays in the second division of each chapter will be of interest and use to other scholars who may have a different approach to this theme. In the two later chapters, what Professor Bennetton has to quote from expressions of French public opinion and Richelieu's policy has a distinct social and historical importance, but his earlier chapters seem to me vitiated by an essential error. It is expressed on p 49 that, though the most characteristic plays 'indicate, perhaps, Spanish rather than French customs', if the subject matter within that play had not had attractions for French audiences, and since the reflexion of social problems in the drama is being treated here, the question of source material lacks great importance. Not at all. The special suitability to the theme of honour of *Le Cid*, *Les Illustres Ennemis* and *Don Lope de Cardone*, etc., is that they are attempts to express thoughts recognizably Spanish. They had attractions for French theatre-goers, indeed, but these consisted in the presentation of manners carried to a height by that nation which had an overwhelming predominance in the Europe of the early seventeenth century. In the first half of that century the French dramatists were not, on the whole, in a critical mood. There are *obiter dicta* which reveal the absurdity of the code of honour, but they are scarcely more frequent in France than in Spain. The formal opposition of the Church was not less in Spain than in France, and for reasons much more substantial than the one assigned by Professor Bennetton on p 29. The State also opposed the duel, with more and more energy, in Spain as in France, the difference being that in Spain more allowance was made for the assumed rights of the individual than by the more logical Richelieu. But so it was also in the height of the boom. The code of honour on the Spanish stage was an expression of the overweening individualism which had caused single heroes to overturn the empires of Mexico and Peru and reverse the history of Italy. In France it is not at all certain that individuals ever had so disproportionate a consideration, but Spain was uppermost, and the dramatists, heavily indebted to Spanish models for all that brought life to the French stage, were not slow to exploit a specifically Spanish theme. The



principal social lesson of their works is, therefore, the pressure of a foreign habit of mind upon Frenchmen within the restricted orbit of the court. There was a temporary suspension of that judgement which gathered and swept away most of the fantastic structure of 'honour' when the causes supporting Spanish social prestige were withdrawn.

A second consequence of Professor Bennetton's view that one can safely ignore Spanish material in the study of early seventeenth-century France is that his eye has not lighted upon Professor Américo Castro's famous article in the *Revista de Filología Española* 1917. There is a great deal to be added, as its author admitted, to that article, but it gives the clue for a formulation of the alleged code: vastly more satisfactory than the laws of Lombard and Burgundian barbarians. What is comic in *Jodelet duelliste*, for instance, is not primarily that Jodelet should cavil whether a 'fort coup de poing' is a punch or a slap, it is that a lackey should think he has any honour at all<sup>1</sup>. For as honour is an external testimony to merit and as a lackey or other serving man or labourer has no merit, he has no honour, and, if he reason about it, he can only reason in a way that makes men of honour smile. St Thomas Aquinas's definitions, cited by Professor Castro, are essential to any adequate discussion of the theme. One must remember, however, that St Thomas is rationalizing sentiments which he owes to his own aristocratic birth, and while equating 'reputation' or 'honour' with 'life' (since life without reputation is worthless for a man of good birth), he does not authorize the duelling and murdering which laymen inferred from the same fundamental proposition. Lay nobles, defending 'honour = life', assumed that there was a right to take the lives of others in a kind of self-defence, and with Spanish individualism this assumed right was carried to limits which interested and shocked Europe. But the Church opposed the sophism consistently. The State balanced the advantages of a high-spirited class of warriors against the disorders they caused, and, even in Spain, made duels more and more perilous to the duellists. The drama, however, continued to exploit a motive which was picturesque in itself and involved profound moral values, though one notices, in Calderón, a preference for placing his cases of honour in past time, not nearer than the reign of Philip II, and often very much earlier.

I am unable to affirm that Professor Bennetton offers any adequate conception of the code of honour, or that he has drawn the principal social conclusion offered by his texts, but he has gathered material together which will be useful to others, and his texts for the French reaction against the code constitute a significant social document.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE

OXFORD

*L'Illusion Comique*, edited by J. Marks (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1944. xxxviii+125 pp. 4s 6d), is an honest and unpretentious piece of work. Although the exhaustive introduction contains no new material and makes no notable addition to the aesthetic criticism of the play, it is a useful summary of existing *idées émises*. Mr Marks has carried out his editorial duties with a thoroughness worthy of a better cause, all through he remains eminently reasonable and moderate, and makes no exaggerated claims for Corneille's fantastic comedy. The Notes are extremely full, explaining many points of detail and even difficulties of grammar and syntax, the edition is, from this point of view, quite suitable for use as a school text. There is a practical bibliography and the glossary is workmanlike. A few misprints have crept in: e.g. p. 31, l. 720, 'crotisque' for 'grotesque', p. 76 (variants, l. 382), 'ceil' for 'ciel'.

L. A. BISSE

OXFORD

Leo Kirschenbaum attempts to rescue a Spanish dramatist from oblivion in his study *Enrique Gaspar and the Social Drama in Spain* (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol xxv, no 4 viii+107 pp 1944), claiming for Gaspar not only superiority to both López de Ayala and Tamayo but also a position of primary importance in the history of the modern Spanish drama. 'In Spain, it was he alone who, during the last third of the nineteenth century, studied critically, satirically, and realistically the problems and forces at work within society and presented them in modern theatrical garb.' That Gaspar aimed deliberately and tenaciously, despite constant failure to win recognition, at revivifying the Spanish stage is undeniable, but good intentions do not suffice to make a significant writer, and this study fails to present convincing reasons for considering Gaspar to have been one. The 'theses' of nineteenth-century plays and novels, however revolutionary and exciting at the time, have little or no actuality to-day, and Gaspar lacked both the fine artistry and the deep insight into emotional and moral conflicts that could alone prevent his plays from becoming quickly dated. His efforts to stir the Spanish theatre-going public into an awareness of new social issues may have been praiseworthy, but, despite Mr Kirschenbaum's admiration, his 'theses' do not strike one as being other than commonplace in conception and execution, and his dramatic theory, being 'realism' at its simplest and most obvious, has no particular significance outside its period. Gaspar has undoubtedly a certain historical interest and should not be overlooked in any history of the modern Spanish stage. Mr Kirschenbaum's study should prevent his being overlooked in the future.

A. A. PARKER

ABERDEEN

*Biblos*, the well-known review of the Coimbra Faculty of Letters, decided to start in 1943 the publication of its *Suplementos*, where, in some series of outstanding monographs, the result of studies carried out by students and teachers, or both, might be collected. Two such works were published that year, both of them belonging to *Série Primeira—Filologia românica*.

One, *Passagem de nomes próprios de pessoas a nomes comuns em Português*, by D Maria do Céu Novais Faria, then a student at the University, is not, as its authoress herself declares, an exhaustive undertaking. It has, however, the double merit of being the first systematic work of its kind in Portugal, and of showing that the illustrious D Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcelos was not in Lusitania the first and last representative of the fair sex to have an interest in the supposed-to-be dry fields of Philology. Though limited mainly to the present language, it is really a deserving addition to Portuguese Philological Studies, and it is to be hoped that D Maria do Céu herself may be the person to gather more instances in to-day's language and to complete her work with a thorough gleaning throughout Portuguese Literature.

The other, *Sobre o humorismo de Eça de Queiroz*, is a revised study by Senhor Vergílio Ferreira, now a secondary school teacher at Faro (Algarve), on a very interesting aspect in the work of the famous nineteenth-century Portuguese novelist, who, though he lived in England for a good many years without being able to adapt himself to the English environment, came to be, notwithstanding, a sincere admirer of English Literature and Thought. One cannot help appreciating this curious monograph, which represents a valuable contribution for the determination of the technique used by Eça in the elaboration of his writings, so full of a very special ironical 'humour'.

H. B. RAMALHETE

OXFORD

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

January—March 1945

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Georg 1944 Swiss fr 9 50

HALL, R A , Jr , Hungarian Grammar Baltimore, Linguistic Society of America

KROEBER, A L , Configurations of Culture Growth California and Cambridge  
Univ. Presses \$7 50

PIKE, K L , Phonetics Michigan and Oxford Univ Presses 14s

WHITFIELD, F. J , A Russian Reference Grammar Harvard Univ Press. \$2 50

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES

CHAYTOR, H. J., From Script to Print Cambridge Univ Press 12s. 6d

#### Spanish.

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LOPE DE VEGA, El sembrar en buena tierra, ed by W L Fichter New York,  
Mod Lang Assoc Amer , London, H. Milford

#### French.

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, Maximes, ed. by F C Green Cambridge, Univ Press 7s 6d

LAVIE, H , François Villon. Bergen, Grieg, 1943 Kr 6 50.

MAUPASSANT, G. DE, Choix de Contes, ed. by F C Green Cambridge, Univ. Press  
8s. 6d

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#### Scandinavian.

##### (a) *General (including linguistic)*

GAARDER, V , Våre runeinnskrifter. Oslo, Damm, 1943. Kr 3 36.

PAULSON, A , Ord og uttrykk i Bergens bymål. Bergen, Grieg, 1942

SKEIDSVOLL, A., Norske manns- og kvinnenamn. Oslo, Norli, 1943 Kr. 1 35

SØRLIE, M., Hedalsmålet Bergen, Grieg, 1943. Kr 6.72.

##### (b) *Danish*

KEIGWIN, R. P , The Jutland Wind Oxford, Blackwell, 1944 7s 6d

SMITH, D , Johannes Ewald 1743-1943 Oslo, Norden, 1943. Kr 26 25

##### (c) *Norwegian (date 1943)*

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HULTENGREEN, R , Profiler i norsk lyrikk. Oslo, Tell Kr. 11 50

SIGMUND, E., Ibsen-studier. Oslo, Cammermeyer. Kr 6 50.

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*(a) General (including linguistic)*

- COLCORD, J C , *Sea Language Comes Ashore* New York, Cornell Maritime Press \$2 25
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- Ancrene Riwe, *The French Text of*, ed by J A Herbert (E E T S. 219) London, H Milford 28s
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- BEDE, *Opera de Temporibus*, ed. by C W. Jones Cambridge, Mass , The Mediaeval Academy of America \$8.00
- Cloud of Unknowing, The, and The Book of Privy Counselling*, ed by P Hodgson (E E T S 218) London, H. Milford. 35s
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- UTLEY, F L , *The Crooked Rib An Analytical Index to the Argument about Women in English and Scots Literature to the end of the year 1568* Columbus, Ohio State University \$4 00.

*(c) Modern English*

- BENNETT, J , *Virginia Woolf. Her Art as a Novelist.* Cambridge, Univ Press 6s
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(date, unless otherwise stated, 1944)

(a) *Early New High German*

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BOYD, J., *Notes to Goethe's Poems* Vol. I (1749-1786) Oxford, Blackwell 7s 6d

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FORSTER, L. W., *Georg Rudolf Weckherlin (1584-1653) Zur Kenntnis seines Lebens in England* (*Basler Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 2) Basel, Schwabe Swiss fr. 9 50

GEORGE, STEFAN, *Poems* Rendered into English by C. N. Valhope and E. Morwitz London, Kegan Paul. 10s 6d

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LOFFLER, S., *Johann Peter Hebel Wesen und Wurzeln seiner dichterischen Welt* Frauenfeld, Huber Swiss fr. 8 50

STANSFIELD, A., *Holderlin* Manchester, University Press 7s 6d

STEINBERG, S. H. (ed.), *Fifteen German Poets from Holderlin to George* London, Macmillan, 1945 5s

## FURTHER MARGINALIA FROM A COPY OF BARTHOLOMAEUS ANGLICUS

### I

The subject-matter of the first set of verses here dealt with is concerned with many of the controversies about doctrine, liturgy and discipline which raged during the years of the Reformation in England. They reached greatest intensity during the reign of Edward VI, fanned by the zeal of Warwick, who espoused the Protestant cause and increased the persecution of the Catholics. Many of the accusations levelled in these verses seem to indicate a date of composition during this period, when reform was hasty and extreme. While the Oxford reformers wished mainly for reform of moral abuses, the later stages of the Reformation are marked by debate on theology and dogma, of which some of the chief points are mentioned by the writer of these verses. The professed purpose of those reformers, such as Cranmer, who were not extremists, was to return to the old and true theology not obscured by the subtleties of medieval controversy and the commentaries of the Church Fathers and ancient doctors. The Ten Articles of 1536 had declared the rule of faith to be determined by the Bible and the three Creeds, adhering to the final authority of Holy Scripture, and at this time Protestantism did not therefore imply a refutation of Catholic doctrine. In the Forty-two Articles of 1553 there is similarly no overt conflict with the Catholic tenet, that every truth of faith is contained in Scripture, implicitly or explicitly. Later, however, the Protestant position is thought by Catholics to reject authority and substitute the light of reason. So, in verse 24, the Reformers are said to

labor     all for variacon  
Hieron Austen Ambros et alios spicaverunt  
far far unlyke in wurde and opcracion  
Quos patres nostri nunciaverunt

and in verse 35 to

study to deprave  
All soe to leyde even as theym selfe lyst  
No law no law and yett they brag they have  
Intellectum bonum but lytle they folw Christ

Faith, which should lead into the knowlege of divine secretness' (verse 11), is set aside when the Reformers 'stand to reason' and refuse the witness of 'patnarchys prophettes ne appostlus' (verse 12). From this accusation, which seems to imply a Lutheran conviction, there follows the scepticism described in verse 21,

Consilium fecerunt consell have they take  
By reason naterrall thi wurkes to dysdayne,

and in verses 14 and 15 the Oxford reformers had already proclaimed their belief in 'the playn gospell taken litterally' (verse 29). Justification by faith was affirmed in the Forty-two Articles, in conformity with Cranmer's own views, and the fervour of the versifiers made attacks the more extreme Reformers.

An even more violent controversy was provoked by the Reformers' views on the Eucharist and the nature of the celebration of Mass. During the reign of Henry VIII, the Ten Articles of 1536 had maintained the Real Presence, Catholic dogma denied

- by Zwingli and Calvin but retained by Luther, who differed in his opinion of the mode of the Real Presence, believing in Consubstantiation rather than Transubstantiation. In 1539 the Three Articles denied the substance of bread and wine, and after 1548 the heresy lay in saying that Communion in both kinds was obligatory, and the controversy became more violent after that time. After a three-day debate on Transubstantiation, the Prayer Book of 1549 compromised about the Real Presence, but in 1553 the Forty-two Articles denied it, so that, as is stated in verse 34, 'the holy sacramentes be had in deuision'.

The Prayer Book of 1549 broke with the Catholic doctrine of the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice by forbidding the Elevation during the prayer of consecration, and it was this change to a communion service which was one of the chief causes of the rebellion in the west country. Luther had denied the sacrificial character of the service, saying that it was rather a communion of the faithful, profiting only the communicant.

Of other ceremonies, these verses raise the question of baptism (verse 34). While the Prayer Book of 1549 had retained exorcism, anointing of the forehead, and the imposition of the chrism, these do not appear in the Prayer Book of 1552. The definition in the Forty-two Articles is Catholic, but Reformers tended to cling to the extreme view.

There is strong feeling in these verses about the Reformers' denial of purgatory, which Lutherans regarded as a myth. The Ten Articles of Henry's reign had said that 'the commandment of charity, no less than the voice of Scripture, prescribes that we should pray for the dead'. As to the whereabouts of Purgatory and the nature of the suffering there, nothing was defined by Scripture, and these questions were left to the wisdom of the Almighty. The Forty-two Articles were more outspokenly condemnatory, declaring the doctrine of the schoolmen regarding purgatory and the invocation of saints to be perniciously repugnant to the Word of God. The versifier says that his opponents are of this opinion, 'purgatory cleue they do forsake' (verse 33), and in verse 39 more forcibly,

What shulde thys meane but that playnly  
Hell noder hevon they non suppose  
For playnly they affume no purgatory  
Ergo no soule no more than a gosse

From this conclusion follows the questioning of penance and mode of confession. Henry VIII had retained auricular confession and the Ten Articles affirmed it to be a Divine Institution, but after 1548, while it was by no means abolished, general confession might be substituted for it. The Articles of 1553 were silent about this point, but Reformers were against auricular confession, as these verses state

Confession auricular. they wull non make  
but where and when theym selfe wul yt shall be. (verse 33)

that is, not necessarily at Easter or within time appointed, nor in their own Parish Church.

The Reformers' detestation of images, ornaments, veneration of the saints, pilgrimages and fasting are also dealt with in the verses, and their stricter measures in the fifties rather than the attempt at compromise during Henry's reign seem to be the cause of the writer's indignation. The Articles of Henry's reign had stressed the direction of worship, not to the material images, but to God and the saints, with the mediation of Christ for grace and the remission of sins. After 1549 Warwick ordered the destruction of images and ornaments, and the writer says the Reformers

say, in effect, 'All ys our owne yff we wull yt sease' (verse 31) and seize 'ornamenta . templi' (verse 32)

As regards pilgrimages, Protestant distrust of these, since they were in many cases rewarded by the remission of sins, continues and increases from the time of Erasmus, so that

Pilgrimage prophetable they wull non have  
Rome Jerusalem with all oder they denye (verse 29)

On the grounds that nothing was binding which was not commanded in the Bible, Reformers from the early sixteenth century did not observe strict fast days. Verse 27 comments on this, 'holy fast also they sett at noght', and the third line of this verse implies that they would have liked to reduce the period of Lent to four weeks instead of seven, that days of fasting might occur less frequently. The 'vigilles', the days of fast and abstinence preceding the four chief feasts of the year, are disregarded, and similarly the 'quarter tense', the Ember Days, fast days of obligation.

The concentration of these verses on these matters of doctrine and discipline and the heat of the writer's opinions seem to indicate that the Reformation was well under way and was tending to extremes. The opposition of faith, in the Catholic tradition, and reason points to the Reformers, mainly nationalist in their views, rejecting even the doctrine of the early Reformers in matters such as the authority of the Church Fathers and implying a rejection of heaven, hell and immortality. It appears impossible to deduce definite evidence of date from the subject-matter or language: the author may well be sharing the bitterness of feeling which reached such intensity after the way had been laid open for Reformers by the repeal of the laws against heresy under Somerset, with the rapid growth of Protestantism under Warwick. If he were Richard Kave, he may well have seen the effect of the Oxford Reformers during his time at Oxford in the early twenties and have become increasingly embittered as he found the Reformation gathering strength.

The verses have the conventional introduction of the *chanson d'aventure* device. This is frequently used for pious and reflective purposes from the fourteenth century onwards, and persists as a popular form in the Tudor period with examples in Elizabethan songbooks.<sup>1</sup> The conventional opening is a description of the season, with the poet walking and meditating in a solitary place, as here, 'after a dyke'. The elaborate description of the day and season recalls the rhetorical pattern of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century English poets and of the Scottish Chaucerians. In many examples of the *chanson d'aventure* form in English, the poet introduced in the opening lines is recalled later in the poem only by the sentiment of the refrain. This was in medieval versions often in Latin, offering a prayer for the mercy of God or expressing the emotion aroused by what he encounters in his solitary wandering. Here the Latin refrain points the contrast between the devout past and the ungodly present, which does not comport itself 'ut patres nostri nunciaverunt'. This phrase appears as the fourth line of alternate verses, adapted to its context by variations in the conjunction, and rhyming with the Latin phrase ending the second line of these verses. The Latin phrases appear to be remembered from the breviary. The chief references are indicated in the footnotes to the text. The general metrical pattern is of quatrains rhyming *a, b, a, b*, the lines being of varying length.

<sup>1</sup> See examples in *England's Helicon*, ed. H. R. Rollins, Harvard University Press, 1935.



- (1) What tyme the super celestyall spere  
Send downe sweett balmes aromatyke  
And tytans beymes schone hoett and clere  
And every tre covert with leyyvs thycke
- (2) Alone as I walkyt after a dyke  
Timor et tremor super me venerunt<sup>1</sup>  
To here so strange newys and none so well to lyke  
Vt patres nostri nunciaverunt<sup>2</sup>
- (3) Merveles we so but miracules non  
Off poudre-prophettes<sup>3</sup> and blyende balam<sup>4</sup> the bold  
Moyses we lack and helese<sup>5</sup> ys gon  
And nathan the prophet that the trowth told
- (4) The wiche Kyng davyth blamyd mony a fold<sup>6</sup>  
Ecce inimici tui domine sonuerunt<sup>7</sup>  
Mervel yt ys thou can thi vengeance hold  
Vt patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (5) Oft have we knowen and heid or thys  
The infinite gudness of the gud god  
Thy marcie mestymable thi wurkes wunderwos  
The sharpness also of thi smart rode
- (6) The thrall of the egyptions that after the pepull rode  
In mari rubro submersi sunt<sup>8</sup>  
With meny oder moe in the worde [sic] abrode  
Quos patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (7) Ismaell amalceh and geball  
Moab agareni with wayward Amon  
Assiu with madian and other no small  
Gyzer and Jabin slayn at syson
- (8) Oryb and zebe with lyke mony moe  
Vt stercor in endor desperierunt  
Zebed and salmana be deed and goyne  
Vt patres nostri nunciaverunt<sup>9</sup>
- (9) Strange be thi wurkes and past all reason farro  
Sore be the strokes and were when they lyght  
Foole of all fooles wel call hym I dai  
That wrastelyth therewith so immesse ys thi myght
- (10) Passing all knowlege that ever came to light  
Fides ys sufficient to know all thi wurkes unwont  
yff fayth be not stydfast we can never know anyght  
Que patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (11) Fayth I say must us induce  
unto the knowlege of divine secretness  
how be yt fayth they refuse  
And stand to reason and wull no wytness

<sup>1</sup> Cf Psalm liv (Hebrew lv), 6 'Timor et tremor venerunt super me'

<sup>2</sup> Cf Psalm xliii (Hebrew xliiv), 2 'patres nostri annuntiaverunt nobis' Variations of this phrase are used *passim*

<sup>3</sup> Cf Wyclif, *Selected Works*, II, 394 'And pes newe ordris ben clepid of Crist pseudoprofetis', and Lydgate, *Assembly of the Gods*, 708 'Pseudo prophetes, false sodomites'

<sup>4</sup> Numbers, xxii-xxiv

<sup>5</sup> 2 Kings

<sup>6</sup> 2 Samuel, xii

<sup>7</sup> Cf Psalm lxxxii (Hebrew lxxxiii), 3 'Quorum ecce inimici tui sonuerunt'

<sup>8</sup> Cf Exodus xv, 4 'Electi principes ejus submersi sunt in mari rubro'

<sup>9</sup> For these references, cf Psalm lxxxii (Hebrew lxxxiii), 7-12

Tabernacula Idumaeorum et Ishmelitarum Moab et Agareni, Gebal, et Ammon, et Amalec alienigenarum cum habitantibus Tyrum

Etenim Assur venit cum illis facti sunt in adiutorium filius Lot

Fac illis sicut Madian et Sisarae sicut Jabin in torrente Cisson

Disperierunt in Endor facti sunt ut stercus terrae

Pone principes eorum sicut Oteb, et Zeb, et Zebec et Salmana Omnes principes eorum

- (12) Off patriarchys prophettes ne appostlus  
martyrs ne confessois nor oder qui probi sunt  
Off lawes ne of customes of long processes  
Que patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (13) Evermore they imagyne all that they can  
To avoyde the sequense of thi awncant name  
What and my fader were hangyd they sey  
Shall that byend me to folw the same
- (14) But when wull they heyle the halt or the lame  
Or speke all languages que non didicerunt  
No dowt they lack grace suche thynges to frame  
Que patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (15) What were they they saye but men as we be  
The lawes and customes that dyd begyne  
What reason had they wyt or ingine  
more than oder have that came of Adams kynne
- (16) Shulde we then trowe theyme and know not wheryn  
Spirat ubi vult spiritus<sup>1</sup> et hi terreni sunt<sup>2</sup>  
may not we jugement gyff enow so gud therin  
Quod patres nostri non nunciaverunt
- (17) The trwth was hyd tyll now they say  
And broght by theyme to light only  
Yett can not I rede nor I wot they  
That Christ our savioure did make a lye
- (18) Ego sum veritas thos sayd he<sup>3</sup>  
Opera que facio de me perhibent<sup>4</sup>  
my fader also that hyder send me  
Vt patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (19) What ys more to trust than publyke fame  
What more of trewth than playn evydence  
now wull they no oder but what theyme selfe frame  
And to the holy mayster they gyff no credience
- (20) Thy sentes and thy sayenges they hang in susspence  
per gladium as men qui non crediderunt  
They crave and thei fasse all after a noder sense  
Quam patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (21) Consilium fecerunt consell have they take<sup>5</sup>  
By reason naterrall thi wurkes to dysdayne  
Sanctos tuos domine<sup>6</sup> and of thi sayntes to make  
Stocks of tre and stone ydolles of wurshyppe vayne
- (22) show playn<sup>6</sup>  
Schevyd by lyke ymages quales hi fuerunt  
Thi servantes and thi sayntes for thi fayth slayne<sup>7</sup>  
Et patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (23) Mony be the wurkes unto this daye found  
For vertuse increse by moralization  
Off sondre holy doctoirs by inspiracon compound  
but now our nu fangulares<sup>8</sup> wull non of this facion

<sup>1</sup> Cf John iii, 8 'spiritus ubi vult spirat'

<sup>2</sup> Cf ibid verse 12 'Si terrena dixi vobis, et non creditis quomodo, si dixero vobis caelestia credetis'

<sup>3</sup> Cf ibid xiv, 6 'Dixit ei Jesus, "Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita"'

<sup>4</sup> Cf ibid v, 36 'ipsa opera, quae ego facio, testimonium perhibent de me'

<sup>5</sup> Cf Psalm lxxviii (Hebrew lxxviii), 4 'Super populum tuum malignaverunt consilium et cogitaverunt adversus sanctos tuos'

<sup>6</sup> Top line shaved off

<sup>7</sup> Cf Matthew xxiii

<sup>8</sup> Cf Chaucer, *Squire's Tale*, 610. The usual form of the noun is 'newfanglist'

- (24) Besely they labor and all for vanacon  
Hierom Austen Ambros et alios spreverunt  
far far un lyke in wunde and operacon  
Quos patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (25) Far unlyke the olde custome god hym selfe knowyth  
And who so attendith and markyt their dedes  
Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos<sup>1</sup>  
And better evidence I thynke no man rede
- (26) Blyende and lame ys heylyn in their nedes  
Churches byeld they non qui te oderunt<sup>2</sup>  
Ut seminant sic metent<sup>3</sup> no come but playne wedes  
Hoc patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (27) And holy fast also they sett at noght  
Noder the vigilles ne chater tense  
In to un partes the lent they wold have broght  
An in conclusyon cleyn dryvon hense
- (28) Off cerimonye fastes they make hve pretense  
In vis tuis non ambulaverunt<sup>4</sup>  
And all to adnull the legall long sense  
Que patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (29) Pylgrimage prophetable they wull non have  
Rome Jerusalem with all oder they denyo  
Prechyng and teachyng bothe they depiaue  
But the playn gospell takon litterally
- (30) Yett did our saviour declare yt moralye  
Ede nobis domine parabolam<sup>5</sup> hanc dixerunt  
And so he did expounde yt unto theyme openly  
Vt patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (31) Dei sanctuarium they crye with open mouth  
possideamus<sup>6</sup> lett us now possesso  
from cyst unto west from north unto south  
All ys our owne yff we wull yt soase
- (32) Ornamenta templi juels more and lass  
What shuld they do there cito puerunt  
Anathema feyre they not nor god how they disples  
Quem patres nostri non nunciaverunt
- (33) Confession auricular synes they wull non make  
but where and when theym selfe wul yt shall be  
penance also purgatory elene they do forsake  
Only they admit yt shall be ryght easy
- (34) Baptym and anoyntment they save be not the thynges necessary  
Ordo et religio obprobrio palam sunt  
Thus the holy sacramentes be had in derision  
Que patres nostri haud nunciaverunt
- (35) Lex by man posityve they study to deprave  
All soe to leyde even as theym selfe lyst  
No law no law and yott they brag they have  
Intellectum bonum but lytle they folw christ

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. vii, 20 'Igitur ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Psalm lxxviii (Hebrew lxxiv), 4 'Et gloriati sunt qui oderunt te'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gal vi, 8 'Quae enim seminauerit homo, haec et metet'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Psalm cxviii (Hebrew cxix), 3 'Non

enim qui operantur iniquitatem in viis eius ambulaverunt'

<sup>5</sup> Matt vii, 20 'Respondens autem Petrus dixit ei Edissere nobis parabolam istam'

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Psalm lxxxii (Hebrew lxxviii), 13 'Qui dixerunt Haereditate possideamus Sanctuarium Dei.'

- (36) The prophett<sup>1</sup> sayeth playnly and hym we may trust  
Intellectus bonus est omnibus enim qui faciunt<sup>2</sup>  
To saye well and do nowght with the turnyng of a fyst  
Hoc patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (37) Example non se I that maye do gud in theyme  
nor yett the selfe wurdas that our saviour christ sayd  
vos eritis mi testes in Jerusalem  
History non familer to theym can not be layd
- (38) In their owne oppenion yt may not be agayne sayd  
Sicut equus et mulus tamen intellexerunt  
Theire owne reason ys best and wurst when truth ys weyd  
Quam patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (39) What shulde thys meane but that playnly  
Hell noder hevon they non suppose  
for playnly they affirme no purgatory  
Ergo no soule no more than a gose
- (40) In my conseat yt fully they propose  
To die as brute bestes que non resurgunt  
And to lyeff in like maner now as the wordle gose  
Vt patres nostri nunciaverunt
- (41) Now graciouse god of thi mere gudness  
Beholde the peple se how thei syke  
Convert that vanytye the fayth to encesse  
Or els to loose all I feyre thou art lyke
- (42) I wolde be petitioner theym thou shulde not stryke  
Verum et preces demolite sunt  
Thy wyll be fulfylde in theyme that thou myslyke  
Que patres nostri nunciaverunt

fms

## II

The second set of verses deals with the common stock, popular from medieval times well into the Elizabethan period, of gnomic verse, proverbs and injunctions concerning behaviour. Parallels of this kind of literature can be found in such collections as Skeat's *Early English Proverbs* or Dyboski's edition for the Early English Text Society of Richard Hill's commonplace book. Lyly's Letter to Philautus in *Euphues* and Polonius's advice to Laertes are in the same vein, though more biased by self-interest.

The verses follow the alphabetical order of the first word of each verse and there is no organization by subject-matter. There is positive advice concerning the pursuit of knowledge, the cultivation of liberality, courtesy, gaiety, grace and the good manners 'which maketh man', thrift and content in domestic life. There are the prohibitions, the shunning of those evils which are the offspring of the Seven Deadly Sins and contrary to the Christian commandments—strife, sloth, lechery, envy, pride and covetousness. There are observations on the vicissitudes of life. Fortune's wheel may turn, but recovery is possible for the honest man. Poverty is to be preferred above riches, because, as another poet, one of the 'uncertain authors' in Tottel's *Miscellany*, says, 'Who climbs to raigne with kings may rue his fate full sore'. The author has a warning like that of Polonius against false friends. To point all this and to make both precept and prohibition more urgent, there is the ever-present fear of death, and the verses end with a final couplet, a prayer for salvation from sin and damnation.

<sup>1</sup> David<sup>2</sup> Psalm cx

The sentiments are tersely expressed in rhyming couplets with two couplets to each letter of the alphabet, except for A, which has four. The introductory four-lined stanza to the whole poem rhymes *a, b, a, b*. The verses for C, D and E were probably on the missing page, and there are no verses for J, U, W or Z.

- Here foloyth a proper trefyse  
 Althoughe vt goo by a b c  
 yet in yt gud reason ys  
 Rede yt over and ye shall se
- A And thou wyst what thyng vt were  
 Conyng to lerne and with tho to bere  
 Thou woldyst never myspend an houre  
 For of all tresure conyng ys flowre  
 Yff thou wylt lyve in peace and rest  
 here and se and saye the best  
 where ever thou be in bowre or hall  
 be curtys and mery honest and liberall
- B Beware my son ever of had I wyst  
 hard ys to know who oen may trust  
 A trusty freynd ys hard to fyend  
 non ys more fam than oen unkyend

[Two pages=four quatrains lost here C, D and E of these verses, and the first, probably dealing with Hector, of the *Nine Worthies*]

- F Feleshyp the with theyme that be honest  
 And they wull of the report the best  
 for as the proverbe doyth specifye  
 Lyke wull to lyke in yche cumpany
- G Grace and gud maners makyth a man  
 whobegoen ys he that no gud can  
 Better yt ys to have vertu & conyng  
 Than to be lewd with the ryches of a kyng
- H Hevy of hert loke that thou not be  
 lett honest cumpany conforth the  
 Iff thou be troubled with inconvenyence  
 Arme the alwaye with inward pacience
- I Inure the with theyme that be wyse  
 Than to ryches thou shalt arryse  
 Iff fortune thence the to povertye caste  
 By wysdome recoverance maye be had at the last
- K Kepe vertu with vertu and groe to grace  
 And from the pore turne not thi face  
 thynk on thy endyng as nye as thou can  
 Thou knowyst not how where nor whan
- L Love best thy lord god and creator  
 and as thy selfe love thy nebor  
 Dysdayne no man thow he have offendyt  
 The best of us all sum tyme may be amendyt
- M Make of thys world not to moche trust  
 The ryches theroff wyll turne to dust  
 whan thou hast gathered al that thou maye  
 Thou shal depart and knowst not what waye
- N Nye not thi nebor in wurde nor dede  
 But glad to farther hym with al thy spede  
 Where love and frenshyp with neborse ys had  
 The dwellers there be joyfully bestad

- Other mennys guds by wrong do not use  
 O by false wytnesse do no man accuse  
 Sclander no man never for no evyl wyll  
 Off well sayeng cummyth never yll
- Prouddnesse in hert loke that thou eschew  
 P pride will make hys master commonly to rew  
 with thy estate be ever content  
 And kepe thy houshold after thy rent
- Questyon not besely of no tythynges  
 Q All troath lyeth not in tythynges  
 And medull not of thi privie business  
 A great medlar ys ofttymes restless
- Ruly thyselfe alwaye after thyne estate  
 R Excesse commonly doyth sone abate  
 bewar ryot for yt ys a shrew  
 and with cunnyn robbers medle but few
- Stryve not with thi better lest thou have the worse  
 S Stryve [*sic*] not with thi felw lest yt cost thi purse  
 To stryve with thi subiect yt were great shame  
 Therefore lyve quyety and gyet the a gud name
- Turmoyle not to moche for wordly ryches  
 T nor yet be to slouthfull in thy business  
 An unthryft ys he that spendyth in vayne  
 And to moche anygard ys but a vilayne
- Vyces ofthen comyng of lecherye  
 V Of comyn brothels beware the trechery  
 For as meat and drynke ys kyendly sustenance  
 So ought you of nature to have the governance
- Xyle fro thi howse al rancor noyse and strive  
 X Accordyng to reason love well thy wyeff  
 Within thy howse applye thy busyness  
 And kepe thy servants ever from ydulnes
- Yeve thy selfe to vertuse exercyse  
 Y In redyng of bookes wheryn vertu lyse  
 yt ys a vertu above al thyng  
 To be occupied with vertu conyng or lernyng } *finis*
- Jesu for thy endless mercy and thy bytter passion  
 Save us fro syn and shame and endless dampnacion <sup>1</sup>

OXFORD  
 LONDON

J. G. MILNE  
 ELIZABETH SWEETING

<sup>1</sup> On the margins of a copy of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, 1488, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, see also *M L R* XL (April 1945), 85-9

# 'A FORREST TRAGAEDYE IN VACUNIUM'

## I THE AUTHOR AND THE MSS

William Percy was the third but second surviving son of the eighth earl of Northumberland and heir presumptive to his brother the ninth earl until 1602, when the earl's eldest surviving son was born. William's birth is generally dated 1575, but was more probably in 1573, as his father in a letter, dated 1573, says that his wife is pregnant,<sup>1</sup> and in the famous law-suit of 1668, in which James Percy the trunk-maker of Dublin claimed to be heir male of the Percy family, part of the defence rested on the fact that Richard, one of William's younger brothers, was born in 1575.<sup>2</sup> William went up to Oxford in 1589 and was a student at Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, but took no degree. His only published work was issued in 1594, a sequence of *Sonnets to the Fairest Coelia*. He lived most of his life at Oxford, and in his last years, during the siege, he made three copies of the plays that he wrote in his young manhood some fifty years before. Two of the MSS contain also a series of epigrams dated 1610, but covering the years 1594-1610. The third MS is incomplete, breaking off in the middle of a play; it is undated, but there is an allusion in it to 1644. William Percy died in 1648.

One of the complete MSS is now in the Huntington Library in California; it is dated 1647. The incomplete MS and the other complete MS, dated 1646, are in the MS library at Alnwick Castle. All the quotations in this paper are from the 1646 MS at Alnwick. Some years ago I had permission to read in Alnwick Castle Library, and there I made a study of William Percy's MSS, while at the same time Professor Hillebrand of Urbana University, Illinois, was studying the copy in the Huntington Library, and kindly gave me much help and information. In *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, I, no. 4, July 1938, p. 409, Professor Hillebrand published a summary of the plot of *A Forrest Tragaedye in Vacunium*, but he did not enter into the questions of the sources and allusions.

## II THE CHORUS

William Percy's plays have practically no literary value, but they have considerable social interest, as they reflect the manners, the interests and the gossip of the period 1601-3. They also claim study as the only surviving works of a nobleman author, and give us some idea of what the lost plays of William Stanley, Earl of Derby, for example, may have been like.

*A Forrest Tragaedye in Vacunium* is dated 1602 and is Percy's only tragedy. The most interesting part of it is the chorus, which shows signs of Italian influence. Percy tells us himself in his epigrams that he learnt Italian at Oxford, and the play is the outcome of these studies. The prologue and chorus are derived from a magnificent entertainment called *Il Sacrificio* produced in 1531 by the Academy of the Intronati (Thunder-struck) of Siena. It opened with a sacrifice to Cupid, at which the members of the Academy bewailed their unsuccessful love affairs and made offerings of sonnets upon the god's altar. This was followed by the comedy *Gl' Ingannati* (The Deceived) about a brother and sister who were exactly alike, from which, through various intermediaries, Shakespeare derived the plot

<sup>1</sup> De Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, II, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* II, pp. 210-12, 365, 486.

of *Twelfth Night* An account of the whole entertainment was published in 1537<sup>1</sup>

The opening of *A Forrest Tragaedye* is adapted from *Il Sacrificio*, but Percy substituted tragic lovers of legendary fame for the members of the Academy, and the means by which they ended their lives for the sonnets offered on the altar of Cupid At the end of the first act there is the direction

*Transitus Chori*

They met and intermixt Man and Woman, Woman and Man, betweene each their Fyles, waites playing on as they passed along

After each of the other acts there is a similar *Transitus Chori* with the waits playing During their *transitus* there are two choruses marked I and II Each lover in turn has a few lines on the power of love, on his or her own story, or a comment on the play Either chorus I or chorus II (usually I) is in four-line verses, of which each lover in turn speaks one The other chorus is distributed irregularly among them At the end of the second chorus the consort is 'knocked up', that is, the signal is given for the orchestra to play, from which it appears that the play required two orchestras, the waits and the consort The most important point about the chorus is that the music was to play while its members spoke their lines, as this is an early example of *recitativo* at a time when it was beginning as an experiment in Italy and was almost unknown in England William Percy was a friend of Thomas Campion, and exchanged epigrams with him Campion's masque for the first marriage of Lord Hay in 1607 is of great interest in the development of English opera on account of the Italian influence shown in it Ten years later, in 1617, Lord Hay gave a masque in honour of the French ambassador, *Lovers Made Men*, written and composed by Nicholas Lanier, in which 'the whole masque was sung after the Italian manner, stylo recitativo' 'It is possible', E J Dent writes, 'that Lord Hay was more than usually interested in music, since Campion's masque to celebrate his marriage is also exceptional in its musical importance'<sup>2</sup> Lord Hay's second wife, whom he married in 1617, was William Percy's niece Lucy, the Earl of Northumberland's second daughter In 1602 Lord Hay was a mere commoner in Scotland, and Lucy was a child of two, but that Campion's friend William Percy was already experimenting with Italian *recitativo* is a link in the development of opera in England

Percy seems to have written his plays for amateur performance in the household of his brother the Earl of Northumberland, but he had an ambition that they should be acted in public by the Children of Paul's, one of the companies of boy actors which were the fashionable whim of the moment round about 1600 In the stage directions of his plays dated 1601-3 he carefully puts on record the alterations which would be necessary for production at Paul's, where he could not have the elaborate effects and properties which he loved For Paul's, he notes, the double chorus must be left out, and instead, Anthony and Cleopatra appear between the scenes as commentators, speaking only a few lines of the full choruses

The MS of the play opens with a full but very involved description of the characters and setting, it was one of Percy's defects that he could not write plain English

The title of the play is either 'A Country Tragaedye in Vacunum or Cupid's Sacrifice' or 'A Forrest Tragaedye in Vacunum or Loves Sacrifice' Vacunum is

<sup>1</sup> *Twelfth Night*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, p. xii

<sup>2</sup> E J Dent, *The Foundations of English Opera*, pp. 2, 8, 21, 26, 29, 43



the name of the imaginary country where the action takes place<sup>1</sup>. After the title in the MS there is as usual a quotation

Sævus Amor docuit sociorum sanguine Frates  
Commaculare manus, crudelis tu quoq, Frater,  
Crudelis Frater magis<sup>1</sup> an Puer Improbus ille<sup>1</sup>  
Improbus ille Puer, crudelis tuquoq, Frater

Ec 8 Vng

*The Names of the Persons*

The Presenter	
Tremelio	A Knight appareld in greene and with wood knif
Fulvia <sup>2</sup>	wife unto Tremelio
Florimel	Their daughter and Heire
Amadour	A French lord a man perfectly grown about some fifty
Affranio	Freind to Tremelio
Vasco	Page to Amadour
Rhodaghond	waiting woman to Florimel <sup>3</sup>
Clodio	A Pusne Gentleman a yonger Brother, An Italian
Sir Jeptes	a scholler
Livio	An old servant, in Black velvet, And in long-thick- short-white-graye Haire His character
Sohier	steward unto Amadour
A viccar	with long staff, short cloak and Habit
A Vision of Three Mourners	
Women 5	
The Chorus	

*Note* Thus for Poules A Countye Tragaedy in Vacunium For Actois A Forrest Tragaedy in Vacunium by reason of their severall two chorus, The one but Private the other most Magnificent viderint Actores utriusq generis de singulis inde correctis

*The Properties*

Tremelios Castell, Affranios Mannour, Sir Clodios Desmonc Ouer the midde doore in capitall letters Cupids Groue, with a little Cupid erect upon an Altar sub Dio, and deckt with sundry Boughs and Kinds of frutes. Next Amadours Garden A Canopie with chaire and cushion of state within him, And with a velvet stoole by without the canopie A cupbord with Faire linnen couerd by Amadours Garden The Title aloft and aboue, A Forrest Tragaedy in Vacunium or Cupids Sacrifice one of the Two, the first in respect of Roome for the Scene Two opposite seates for the chorus Men and women. Lastly, if you may not for company, you may then leaue the seyd cupbord couerd with linnen (Albeit it will shewe more stately and Tragickall in the last Tragick Act) And passe ouer the stage with the huery of Plate but, as you may both alter, as also obserue in beginning of the Fifth Act of this tragaedy. Thus for some if so it shall happen. Finally the stage well deckt with greene boughs

*Introtus Chori*

Here Enterd Eight Paramours Men and women with a song, All crownd with ghirlonds of Myrtle, bearing each in Procession the severall Instrument of their deaths, Cleopatra, Dido, [Artemisia] Sophonisba,<sup>4</sup> Porcia with Aspes, Sword, Mazer, Burning coales, Anthony, Narcissus, That Athenian who went unamed for cause of Enormity of the Fact, and Iphis, with Dagger, Looking glasse, Els pouring ouer Forine of a greene well

<sup>1</sup> In act v, scene iv, we are told that the ruler of the country is Guasto Duke of Vacunium and that the noblemen who attend him are Camillo, Bentivole, Lepido, Collinio, Orsino, Novoli, Gonsaguna, Columna, Flamino, from which it might appear that Vacunium was an Italian duchy, but Clodio is distinguished from the rest of the cast as an Italian, and Italian is one of the languages which Jeptes might, but does not,

teach Florimel. The situation of Vacunium must therefore remain unknown

<sup>2</sup> Lolha in the 1644 MS

<sup>3</sup> Rhodaghond is a black slave girl

<sup>4</sup> The alteration of Sophonisba for Artemesia seems to be a belated compliment to John Marston, probably made by Percy when he copied the play in his old age. Percy's play *The Faery Pastorall* shows traces of Marston's influence

stuck about with white Daphodilles (whither the better) And Venus well carued Idole borne in the armes of the Athenian, And An Hempen Halter by Iphis After followd the Presenter with Plot of the Tragaedy They offered then seuerall Instruments on Cupid his Altar, The Presenter his Plot, In manner of an Inuocation Muffled in a cloake of black veluet, copious Bayes about his Hatt and Red Buskins upon his Legges The rest kneeling all about him

The chorus sings a song to Cupid, after which the Presenter explains who they are and what their symbols mean He also announces the scene and the names of the principal characters in the tragedy, then offers a prayer to Cupid on behalf of 'our Poet', the author of the play

*The Direction*

Here the chorus tooke their Places on either syde the stage, The Presenter remayning as Prologue after he had placed all their Things on Cupid his Altar

The chorus make their *transitus* between the scenes of the play, commenting and moralizing upon the action At the end, when the stage is strewn with corpses, there is the direction

*Accubitus Chori*

Here they tooke all away not before

'Accubitus' means 'reclining at table', which indicates that the chorus at this point grouped themselves round the table that was brought in at the beginning of the scene This movement would screen the removal of the bodies by the stage attendants

There follows a scene between the Presenter and the Chorus, in which they discuss the faults of the play This must have been suggested to Percy by an event in dramatic history which took place when he was at Oxford At Shrovetide 1591/2 there were performed at Christ Church, Oxford, three Latin plays, two of them, *Rivales*, a comedy, and *Ulysses Redux*, a tragi-comedy, by William Gager, and the third Seneca's *Hippolytus* with additions by Gager After the performances of the three plays on three consecutive nights there was a 'device', by Gager, in which there appeared Momus, 'a carper and a pincher at all thinges that are done with any opinion of well dooinge', who criticized and ridiculed the three plays, and attacked acting and plays in general Then came an 'Epilogus Responsivus' in which the criticisms of Momus were answered, and Momus himself was held up to ridicule This device very much offended John Ramolds of Queen's College, a puritan who disapproved of all plays, including those acted in colleges He had refused to be present at the Shrovetide performances, and believed that Gager meant to caricature him as Momus From this there resulted a long and bitter controversy over academic drama<sup>1</sup> Percy must have known all about this, he does not enter into the general question, but in imitation of Gager he makes his chorus conduct a literary debate on the play In the professional theatre at this time (1602) Jonson had introduced a fashion for making a group of characters comment on the play, but this was usually the prologue, not the epilogue, the professional dramatists having probably discovered that audiences will not wait for a discussion after the play is over The following passage is Percy's apology for the chorus

[Objector] Has brought a Chorus of too greate Presence for a crewe of Foriosters

[Defender] Not much a misse it is he has so Habitarunt Du quoq Sylvas

[Objector] But where has he inserted any one morrall saying to odifye his audience by? say againe, Lords and Ladyes.

<sup>1</sup> Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, pp 197, 203, 233-48

[Defender] Each scene beares its Morallity in its self

[Objector] Nay, nay, where but any one signification of them? say.

[Defender] Enow of them in the chorus you might haue obserud

The presenter then speaks the epilogue and the chorus goes out

#### *Eritus Chori*

Here the chorus went furth with a song, All making their obeysaunce to Cupids altar At their gongs furth, The Presenter going before them and bearing up, in his armes, the little Idole of the God, which he had taken from off the Altar, The chorus all standing up an end, till he had perfourmed the seruice, and had deliuered to each their seuerall and former offerings

### III. SOURCES OF THE MAIN PLOT

The main plot of *A Forrest Tragaedye* is an adaptation of the first novel of the fourth day in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The story was first dramatized in England under the name of *Gismonde of Salerne in Love* by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, where it was acted in the winter of 1567-8. It was in five acts, each act being written by a different author, act iv was composed by Christopher Hatton, and it is curious to remember that William Percy believed his father to have been murdered by Hatton's orders. This is a reminder that Elizabethan tragedies of blood were not so very remote from real life. The author of the last act was Robert Wilmot, who published a revised version of the play in 1591 with the title of *Tancred and Gismunda*. A MS. of the original play exists, but William Percy is more likely to have known the published version.

*Gismonde of Salerne in Love* had a chorus of four, and also elaborate dumb shows between the acts, from which Percy took the themes of his choruses. Cupid spoke the prologue, boasting of his power and cruelty, with many classical examples. Percy used this and also the choruses in act i, scene iii, a lament over reversals of fortune, act ii, scene iii, examples of faithful lovers of old, including Queen Artemise and Porcia, act ii, scene i, more boasting by Cupid of his power and of the tragedy he is causing, act iv, scene iv, praise of moderate and faithful love. In *Gismonde*, act iv, scene i, Megara rose out of Hell to denounce disaster upon the house, with many classical examples, this must have suggested the incident in *A Forrest Tragaedye*, act iv, scene vi, when 'Three Mourners in black gowns and Hoodes' appear from Erebus to Fulvia and Jeptes to prophesy 'the fall and rootly Extirpation of your high stemme and family'. Fulvia's last speech in *A Forrest Tragaedye* has a strong resemblance to Gismonde's in the same circumstances.

Boccaccio's novella had already been dramatized in Italy by Antonio Cammelli, who in 1499 wrote the first Italian tragedy *Filostrato e Panfila*, acted at Ferrara, which has the same plot. The English play was taken directly from Boccaccio and not from this play, but Percy seems to have known the Italian tragedy, as he takes from it the important detail that the lovers were betrayed by a discontented servant, instead of their intrigue being discovered merely by chance.

In the Italian tragedy of *Filostrato e Panfila*, King Tancred is replaced by Demetrio, King of Thebes, and his daughter's name is Panfila instead of Gismunda. The lover is called Filostrato and, as in Boccaccio's story, he is a young man below Panfila in station, a mere servant. In both the English plays he is a nobleman. Demetrio shows particular kindness to Filostrato, and commends him to Panfila, as in *A Forrest Tragaedye* Tremelio is the particular friend of Afframio. In act ii, Filostrato confides his assignation with Panfila to Tindaro, a discontented courtier. In order to be revenged upon Demetrio by bringing about the dishonour of his

daughter, Tindaro reveals to Filostrato the secret of the vault beneath her chamber. In act III Pandero, the King's secretary, is alarmed by a dream that two harpies defiled the palace and surrounded it with blood, and the Three Fates speak a chorus on the theme of 'All are born to die', while in act V Panfila has a vision of Filostrato's fate. These scenes may have contributed to Percy's act IV, scene VI.<sup>1</sup>

The chief alteration that Percy made in the story was to change the trio of father, daughter and lover into the more commonplace triangle of husband, wife and lover, Tremelio, Fulvia and Afranio. Fulvia confides her secret to Rhodaghond, the black slave girl, without realizing that she has put herself into the girl's power. Later she flies into a rage with Rhodaghond, and boxes her ears, in revenge the slave contrives that Tremelio shall be present at the lovers' meeting.

This is, of course, the great scene of the play. Tremelio enters expecting to find Afranio, but as the room is empty he resolves

I'll lap me in the canopie and steale  
A gratefull noone-tyde slumber till hee come.

The direction is

He folded his heade in the canopie and sat on the stoole without the Canopie, leaning his heade on the Cushion within that lay ouerthwart the chaire.<sup>2</sup>

Fulvia and Afranio enter, and their conversation leaves no doubt of the relations between them. Presently there is the direction

Here he layd him on the Floore within the Canopie along in Fulvia's lap, which done Fulvia sung the song that Followes

This song begins with the only two musical lines which Percy ever wrote.<sup>3</sup> After one has struggled through his harsh blank verse, they come as an absolute shock of surprise. The rest of the song does not attain their level, but it is much more musical than most of Percy's songs.

Sleepe all my sorrowes in thy closed eyes,  
Sleepe on, sweet Loue, till I shall bid awake,  
The totall Treasure, of my comfort, lyes  
Within the circles of my Loue his wake.  
Unto thyself a pleasant slumber take  
Till I shall bid my loue arrise and wake.

<sup>1</sup> Cunliffe, *Early English Classical Tragedies*, pp. LXXIV-IX, LXXXVI-IX, 165, 167, 175, 182-3, 210-12.

<sup>2</sup> The description of this scene in the 'argument of the play' in the printed version of *Tancred and Gismunda* is as follows: '[Gismunda] gave [her lover] to understand a convenient way for their desired meeting, through an old forgotten vault, one mouth whereof opened directly under her chamber floore. Into this vault when she was one day descended for the conveyance of her lover, her father in the meane season (whoe's only joy was in his daughter) came to her chamber. Not finding her there, and supposing her to have ben walked abroad for her disporte, he sate him downe at her beddes fote, and covered his head with the cortine, mynding to abide and rest there till her returne. She, nothing knowing of this her father's unseasonable coming, brought

up her lover out of the cave to her chamber. There her father, espieing then secret love, and he not espied of them, was upon the sight stricken with marvellous greife.'

On the stage the arrangement must have been that Fulvia's chair was set in the small curtained space called the canopy, which it almost filled. A long cushion lay across the chair with its ends hanging down on each side. Tremelio's stool was just outside the canopy. When he sat on it he was able to lean his head on the end of the cushion projecting from the chair, while at the same time he drew the curtain of the canopy round him so that he was invisible to the lovers when they entered later.

<sup>3</sup> The metre is that of George Peele's 'His golden locks time has to silver turned', *Poly-hymna*, 1590.

My care is past, if he shall doe but well,  
 My weale will growe if he shall rest in Peace,  
 My Peace will stand if he my loue right spell,  
 The spell I proue if he do think of no release,  
     For would I rather the whole world forgoe  
     Then that he in lapse should leaue me so

Come louely Loue and rest thee in my Armes,  
 As I shall thee, ne'er Smilax Crocus bound,  
 Thy hed lay free, in lap, from all Alaymes,  
 That may thee fright through Feare or sudden Stound,  
     But now, my Loue, awake, I grue thee free,  
     So kisse me too in homage of the fee

Then they bid each other farewell

The direction is

They being departed both, Tremelio starteth furth the canopie and speakes as followes in furious and reuengfull sort

Tremelio pursues Afframio to the forest, where the scene opens with a long soliloquy addressed by Afframio directly to the audience, 'faire Gentlemen'<sup>1</sup> There is then a short Echo scene, Afframio calling to Echo, which he always calls 'Ech'', and Tremelio in the character of Echo, making ominous replies Finally, Tremelio murders the unsuspecting Afframio, and according to the stage direction 'loosed his Breast with his shouldring knife and took furth his Hearte' 'Loose' and 'shouldring knife' are hunting terms

At the end of the play, while Fulvia is lamenting the death of their daughter Florimel, the herome of the undeplot, Tremelio enters 'with bloody hands' Fulvia calls upon him to join in her grief, but he sweeps aside his daughter's death summarily

Fulvia, of that Anone, But to the Thing  
 Wee haue in hand, or take down thou, this liquor,  
 Or with this balefull knife dispatch thyself.

The liquor is Afframio's heart pound-powdred in wyne', in accordance with the Gismond of Salerne story

Fulvia first takes the cup, and laments over it, then declares that she is not worthy of such a draught, whereupon Tremelio offers her the knife She seizes it and instantly stabs him dead, to avenge Afframio

Rhodaghond and Jeptes, the two other characters on the stage, have so far taken no part in the affair, but now they attempt to arrest Fulvia She drives them off with the knife, then squeezes the poisoned citron (see below) into Tremelio's cup, and after a long soliloquy drinks the contents with the words

I come, Afframio, Afframio, I come  
 And with this drink I drink my soule unto thee,

which seem to contain an echo of Juliet's

Romeo, I come, thus do I drink to thee

She then makes a very long dying speech, and finally dies

<sup>1</sup> Afframio describes three evil omens which befell him that morning The second is

The skie, without signe or summon,  
 Poured such bounding showres of tyre and  
 haylestones  
 So plentifull and that so wonderfull  
 With streamers and with flags of fyre  
 That with the blast I seemd Empedocles

When the Earl of Essex rode out from London on his way to embark for Ireland on 27 March 1599 the sky was clear and weather fine, but before he had passed Islington there was a sudden burst of thunder and lightning with hail and rain, which some people held to be an unlucky portent G. B. Harrison, *Last Elizabethan Journal*, 1599-1603, p. 14

## IV THE SUB-PLOT

Boccaccio's story of Gismunda of Salerno is translated in Paynter's *Palace of Pleasure*, and though Percy knew both the English and the Italian plays on the subject, he must also have read Paynter's version. Amadour in act III, scene iii, orders his servant to follow him to his Palace of Pleasure,<sup>1</sup> the name Amadour is derived from another of Paynter's tales, about a middle-aged knight called Amadour and a young princess called Florinda (not Florimel), but except for the names and ages the story has nothing in common with *A Forrest Tragaedye*.

The under-plot, of which Amadour and Florimel are hero and heroine, is taken not from literature but from contemporary French politics, Percy hints at this, and at the same time tries to disguise it a little by making Amadour a Frenchman who serves King Francis, thus implying that the period is historical, not contemporary. Marlowe had already brought recent affairs in France on to the stage in *The Massacre of Paris*, and Chapman was to follow his lead with his Bussy d'Ambois and Byron plays. Percy comes between them, they both belonged to the circle of his brother the Earl of Northumberland and of Sir Walter Raleigh.

In 1599 Henri IV of France resolved to divorce his childless wife Marguerite de Valois and to marry again. His own desire was to marry his principal mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, who had already borne him children and was expecting another, but his marriage with her was extremely unpopular, and there was a strong party in favour of an alliance with Marie de Medici, the niece of Ferdinand of Tuscany. Gabrielle, however, felt so sure of her position that she ordered her wedding dress. At Easter 1599 she was entertained to supper by an Italian financier Zamet. Next day she walked in his garden, where she was taken ill. She went back to her lodging at the deanery of St Germain l'Auxerrois, and rapidly became worse. Three days later she died, after giving birth to a still-born child. The medical evidence was that her death was due to natural causes, and the King seems to have been satisfied that this was so, but it was commonly said that she had eaten a poisoned lemon at Zamet's supper party. Some said that Zamet himself had poisoned her, others that he had nothing to do with it, but that some Italian in his household had been secretly bribed by Ferdinand of Tuscany.<sup>2</sup>

The truth of the rumour does not matter here. The point is that Florimel in *A Forrest Tragaedye* suffers the alleged fate of Gabrielle d'Estrées. She chooses her wedding gown, she walks in a garden, she eats a poisoned lemon at supper and dies. To be perfectly accurate, Gabrielle ate the lemon first and walked in the garden afterwards, while Florimel reversed the incidents, but that is unimportant. Then there is the incident in the life of Percy's friend Barnabe Barnes, of the lemon given by Barnes to John Browne, and handed on by Browne to Waad, which Browne

<sup>1</sup> Act III, scene iii, is a dialogue between Amadour and his page Vasco, who is dressing him.

*Amadour* Come on, Sir, let mee see, whither as fast as you do tye the points of my hose, contrary you do untye these quaestions I shall propound unto you now.

Amadour praises his lady, and Vasco makes the usual serving-man's jokes on the subject.

*Amadour* But come, what thinkest thou of her delicate white hand? now

*Vasco* The finer they be they be the fitter for filching.

*Amadour* The Gold of Hippomenes will not breede such an Itch in her finger, I troe.

*Vasco* The Gold of Hippomenes was but a Sivile orange, my Lord, the Gold of Eldorado may well sett them working.

*Amadour* A whole carrack of Gold will not conquer her.

*Vasco* Yet my Lady may conquer the Carrack, my Lord.

A rich carrack was captured in Cozumbia Roads and brought into Plymouth in June 1602. G. B. Harrison, *A Last Elizabethan Journal*, 1599-1603, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs de Sully* (1814 ed.), II, pp. 481-3, Quentin Hurst, *Henry of Navarre*, pp. 152-3, John Blondell-Burton, *The Fate of Henry of Navarre*, pp. 119, 121-4, 131-3.

and Waad alleged to have been poisoned This also has a likeness to the death of Florimel, as the lemon she ate was intended for Amadour, and it was only because she took a fancy to the fruit that he, suspecting nothing wrong, gave it to her Professor Eccles has pointed out that Baines felt no shame about the affair of Browne's poisoning, so there was no unkindness on Percy's part in introducing a similar incident into his play <sup>1</sup>

Florimel has two suitors, Amadour and Clodio, she prefers Amadour, who is a middle-aged Frenchman, on bad terms with her father, because he was ordered to confiscate some crown lands which Tremelio had taken possession of As her father will not consent to the marriage, Florimel agrees with Amadour to come to his house, accompanied by her slave Rhodaghond, where the vicar of the parish will marry them Clodio, the other suitor, is an Italian, he perceives that he has some rival whom Florimel prefers, but he cannot discover who this rival is

Florimel has a tutor, Jeptes, a Frenchman, who teaches her Spanish and Greek, and her suitors think it well to make friends with the tutor Clodio complains to Jeptes about the ill-success of his suit, and threatens to commit suicide Jeptes restrains him, and promises to poison the rival if he can be discovered This scene has a slight resemblance to *The Spanish Tragedy*, act II, scene 1, where Lorenzo questions Pedringano about the man whom Belimperia prefers

Later Amadour meets Jeptes on his way to give Florimel her morning lecture, 'with a book in velume, gilt leaves and Ribond, Bound' Amadour greets him as his honest countryman, and questions him about Florimel's studies. Jeptes says that she is learning Greek and Spanish Why not French? asks Amadour

*Jeptes.* For she sayes, it is but a Merchand Tounge,  
And she has not, to any, ware to sell

Amadour then inquires what books they study

*Jeptes* For the Greek Lucians Dialogues, Sir,  
For the Spanish Mount Maiors Pastourall <sup>2</sup>

*Amadour* Why the Greeke and Spanish? saye *Jeptes* For by cause  
She being a Lady both Active and witty,  
Withall most stately in her carriage,  
No Touns can better fitt her, she supposes,  
Then the Actiue Greeke and haughty Spanish

*Amadour* Yet the French might be some Accession  
To hir Actruity, For it is a Tounge,  
Both hott and Fiery in its deluery.

Clodio lurks about Tremelio's castle hoping to surprise Florimel and discover her secret Act II, scene IV, begins with the direction 'A cushion cloth and table here brought forth' The scene is therefore Florimel's chamber Clodio conceals himself and watches while Rhodaghond performs Florimel's toilet The chatter of the two girls is perhaps worth copying

*Florimel* Hast thee, good Rhodaghond, hast thee, sweet wench,  
Farr forth as Art and Nature will afford mee

*Clodio.* I will be pleasing in my Louers eye  
Eye ' and Loue ' yet the Man not namd ' Ha.  
O chaunce, O Fate, O dismal Atropos

*Rhodaghond* If Nature had allotted mee but half  
The Faire she hath endewd your Honour with,  
I troe I would not spill so large a grace  
With Paintings, oyles and slabberdash of Art.

<sup>1</sup> Mark Eccles, *Barnabe Barnes*, pp. 177, 189, 234, in *Thomas Lodge and other Elizabethans*, ed. C. J. Sisson

<sup>2</sup> *Diana*, by Jorge de Montemayor, circa 1560

- Florimel* Thou talkest Idlely, wench, I defy thou talkest,  
As though the Potentates of Heauen themselues  
Were not to be bettered much by Art
- Rhodaghond* Art mixt with beauty by men once known  
Will make the Thing itself not seeme its own.
- Florimel* Say, hadst euer a Louer? *Rhodaghond*  
*Clodio* Pox upon this forespoken Destinie  
Now they be falln into another keye
- Rhodaghond* Why does your honour ask the Question?
- Florimel* For by thy talk, it seemes thou hadst not any.
- Rhodaghond* Then know, Madame, and that assuredly  
I have one and one too of Qualitie
- Florimel* Whom? I prithe, sweet
- Rhodaghond* Sir Jeptes, Madame
- Florimel* Jeptes? Trust mee, a conformable match,  
But tell mee, prithy, pretie *Rhodaghond*,  
For what should Sir Jeptes fancye thee?  
Or for thy faue face, or for thy good body?
- Rhodaghond* Lady myne, though I be black, you be white,  
Aegypt do paint, they say, their Diuell white,  
And why might not then, I pray, Sir Jeptes,  
That hath Aegyptus wisdome in his Breast  
Account my black as faire as you your white?
- Florimel.* What seest in him, woman, to affect him so?  
He is a beggar and an Alchymist,  
And as some haue th' Imagination  
He is a conuurer and deales with sprights.
- Rhodaghond* Madame, in any canton of the world  
His Alchymie will find his beggerie,  
For Sprights, as Two wee carry still about us  
Hee'l chase the bad he neuer come aneynst us  
If so I were disposd I could tell you  
A Part worth scores of these.
- Florimel* What? I prithy.
- Rhodaghond* With tender fetters of his veluet lines  
Hee'l drawe your plyaunt eare which way he pleases
- Florimel* Worse and worse, good *Rhodaghond*, worse and worse,  
Unum est sed magnum vitium quod est Poeta.  
But tell mee, prithy, my good *Rhodaghond*,  
Hast any his verses about thee? saye
- Rhodaghond* But one Sonnet, to us, in Prayse of Black
- Clodio* That Sonnet white before he did him black  
He reade, to mee, in Prayse of *Florimel*
- Florimel* Whilst wee do lace us let us heare his stuff
- Rhodaghond* Madame, willingly
- Florimel* But reade, I prithy

*The Sonnet*

1

How should I prayse, enough, this Black of hewe?  
That, in forme and shape, is so lyke to you.  
How shall I paint a stoiye trewe and newe,  
Each point this Black that so resembles Fewe.

2

Black is the Jeate adornes our Boanes depose,  
Black is the Night, to all, that brings Repose,  
Black is the crown of graund and goodly Dis,  
Black be the Prunes of Damascus I wisse



## 3

Oh let not white, with Black stand in compare,  
 Oh let not white with Black contend and square,  
 Oh let not white, with Black, on own self glorie,  
 Oh let not white Blacks burning beauty slurie

## 4

In chesse Men white, with Men Black, do couple,  
 The white gilt, by Black Fumes, be made souple,  
 Where, in Black Mourners, the Black's in his might,  
 There th' Innocent white yeilds but small delight

## 5

Then in Black Ink, I end, loe, my Black Ludden  
 Thus in Black Ink, on Black, I conclude sudden,  
 How shall I commend, enough, this Black in you?  
 That is, in each Place, of so louely hewe?

*Clodio* That was not the sonnet of Black I meant  
*Florimel.* Rhodaghond? was this of his own penning?  
*Rhodaghond* Yes, I assure you, what say you to him?  
*Florimel* I say that he might haue spent his Ink better  
 But hast, I prithy.  
*Rhodaghond* Which gown will you were?  
*Florimel* The dun-cullour of thy complexion  
*Rhodaghond* Where shall I find him? bright-eye Florimel  
*Florimel* In the black standar, Meath toung Rhodaghond.  
*Rhodaghond* Why not? pray, in the foole-cullour Trunk  
*Florimel* There thou layest last night, whilst thou wert drunk  
 (*Here she went foorth for the gown*)  
*Clodio.* Now Cupid and you golden Charities  
 Assist mee in my sudden poleeye,  
 And Venus ayde mee in my bold attempt  
 (*He hoodwinkt her with both hands standing behind her*)  
*Florimel* Lord Amadour (For it is you am sure)  
 Will you steale on a woman cowardly  
 Before she be prouided, fully, for you,  
 To gue, to you, the lyke reuenge againe?  
 (*Here he slept furth at doore*)  
 Be you gone? well wagge, I'll be with you soone,  
 And for your lusty manhood take you down

## Act II, scene v

(*Rhodaghond entred with a richer gown*)  
*Rhodaghond* At what laugheth your honest ladship?  
*Florimel* Sawst not Amadour goe furth at doore?  
*Rhodaghond* No  
*Florimel* Then I will tell thee a pretie Jeast, wench  
 He blinds mee, quaintly, with his fingers, Thus,  
 Then in a trice he shippeth furth at doore,  
*Rhodaghond (in voice baser)* Heardst euer such a Foole?  
 Well, wanton, well, this my propheticque song  
 You'll say he's wise enough and that ere long  
 But this gown you shall weare, if I may rule you  
 (*A gallanter gown*)  
*Florimel* So, so, helpe mee on, with the gown, I prithy,  
 And bring the things after when thou hast done.  
*Rhodaghond.* Madame, I come

These references to sonnets and a dark lady would make any enterprising and ingenious commentator assert forthwith that William Percy wrote the plays commonly attributed to William Shakespeare, but I am not brave enough for such

a conjecture, and only modestly suggest that the allusion may be to Samuel Daniel, who in 1591 published certain sonnets addressed to the fair-haired Cynthia, and in 1594 published a revised edition of these sonnets altered to suit a dark-haired Deha

Clodio reveals to Jeptes the fact that Amadour is Florimel's favoured suitor, and claims his promise to poison the rival Jeptes, to do him justice, makes a faint protest, but with very little pressing he hands over to Clodio

This goodly Citron  
Imbrewd with th' oyle and sprite of Mercury,  
Chilly Palme-water, stuffing Antimonie,  
Deadly stibbium, and mortall Arsenick,

which he happens to have in his pocket. Clodio receives it with delight, and the scene ends with a soliloquy by him in praise of the poisonous fruit

Florimel and Rhodaghond, 'in their wedding apparel both', are now on the way to Amadour's garden, and as they pass along Florimel suggests that they shall try their fortunes thus, 'wee will pluck of all the sorts of Frutes that be conteyned in this groue of Loue, and see, what the God will suggest to us in the Application of them' So they gather, and make puns upon, the cherry, filbert, pear, peach, strawberry, gooseberry, mulberry, grapes, fig, and 'respis' (raspberry<sup>1</sup>) But just as Rhodaghond is about to pluck a lemon, Florimel hurries her away

Clodio visits Amadour, who is somewhat embarrassed, as he is arranging for his marriage, and has the vicar of Vacunium with him. However, as Clodio has the poisoned citron in his hand, and as Clodio and Amadour are both enthusiastic amateur gardeners, they talk about their gardens and their lawsuits, and Clodio rallies Amadour on a rumour that he is to be married. Amadour denies it, and declares that, if he speaks untruly, 'that Citron be my bane' He then changes the subject by praising the citron, and Clodio gives it to him. Having thus accomplished the object of his visit, Clodio takes his leave. The stage direction is

He [Clodio] gaue him [Amadour] at his turne a secret Tip of his Rapier upon his legges as an Enemyes schoine unto him, so went furth

The direction at the beginning of the last act is

Here was a Table brought furth couerd with cleane Naperie, And with Rolle and Napkin, Then a whole Liuerie of Plate serud in and Plact up on the cupboarde, Musick still playing on

Amadour, Florimel, Rhodaghond and Vasco waiting neare the cupborde of Plate.

Amadour and Florimel have just been married, and are rejoicing in their successful love. They need only a sport till supper-time. Florimel says that as she came along she saw some goodly citrons in his garden, and that she would like one. Amadour promises her one much finer than any of his own growing, and sends Vasco for Clodio's poisoned citron and for a cup of good canary. Florimel is delighted with the fruit, and declares she cannot spare a bit to Amadour, but as soon as she begins to eat it she falls ill. She begs Rhodaghond to go and summon her mother, if she would see her daughter still alive. Rhodaghond hurries away, and also Vasco, apparently, for though his exit is not mentioned he does not appear in the scene again. Florimel reproaches Amadour with poisoning her. He protests his innocence and grief, and tells her that the fruit came from Clodio. She tells him that Clodio has been persecuting her with his love, and they understand his plot too late. At this moment Clodio and Jeptes enter, to see what has happened. Amadour promptly rushes at Clodio and runs him through, so that he dies without a word. Florimel then bids Amadour farewell and dies. By leaving out the worst lines, poor Florimel's dying speech can be made tolerable

Then passe my pleased Ghost to view that Realme  
 Where the old Heroes of yore do dreame,  
 Where Dido wanders, with the Ghosts, belowe,  
 And Myrrha with Phaedra by cheeke doth goe  
 But for you, Lord Amadour, I wisse,  
 Long live, among your friends, in Happinesse,  
 Long live, on Earth, in Everlasting glee,  
 Long live, to bed a happier make than mee,  
 Yet by this dying kisse, who ere she be,  
 I charge you strick you would remember mee  
 Adieu  
 (She dyes)

Amadour, after a dying speech, expires for grief

Fulvia enters with Rhodaghond, and Jeptes shows her where her daughter 'tweene a freind and Foe lyes dead' Fulvia bids Rhodaghond tell her the beginning of Florimel's love and Jeptes to recount the end Rhodaghond describes how in the spring Guasto, Duke of Vacunnum, summoned all his nobles to a hunting party, Tremelio took his wife and daughter among the rest One of the dogs far outran the others, and the Duke declared that the dog was like Lord Amadour in battle, and praised Amadour so warmly that Florimel, who hitherto had despised him, suddenly conceived a passion for him Jeptes then explains what has just happened and Fulvia breaks into a long lamentation Hitherto in the play her references to her daughter have been few and slighting, but now it appears that Florimel was her 'staye of life', 'th'onely soule of these my dried limbes' In the midst of her mourning Tremelio enters 'with bloody hands', and the play reverts abruptly to the main plot After the murder of Tremelio and suicide of Fulvia Jeptes and Rhodaghond are overcome by remorse at their share in these tragic events, for which they rightly feel that they are chiefly responsible In alternate lines they express their penitence, and conclude by sharing the poisoned cup and dying, Jeptes on the right hand of Fulvia and Rhodaghond on the left Thus the play ends very satisfactorily with the death of all the principal characters, and the corpses of all but one symmetrically arranged on the stage There follows the discussion of the play by the chorus, which was described above The Presenter speaks the epilogue, which begins

Loe lyke an Indian Canowa  
 Tweene Nothus tost and Adverse Aquilo,  
 Tweene white-wing Hope and Black Despaire wee straye  
 Hope Biddeth us to cheare, Dispaire sayes no,  
 Yet if by certaine looke wee may define  
 Dispaire hath wun, wee see it in your eyne.

The stage direction for the final *transitus chori* has been given above

If this tragedy is considered as dramatic literature, the despair of the Presenter is fully justified, but considered as social history, it gives 'a record of those things most talked about in 1602' in the household of the Earl of Northumberland Even the Indian canowa has its point, for the Earl was the friend of Sir Walter Raleigh and much interested in the settlement of Virginia, in 1606 George Percy, the youngest of the eight Percy brothers, was a member of the expedition which sailed to plant a colony there, and he was governor of Virginia in 1611<sup>1</sup> The other literary and topical allusions in the play have been mentioned as they arose, they all fit together to give a picture of an active and influential coterie of the period

MADLINE HOPE DODDS

LOW FELL, GATESHEAD

<sup>1</sup> G. B. Harrison, *A Jacobean Journal* p. 348, De Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, II, p. 365

# CARLYLE ON PORTRAITS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT. AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER

## I

The original of the following Carlyle letter was, before the war, in the State Archives at Berlin. The letter is directed to Christian Karl Josias Baron Bunsen (1791-1860), the Prussian statesman and scholar, who was ambassador in London from 1842 to 1854. Carlyle had met him for the first time in 1839, and he then wrote to his brother that he had met Bunsen, 'not a bad man nor without talent'.<sup>1</sup> Though it seems that no real friendship developed between the two men Carlyle found the erudite Baron helpful more than once in his research on German literature<sup>2</sup> and later when he started work on his *History of Frederick the Great*. Soon after his first journey to Germany in the autumn of 1852 he went to see Bunsen to tell him the outcome of his search for material for this book.<sup>3</sup> The letter published here for the first time was written a few months later. Bunsen's letter, to which this was a reply, could not be traced.

Carlyle's letter is divided into three distinct sections, the first dealing with letters of Goethe from his time in Wetzlar (1772), the second—and longest by far—with Frederick, or rather with the portraits of Frederick, and the last with certain biographical literature on Frederick and his times.

Chelsea, 3 Febr, 1853—

My dear Sir,

Thanks for your Goethe-Charlotte Documents (1)<sup>4</sup>, which I propose to examine by the first opportunity of leisure I have,—some time this week, I hope.

I would so gladly obey your commands, and those of Charity, both at once and yet I fear I shall not be able to do this little thing you require of me in the name of that Divinity (2).<sup>1</sup> My studies at present are far, far on the other Pole, from Werter and his sentimental Pistol. I have never in the least liked Werter, and Werterism in these sad generations is a thing I daily regard with more and more abhorrence! Had Goethe never done better, than Werter, he had been no man of mine (3). Of course I shall read, as all the world will, with puerile curiosity, if not with a thousand other feelings which are due to them, the letters young Goethe wrote to young Madame—but I confess to a considerable shock from the *Frau-von-Stern* affair, and questioned always, or rather did not question, the propriety of publishing to a gaping mob such extremely private passages in the history of my hero (4). The letters to Charlotte, it appears from your description, fall under quite another category, and deserve to be published. At any rate I can see well that, unless burnt, they must be published some day or other. As above said, I undertake to read them with at least puerile curiosity—but to stand sponsor for them, and recommend the reading of them to the world,—to which I would, if I could, in my present savage humour, *recommend* far other things,—all the Prudences admonish me against this!

For the rest, it surely cannot be a difficult matter to secure a preference for the translation you patronize? The first of all conditions will be that the translation be good. That being achieved (which is not quite simple in the case of Goethe), it will surely only require that you, or I, or any person of known credibility in such a matter, certify in these lines 'Here are authentic Documents on the genesis of your delightful Werter, O Public, they are well translated, and the produce of the edition is for a

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle, A History of his Life in London*, I, 1884, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Yale Review*, xv, 1926, p. 753. About Bunsen see Frances Baroness Bunsen, *A Memoir of Baron Bunsen*, 1st ed. 1868.

<sup>3</sup> K. F. Neumann, *Carlyles Friedrich der*

*Grosse*, 1932, p. 52. D. A. Wilson, *Carlyle at his Zenith*, 1927, p. 449. About Carlyle's stay in Berlin, D. A. Wilson, *Carlyle to Thierscore and Ten*, 1929, pp. 27-30, *New Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, I, 1904, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> For notes see II, Commentary, below.

charitable object you will not pirate such a translation, you will respect it, and read it a great many of you'—Or if this won't do, and piracy still ensue, then will it not be the best of all monitions to a certain Gentleman to commence representations and negotiations and forthwith get so iniquitous and foolish an arrangement, profitable to nobody, set upon the same footing?—In fine, however, the goodness of the translation is your bower-anchor of course if that is not attained, nothing either is, nor altogether ought to be, attained.

These are my crude notions, which I write, not to lose time—it is always my desire, and partly even my purpose of late, to see you 'one of these days', but, alas, it never takes effect! I must add a few words on another subject which you touch upon in this kind message of last night, and which, ever since I saw you last, have been more or less in my head. I mean the Portrait of Frederick the Great, which it seems somebody is copying, with a view to England, perhaps even to our esteemed self,—gratifying, tho' not needful in that quarter!

I know Pesne's *Portrait of Fk as Crown Prince* very well(5), I found it in the Berlin Gallery, in the Schloss, and I think a third time somewhere a *good* Picture, and of a beautiful youth (more like his mother than he afterwards grew), there are authentic copperplates of it in the British Museum, and on the whole I have a copy of it privately in my own head to a sufficient degree. Unless the Artist employed is first-rate, and the copy to be in oil, a perfect fac-simile of *Pesne* and intended for some sumptuous Gallery, it will not be of much use here.

There is, at Charlottenburg, a still more beautiful Picture by the same *Pesne*, representing Fk as a child of 3 or 4 years, beating a little drum, with his elder sister (Margravine of Baureuth afterwards) and a negro valet looking on(6) this I remember as quite an excellent Piece, and Fritschen as the prettiest little *eaglet* of a child I have almost anywhere seen pictured of this too, or of this especially, a man who had a Gallery of Pictures might rejoice to possess a *perfect* copy,—and indeed I think, if our National Gallery were completely up to the *ideal* of its duty, it wd take care to have them perfectly copied, and hung up to general view. Alas, alas!—These two pictures I well enough know, and they are worth copying on the terms just indicated, but hardly otherwise. They are the only two *good* Pictures of Fk that are known at Berlin, the only two on which one can at all depend for resemblance, and they are not of Fk *the Great* (being so young), but only Fk *preparing* to be great. It seemed to be made out by the best authorities that Fk *never* sat for his Portrait to anybody after he was King(7), and accordingly the number of bad and impossible Portraits of Fk, in Germany and out of it, is very great. The modern Berlin Artists, I could see, have adopted a kind of *Compromise* Fredk, a general '*Average of Fredericks*', which is current everywhere but to me quite worthless, fully as like an old Chelsea Pensioner as a Great Man, thus you could get in any Printshop as the adopted '*Portrait of FredK*'(8), this, with Chodowiecki's contemporary sketch(9) (not C's best by any means, tho' of some worth, and often repeated by C), seemed to be all one *could* get—and truly the resources of the Berlin Galleries, and Archives and Libraries, and of German Literature and *Vorstellungskunst* generally, in reference to Fredk and his Heroes, were by no means nor are, of an exhilarating nature to me! Rauch's Portrait, of course, I saw daily(10)—of which you have now a cast, but that also seemed mainly the '*Compromise* Fredk' current in the shops, and neither it, nor any of the other Portraits, in that magnificent expressive mass of Sculpture, would in the least kindle itself into life for me, but *refused* absolutely to represent the reality of Fk and his Ziethens and Seidlitzes,—and left me to my sorrowful reflexions. The *Dead Mask* of Fk's Face seemed to be all I was to get about him, of credible, from Berlin Art(11).

In this perplexity Professor Magnus(12) (a man of much fame in Berlin, and well deserving of it) took me with him, one day, to the House of the Bankers *Schickler* (I forget in what street, but they are *Splittgerber's* successors and known to everybody), there, he said, was a Picture by Graff of Dresden(13), by far the best Portrait he had ever seen of Fk. We went, and I saw this Portrait, and shall never forget it. This it seems to me is the *real* FK, worth all the Busts, and Prints and Smearings I have ever elsewhere seen, the one Picture which corresponds both with the *Dead Mask*, and gives you those living eyes,—'*ces grands yeux*', as Mirabeau defines them. '*qui portaient, au gré de son âme héroïque, la séduction ou la terreur*', eyes and a look, not easy for a Painter to represent! I was, and am, quite charmed with that Picture—and, to come to the practical conclusion, will earnestly recommend to whoever is copying a Portrait of Fredk for English

objects, to go thither and copy that, for it will be a real acquisition to us. Any kind of *faithful* copy of the impression produced by that Picture wd be a possession to all students of the History of Fredk, and in fact it is the only Picture of the *elderly* Fk, out of the half hundred Pictures, Busts etc etc I have seen in my travels, which is of any considerable value to me.

Magnus had undertaken to get this Picture accurately copied for a Russian Count Demidof (or some such name) by an Artist he could depend upon for making a facsimile. On my return to England, Lord Ashburton requested me at once to bespeak a similar copy, which I immediately [sic] but Magnus wrote in answer that when they took down the Picture from Schickler's rather dim wall, and brought into full daylight, there were found to be faults, the head was out of drawing etc etc, and in fine they had renounced copying it. Which I was extremely sorry to hear. I urged in return 'Surely it is possible for Painter's *Kunst* to give me faithfully that *impression* I got from the Piece on Schickler's wall *correct* the evident faults of drawing (Graff had to paint from his own thought and memory not from a sitter), correct them, or leave them uncorrected, but procure us that impression!' Magnus seemed again to hesitate, but he was just setting out for Spain with Winterhalter(14), and in fine nothing was done.

A certain Marble Bust (I know not by whom) which I saw in the Schloss (*old* Schloss) at Potsdam appeared to me to have considerable resemblance to a conceivable Frederick(15) but except that, these three Pictures (Pesne's two of the Crown Prince, and still more of the bright little drumming child, and, most of all, Graff's of the Man of Sixty) were the only representations of Fredk that did not rather do me ill than good. If a beneficent genius is at work in Berlin upon Fk for England's behoof,—I will exclusively and emphatically recommend these three pictures,—and for my own behoof (if that by unmerited miracle shd come into play) the *last* only. And so, at length, I have said my say (impelled really rather by force of *conscience* in some perceptible degree), and you can make what use of it you find to be fittest, in any quarter concerned with

I fear there is nobody about you who can give me any lucid testimony about König's *Militärisches Pantheon*(16), and whether it is worth sending to Berlin for? I am dreadfully at a loss for Books,—and no help, I believe! Yesterday, no farther back, I found either 4 or 5 *Schmettaus* in Preuss's Book(17), all soldiers, and not so much as their Christian-name given. I will defy Oedipus to say which is which, or whether they are not all imaginary shadows together! By intense inspection and combining I at last made out the *Dresden* Schmettau but him of the *Kartoffelkrieg*(18) (whose Book I have), and him (the *same* perhaps?) who fell at Jena. I shall never make out(19). It is perfectly distressing. I often wish I had an old Berlin Directory, an old *Army-List* of the years 1750–60<sup>2</sup>—I still *read* about FrK and Germany (Books unexampled out of Chaos or Swift's Flying Island), but as to *writing* about a man, or a thing on those terms. '—Is it not strange that the only really clever Book yet written about Prussia is Mirabeau's (scandalous) *Histoire secrète*(20)? A great intellect, nay an intellect fairly beyond common-place, I have yet found in no other. '*Stupiditas stupiditatum, omnia stupiditas*'

Begging a thousand pardons for this long letter, which is thrice as long as I purposed,

Yours ever truly

T. Carlyle

His Excy Chevalier Bunsen  
etc etc

## II COMMENTARY

(1) Goethe's letters to Charlotte Buff—the Lotte of his *Werther*—and to J Ch Kestner, her fiancé and later husband, were in the possession of the Kestner family. They were prepared for publication by Augustus Kestner, a son of Lotte and a lifelong friend of Bunsen.<sup>1</sup> Augustus Kestner died in March 1853. The letters appeared before the public in 1854.<sup>2</sup> As the family seems to have been averse to publication<sup>3</sup> it may be surmized that Augustus Kestner was trying to find a

<sup>1</sup> Frances Baroness Bunsen, *Memoir*, i, pp 267–8.

<sup>2</sup> Goethe und Werther, *Briefe Goethes, meistens aus seiner Jugendzeit*, 1854.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* see the Introduction.

sponsor for these documents whose authority would vouch for their value for the Goethe literature. Whether he himself suggested Carlyle to his friend Bunsen, or whether he asked Bunsen's advice and Bunsen approached Carlyle on his own account cannot even be guessed, as there seems to be no other reference to this affair anywhere. One thing only is made certain by this letter, namely, that Carlyle saw a manuscript of the intended publication in February 1853.

(2) As Bunsen's letter has not been preserved it is not clear for what charitable purpose the publication was intended, nor can it be explained why such a charitable purpose should prevent piracy as Carlyle claims in a later section of his letter.

(3) Carlyle's aversion to *Werther* is well documented from his various writings on German literature.<sup>1</sup>

(4) Goethe's letters to Frau von Stein had been published by A. Scholl, 1848-51.

(5) Antoine Pesne (1683-1757) was a French painter working in Berlin after 1710, where he eventually became director of the Royal Academy. The portrait of Frederick as Crown Prince was painted in 1739. It is generally regarded as the last portrait for which Frederick actually sat.<sup>2</sup> Carlyle bestowed high praise on this picture in his *History of Frederick the Great*: 'Look in that young Portrait by Pesne, the full cheeks, and the fine mouth capable of truculence withal, the brow not unused to knit itself, and the eyes flashing out in sharp diligent inspection of a somewhat commanding nature.'<sup>3</sup> He saw the original in Berlin in 1852, when he visited the art collections in his search for portraits of Frederick: 'Have been in the Museum Picture Gallery since Endless Christs and Marys, Venus's and Amors—at length an excellent portrait of Fritz.'<sup>4</sup> The other two copies mentioned are replicas.

(6) Of all the Frederick pictures this was the dearest to Carlyle. It was painted by Pesne about 1715, and Carlyle used an engraving after it by Francis Holl as frontispiece for the first volume of his *Frederick*. Lord Ashburton, Carlyle's friend, had this picture copied, and it may be conjectured that this was the copy to which this letter refers. Obviously no copy existed in England when Carlyle wrote this letter, but in 1854 Lord Ashburton had in his possession a copy of 'The Little Drummer'.<sup>5</sup> This copy he gave to Mrs Carlyle in 1858.<sup>6</sup> The picture was at once given a place of honour in the drawing room of Carlyle's house. Mrs Carlyle wrote, 'I am spending my life with the two Royal Children (of his Title page) as large as life! Lord Ashburton having made me a present of the picture from which the engraving was made. It quite makes the fortune of the drawing room.'<sup>7</sup> Carlyle himself called this copy excellent, almost a facsimile and perfection of a copy.<sup>8</sup> In 1881, when Carlyle died, the picture was still in its original place as it appears in Mrs Allingham's inventory.<sup>9</sup>

(7) The authorities here referred to are letters by Frederick himself. As early as 1736 he spoke of being painted as a very dull and ordinary thing, just as eating, drinking or sleeping.<sup>10</sup> In 1743 he wrote to Voltaire that he did not allow himself to be painted,<sup>11</sup> and he told him in 1772 that all his pictures and medals were not

<sup>1</sup> Goethe (first published in 1828) in *Works* (Centenary edition), xxvi, pp. 211 ff. *Lectures on History of Literature*, edited by R. P. Kaikara, 1892, pp. 181-2.

<sup>2</sup> Seidel, *Hohenzollernjahrbuch*, 1897, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *The History of Frederick the Great* in *Works*, (Centenary edition), iv, p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle, Life in London*, ii, 1884, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> *The History of Frederick the Great*, i, p. 372.

<sup>6</sup> *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, ii, 1903, p. 187.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 206.

<sup>8</sup> Carlyle House, Catalogue 6th ed. p. 36.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* Appendix.

<sup>10</sup> Seidel, *Hohenzollernjahrbuch*, 1897, p. 107.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 108.

really like him as he had refused to sit for them <sup>1</sup> To d'Alembert he wrote cynically that one had to look like Apollo or Adonis if one had the desire to be painted. As he had no similarity with these gentlemen he had avoided the brush of the painter <sup>2</sup> Fr. Nicolai, in his *Briefe über die Kunst an und von Herrn Hagedorn*, confirms that Frederick did not sit for any painter <sup>3</sup>

(8) Though Carlyle does not mention any artists by name, he must be referring to Adolf Menzel's (1815-1905) work. Menzel created those idealistic and heroic pictures of Frederick which were to be found as shrines of worship in so many Prussian homes. They were the main source of inspiration for the popular conception of Frederick's appearance. From 1839 to 1842 he illustrated Kugler's *Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen*, and between 1843 and 1849 he illustrated the edition de luxe of the *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, an edition which Carlyle must have known. In 1850 Menzel began his series of oil paintings of Frederick and his circle. Woodcuts and engravings after these were widely circulated. Menzel must have known better than anybody else in his day the actual and authentic pictorial material for a history of Frederick. It seems therefore curious that apparently nobody took the trouble of putting Carlyle in touch with him. This is all the more striking since Carlyle met Rauch, the creator of the Frederick monument 'Unter den Linden', another example of a 'Compromise Frederick' <sup>4</sup>

(9) Daniel Chodowiecki (1726-80), painter, etcher and engraver. His work is noted for its accuracy in depicting the life of his epoch. The sketch to which Carlyle refers was made during a military parade in 1773 and first used for an engraving of Frederick with his generals.

(10) Christian Daniel Rauch (1777-1857), sculptor. The monument of Frederick 'Unter den Linden' was finished in 1851.

(11) The famous death mask was made by the sculptor Johann Eckstein of Potsdam.

(12) Eduard Magnus (1799-1872) was a successful painter of Berlin society. Carlyle met him there in 1852<sup>5</sup> and found him particularly helpful in tracing pictorial material for his studies on Frederick <sup>6</sup>. In a letter to his wife he specially mentioned Magnus's valuable help <sup>7</sup>. When Carlyle visited Berlin for a second time in 1858 he could only pay a few important calls, as he stayed for three days only. Still, his first call was made on Magnus, but he did not find the painter at home <sup>8</sup>.

(13) Anton Graff (1736-1813) was perhaps the most prolific German portrait painter of the eighteenth century. Of his well-known portrait of Frederick several copies are known, but it is certain that Frederick never sat for him. His picture seems to be the first which tried to portray Frederick as Frederick 'the Great'.

(14) Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1805-73), the famous portrait painter of the European courts of the nineteenth century.

(15) As J. Eckstein worked a bust from his death mask, it may have been the one which Carlyle saw in Potsdam. It has not been possible to identify this bust otherwise. Only so much is certain, that no bust worth noting was made during

<sup>1</sup> W. Waldeyer, *Die Bildnisse Friedrichs des Grossen*, 1900, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. The letter is dated 14 Dec. 1774.

<sup>3</sup> Friedrich Nicolai, *Briefe*, etc., 1797, p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle, Life in London*, II, 1884, p. 119. See also the letter of Carlyle's helper Neuberger to his sister, *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1884, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> Neuberger to his sister, *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1884, p. 289.

<sup>6</sup> D. A. Wilson, *Carlyle to Threescore and Ten*, p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle, Life in London*, II, 1884, p. 119.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Carlyle, *Journey to Germany 1858*, edited by A. E. Brooks, 1940, p. 48.



Frederick's lifetime, and that the only one which can claim to be an accurate portrait is the one made by Eckstein

(16) Anton Balthasar König, *Biographisches Lexikon aller Helden und militärischen Personen, welche sich in Preussischen Diensten berühmt gemacht haben*, 1788

In a letter to Varnhagen von Ense of June 1852, Carlyle had already made a request for a biographical dictionary for his studies on Frederick <sup>1</sup>

(17) J D Preuss, *Friedrich der Grosse*, 1832-4

(18) The 'Kartoffelkrieg'—the potato war—is the Bavarian Succession War (1778-9), so called as the most important military operations of the campaign were attempts by the warring parties to intercept each other's food supplies

(19) About the various Schmettaus see the Index of Carlyle's *History of Frederick the Great* The book mentioned here by Carlyle is F W C Graf von Schmettau, *Feldzug der Preussischen Armee in Böhmen im Jahre 1788*, Berlin, 1789

(20) *Histoire secrète de la Cour de Berlin, ou correspondance d'un voyageur français depuis 1789*

### III

Once more we learn from this letter how much the hero idea permeated Carlyle's thoughts at an early stage of his work on the history of Frederick He persistently read certain conceptions into his personality and thought it possible to discover the Prussian 'eagle' of later days already in the 'eaglet' of a flattering portrait by a courtly, elegant and superficial French painter It is obvious how he mistook artistic and nationalistic hero-worship—notably in the case of Graff's portrait—for true portraiture, in spite of the fact that he knew how notoriously badly Frederick's physical appearance had been recorded

But this letter also sheds new light on Carlyle's method of working on his subject and indicates an important approach to it—hitherto not adequately stressed—the visual approach This surely seems a result of his hero-worship Though Carlyle did painstaking work on Frederick for many years and made every effort to lay his hands on all available written or printed material, he was no less eager to get to know as many pictorial records of his hero as possible With a writer like Carlyle the mainspring of such a diligent search was certainly not the unbiased interest of the research worker striving for completeness of his material, but rather an attempt to round off the vision before his inner eye Characteristically enough the search for pictures of Frederick falls mainly into the early period of his work on his subject when the more definite outline of the hero was still shaping As early as June 1852 he wrote to Varnhagen von Ense that he intended to go to Berlin 'to assist himself in the enquiries after Frederick', and he adds 'then at Berlin one could see at least immensities of Portraits, Chodowiecki's engravings etc, which are quite wanting in this country' <sup>2</sup> This visual approach must have been one—though by no means the only one—of the reasons for the first German journey During the second journey of 1858, when the 'picture' of his hero had gained definite form, no more portraits of Frederick were sought, yet—and here we find again the visual approach—the scenes of his battles, the 'heroic' setting for his life, were visited

In 1854 Carlyle saw all the Frederick material in the Windsor collections and had an opportunity to discuss the portraits of Frederick with the Prince Consort <sup>3</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> *Last Words of Thomas Carlyle*, 1892, p 268

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* pp 270-1

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Carlyle, *New Letters*, edited by C E Norton, II, pp 167-9, and *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, II, p 249

order to have at hand the material for such a visual approach Carlyle started collecting pictures of Frederick, a task in which the Ashbuntons, Eduard Magnus and Gilchrist, the biographer of Blake, were active helpers<sup>1</sup> Carlyle surrounded himself with the likenesses of his adored idol At the time of his death there were no less than thirteen pictures of Frederick adorning the walls of his house<sup>12</sup> Only Hohenzollern castles might boast a more complete collection

Carlyle's somewhat exaggerated high praise for all the second-rate portraits of Frederick is understandable if we realize that he regarded painting only as a mere and very humble handmaid of history, just as history was only a vehicle for his political and ethical theories This letter would hardly have been worth publishing if it had only added to the already swollen corpus of biographical material The letter reveals very clearly Carlyle's method, a method which we have learned—by bitter experience—to regard as highly dangerous When Carlyle discusses 'The Little Drummer' in his *History of Frederick the Great* he explains, or should we rather say preaches?

Flaying of Saint Bartholemew, Rape of Europe, Rape of the Sabines, Piping and Amours of goat-footed Pan, Romulus suckled by the Wolf, all this, and much else of fabulous, distant, unimportant, not to say impossible, ugly and unworthy shall pass without undue severity of criticism As Created Objects or as Phantasmas of such, pictorially done, all this shall have much worth or shall have little But I say, here withal is one not phantasmal, of indisputable certainty, homegrown, just commencing business, who carried it far! Welcome like one tiny islet of Reality amid the shoreless sea of Phantasmas, to the reflective mind, seriously loving and seeking what is worthy and memorable, seriously hating and avoiding what is the reverse and intent not to play the dilettante in this world<sup>3</sup>

Such a valuation of art is only too familiar to-day, and has been for some time the officially sanctioned philosophy of the Fascist countries If we had no other reasons to suspect Carlyle's attitude<sup>4</sup>, the above letter and this passage make clear beyond doubt that his visual approach was essentially neither artistic and formal nor even historical, as it was not a historical truth he was seeking to establish Both his own biography and the work of the portrait painters had to conform to his pre-conception of Frederick the man and Frederick the hero It is the approach of the hero-worshipper

L ETTLINGER<sup>5</sup>

#### BIRMINGHAM

<sup>1</sup> K F Neumann, *Carlyle's Friedrich der Grosse*, 1932, pp 37, 58 D A Wilson, *Carlyle to Threescore and Ten*, p 194

<sup>2</sup> See Mrs Allingham's inventory in the Appendix to the 6th edition of the Carlyle House Catalogue

<sup>3</sup> *History of Frederick the Great in Works*, (Centenary edition), iv, pp 372-3

<sup>4</sup> Norwood Young, *Carlyle, His Rise and Fall*, 1927, has analysed Carlyle's attitude to Frederick

and his falsification of historical facts in detail, see particularly chapters xxv and xxix

<sup>5</sup> The author wishes to thank Mr J S Stephens of Birmingham University who kindly passed on to him photostats of this letter for publication His thanks are also due to Dr Fritz Braun and Mr R G Holloway The latter has had considerable influence on the drafting of this little essay

## THE BASIS AND CHARACTER OF ALFRED DE VIGNY'S STOICISM

### I

Heureux cent fois, mille fois heureux l'homme qui croit et qui aime <sup>1</sup>

Are not these words the key to Alfred de Vigny's miserable existence? Happy is the man who has faith and love to sustain him on life's journey. Alfred de Vigny had neither, and it was the consciousness of his weak position in this respect which led him—inevitably, if life were to be tolerable at all as far as he was concerned—to adopt the stoic attitude, an admirable but unsatisfying attitude, a facade which may deceive the casual spectator, but behind which the discerning eye can see the utter misery of the man—just as his mother did, when she said on one occasion 'Tu fais semblant d'être gai et heureux, mais tu ne l'es pas, et c'est par bonté que tu te montres ainsi, je le sais bien, va!'<sup>2</sup>

Vigny was not entirely to blame for his inability to face life's problems, his parents must bear at least a part of the responsibility for their son's maladaptation. His aged father told him stories of *le bon vieux temps*, accustoming him to look back with longing towards a glorious past rather than to consider the present and the hope-fraught future. His mother, who undertook his early education, encouraged his precocious knowledge and sent him to school labouring under the impression that he was 'un être à part'. Small wonder that this special upbringing, coupled with his nascent superiority complex, made it difficult for him to make friends, and that the reaction of his class-mates should have been to make fun of this Little Lord Fauntleroy who had come into their midst. Long afterwards, writing in his *Journal*, the grown man, remembering with bitterness his early reception by society, says 'Et ils me frappaient. Je me sentais d'une race maudite, et cela me rendait sombre et pensif'<sup>3</sup>

Thus it was that the idea of *le génie méconnu* sprang into being. Already Vigny felt that he was different from the other boys, that he was in fact superior, but already, too, he despaired of making others realize his superiority. Driven into himself, from his childhood days, this only child lacked a sense of reality and shrank from contact with life. The dreadful anguish of mind, which such an early realization of aloneness created, may be measured by his statement concerning the chagins of his school-days.

Ces peines, qu'on prend fort en mépris, sont proportionnées à la force de l'enfant, la dépassent quelquefois et jettent une couleur sombre sur tout l'avenir.<sup>4</sup>

They did indeed cast a sombre colour over all his future, affecting his whole outlook on life, and the more conscious he became of his alienation from the world, the more he clung in passionate dependence to the only being on whom he could ultimately rely, his mother. She it was who had given him a proper estimation of his own worth, she was the arbiter of his actions, the guide of his thoughts, the compelling judge of his work. (We need only examine her criticisms of his poems and see how often Vigny deferred to her emendations to realize the extent of his dependence

<sup>1</sup> A de Vigny, *Journal d'un poète*, ed. F. Baldensperger, London, 1928, p. 257

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, p. 147

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, p. 220

<sup>4</sup> *Journal*, p. 221

on this score<sup>1</sup>) So that it is not difficult to imagine the agony of terror which overwhelmed him at the thought that he might lose her 'Si tel malheur auquel je pense m'arrivait,' he said, 'j'irais mettre le feu à une église pour me venger de Dieu'<sup>2</sup> That was his outcry when he had visions of his only real support being taken from him by death. Looking back on his life now, it seems as if Vigny's mother was the only person he ever really loved, the only person who ever really knew him as he was and penetrated the mask which he assumed. He began at an early age to conceal his real feelings and the habit became ingrained later on, so that everything was hidden beneath *un visage paisible*.

Ma vie a été jusqu'ici très simple à l'extérieur, et, en apparence, presque immobile, mais pleine d'agitations violentes et sombres, éternellement dissimulées sous un visage paisible<sup>3</sup>

His frustrated love for Delphine Gay was in keeping with his character and upbringing. Again this total dependence on his mother's will—this weak yielding to persuasion exercised over him by a stronger character than his own. And yet, in a way, Vigny, too, showed strength of character on occasion, but his energy was directed towards attempting to combat things over which he could have no control, and therefore he was fated from the start to lead a life of thwarted ambitions.

His inability to adapt himself socially is painfully evident in the course of his military career. He could not submit to discipline, the first essential to a career in the army. In *Servitude et Grandeur militaires* he tells us how he hated to submit to discipline but loved to impose it on others—'J'aimais fort à l'infliger, mais peu à la subir, je la trouvais admirablement sage sous mes pieds, mais absurde sur ma tête'<sup>4</sup> Is not that the attitude of all weak men? How unpopular he must have been in the army, that most levelling of democratic institutions, the arrogant aristocrat, the man who was 'not a good mixer'<sup>5</sup> Can we wonder that he spent his time dreaming and writing and living an imaginary life as far removed from his real existence as possible, or that he should be happiest under these conditions? As he expresses it in his *Journal*, 'Jamais mon esprit n'est plus libre que quand l'œuvre que je fais n'a nul rapport avec ma situation présente.'<sup>6</sup>

An escapist by nature and by temperament, 'cet incorrigible égotiste', as Lauvrière has dubbed him,<sup>6</sup> could not but be unhappy among his fellow-men, whether in the army or in Parisian society or elsewhere. Circumstances played into his hands, making him more and more of a martyr—or, as he says himself, a 'paria'—as the years rolled by. He wished to be top dog or nothing, and every man's hand was turned against him. When he failed to make his mark in the army, another vision of glory broke upon his mind's eye, and he saw himself as *the* great poet, the 'Moïse', the seer, the man who could dominate the masses by his superior knowledge. 'Cependant, je sentais en moi un invincible désir de produire quelque chose de grand et d'être grand par mes œuvres'<sup>7</sup> Even if his genius were not to be immediately recognized, he still wished to be the first of an *élite*, the guide in the desert.

On pourrait dire encore que la marche de l'humanité dans la région des pensées ressemble à celle d'une grande armée dans le désert. elle s'aperçoit qu'on l'a précédée

<sup>1</sup> Cf *Poèmes antiques*, ed Estève, Paris, 1931, pp 322 f., comments such as 'Ellipse et inversion qui ne me paraissent pas tolérables. C'est à refaire, car on écrit en français pour des Français'. 'Cette hardiesse n'est pas heureuse'. 'Ce vers est incompréhensible' etc

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, p 90

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, p. 212

<sup>4</sup> *Servitude et Grandeur militaires*, ed. F. Baldensperger, Paris, 1914, p. 70

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, p 25

<sup>6</sup> *Chatterton*, ed E. Lauvrière, Oxford, 1908, p xxv

<sup>7</sup> *Journal*, p 222.

seulement lorsqu'elle trouve l'empreinte des pas sur le sable, et un nom d'homme gravé sur quelque pierre, alors elle s'arrête un moment pour lire ce nom, et continue sa marche avec plus d'assurance. Elle dépasse bientôt les traces du devancier, mais ne les efface jamais.<sup>1</sup>

No rôle was too great, too sublime for him to play, and he painted himself by turns as Moses or Christ.

How erroneous it is to imagine that Vigny's main concern was his art! Beneath all the symbolic outer covering, Vigny studies himself and himself only. He is only concerned with himself, with making himself the greatest poet of his age and giving an outlet to his overweening pride. Other people would not recognize his superiority. He would force them to do so ultimately, if not in one way, then in another, if not as a great military figure, then as a writer. Listen to what he has to say about writers of memoirs in *Servitude et Grandeur militaires*: 'Il y a des œuvres telles parmi les plus beaux livres de notre langue, et qui nous resteront comme ces beaux portraits de lui-même que Raphaël ne cessait de faire.'<sup>2</sup> Vigny was another Raphaël, consciously or unconsciously holding himself up as an object worthy of admiration, incessantly drawing fine portraits of himself.

One can understand why a man of this sort was incapable of making lasting friendships with his contemporaries and why the more exuberant, less self-centred Victor Hugo should have ousted him completely in the favour of the Romanticists. The cutting remark of Sainte-Beuve, 'Personne n'a vécu dans la familiarité de M. de Vigny, pas même lui',<sup>3</sup> finds its echo in the pathetic personal confession of the poet:

Jamais je ne connus cette rare parole  
Qu'on appelle amitié, qui, dit-on, vous console.<sup>4</sup>

And, being incapable of maintaining friendly relations with his rivals, he took the easiest way out and retired to his estate in Maine-Giraud. There at least he would be the uncontested master in his own domain, there he would be out of range of the things that hurt.

But was he? No, for he took with him his invalid wife, who has been described by one of Vigny's biographers as 'le premier et le plus encombrant des impédiments';<sup>5</sup> and there again ill-luck pursued him. 'Hélas! toujours la même vie! Je quitte le chagrin pour la maladie et la maladie pour le chagrin.'<sup>6</sup> Between his mother, to whom he still clung with fanatical devotion, and his ailing English wife, who could not speak French, his days were spent in fruitless and unremitting service, so that there were ever more and more grounds for self-pity.

Je ne sais d'assurés dans le chaos du sort  
Que deux points seulement: la Souffrance et la Mort.  
Il en fut de meilleurs et de plus purs encore  
Des hommes pleins d'amour, de doute et de pitié,  
Qui disaient: 'Je ne sais' des choses de la vie  
Dont le pouvoir ou l'or ne fut jamais l'envie,  
Et qui, par dévouement, sans détourner les yeux,  
Burent jusqu'à la lie le calice odieux.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Poèmes antiques*, 'Sur la troisième édition', pp. 6 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Servitude et Grandeur militaires*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Sainte-Beuve, *Les grands écrivains français du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. M. Allem, Paris, Garnier, 1926 ('Vigny'), p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> *Poèmes antiques*, 'La Prison', p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> Estève, *Alfred de Vigny*, Paris, 1923, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal*, p. 132.

<sup>7</sup> *Poèmes antiques*, 'Paris', pp. 241 f.

How can anyone claim that Vigny was an optimist when he viewed life as an odious chalice to be drunk to the dregs?<sup>1</sup>

The poet's devotion to his wife has often been commented on, and it is true that he was to all appearances a very faithful husband, if we except the intermittent flights to Paris and Marie Dorval. There again, however, it seems that his devoted service was in the form of an atonement, and we may ask if pricks of conscience did not assail him at times for having married Lydia Bunbury at all. He married her partly in order to improve his financial circumstances—a hope which was, however, never realized<sup>1</sup>—and the amazing thing is that this *mariage de convenance*, engineered by his resourceful mother, did not founder completely. It is hard to believe that Vigny ever loved this English girl who was so different from him in all respects. Was it not in fact his life with her that inspired his somewhat unjust criticism of the English character in general?<sup>2</sup>

Ce qui manque absolument à la race anglaise c'est précisément ce qui fait le fond de notre caractère, la gaité dans l'imagination, le mouvement dans le sentiment.<sup>3</sup>

At first his marriage would appear as a romantic gesture in his own eyes—quite in keeping with the tenets of the contemporary literary fashion which encouraged *rapprochements* between England and France—but it soon turned out to be a dismal failure. The childless Lydia was incapable of providing the quickening stimulus and incentive which might have transformed Vigny from the vacillating dilettante that he was and forced him to exteriorize himself a little.

Marriage was a bitter disappointment, but Vigny did not at once give up the idea of ever being in love. His *cœur inassouvi* drove him to Paris into the arms of the actress Marie Dorval in search of love, an idealized form of love which caused endless misunderstanding between the two lovers and which ended in such tragic fashion. When this episode was over and he realized that love as he conceived it was impossible, his attention became permanently fixed on himself and his own illness, and we find him writing such phrases as these: 'Crachant le sang, mais ne disant rien de ce que je souffrais, je me laissais dévorer par le vautour intérieur.'<sup>3</sup> This Prometheus, bound by shackles largely of his own invention—though it must be admitted that fate pursued him mercilessly too—became increasingly unhappy, and the *Journal* contains many references to the horrible suffering he endured. What indescribable anguish is revealed in such a phrase as this for example: 'Je croyais bien me coucher pour mourir.'<sup>4</sup>

In face of all these torments, both physical and mental, a *modus vivendi* had to be discovered, and Vigny, to whom love and friendship were denied, found consolation in work.

Le monde de la poésie et du travail de la pensée a été pour moi un champ d'asile que je labourais, et où je m'endormais au milieu de mes fleurs et de mes fruits pour oublier les peines amères de ma vie, mes ennuis profonds, et surtout le mal intérieur que je ne cesse de me faire en retournant contre mon cœur le dard empoisonné de mon esprit pénétrant et toujours agité.<sup>5</sup>

The poet's first reaction to life was to revolt against the monstrous injustice of it all. Remember how two early poems, entitled 'Le Bal' (1818) and 'Le Malheur'

<sup>1</sup> As does J. K. Rooker, 'The Optimism of A. de Vigny', *Modern Language Review*, ix, 1914, pp. 1-11.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal*, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, pp. 191 f.

## 270 *The Basis and Character of Alfred de Vigny's Stoicism*

(1820), written when he was an adolescent, already reveal his appreciation and horror of *le perpétuel écoulement de la vie*

Car les ans maladifs, avec un doigt de glace  
Des chagrins dans vos cœurs auront marqué la place,  
La morose vieillesse  
Le spectre se mêle à la danse. ('Le Bal')<sup>1</sup>  
('Le Malheur')<sup>2</sup>

Behind the laughing faces of the lovely girls he saw the ugliness and decrepitude of old age and, because of that vision, he could not be happy

The spirit of revolt becomes more apparent in his symbolic poems, in which the Bible provides the theme. God allows man to be unhappy, therefore He is to be reproached for His hardness. He does nothing to assuage the sorrows of mankind, His relentless, pitiless indifference to the sufferings of humanity—extending, as it does, to His own Son—should be condemned. And Vigny hammers again and again at the question of God's indifference. For him God is not the God of Love. He sees Him in the guise of the inexorable Jehovah of the Old Testament. He goes further. He regards God in the same light as he regards the human figures of the Bible. This approach leads him to present Christ in 'Le Mont des Oliviers' as no more divine than any other biblical personage. It is certain that Vigny was not an orthodox Catholic. Was he even a professing Christian, or was he an unbeliever? In spite of his apparent interest in the Bible, for instance, in spite of his discussion of theological points in *Stello*, or elsewhere, the evidence would point to the fact that he had no faith. An important passage for the interpretation of Vigny's religious outlook is that in which he criticizes the work of Joseph de Maistre, in his chapter entitled 'Sur la substitution des souffrances expiatoires'. Quoting Joseph de Maistre, *Le Docteur Noir* says

La chair est coupable, maudite et ennemie de Dieu. Le sang est un fluide vivant. Le ciel ne peut être apaisé que par le sang. L'innocent peut payer pour le coupable. L'effusion de sang est expiatoire. Ces vérités sont innées. La Croix atteste le SALUT PAR LE SANG.

Vigny does not doubt the sincerity of the Catholic's profession. Indeed, his sarcastic comments heap coals of fire upon the head of the sincere believer, crushing him for his puerility.

C'était à genoux sans doute [he continues] et en se frappant la poitrine qu'il s'écriait: 'La terre, continuellement imbibée de sang, n'est qu'un autel immense où tout ce qui vit doit être immolé sans fin jusqu'à l'extinction du mal. — Le bourreau est la pierre angulaire de la société: sa mission est sacrée. — L'inquisition est bonne, douce et conservatrice.

'La guerre est divine: elle doit régner éternellement pour purger le monde. Les races sauvages sont dévouées et frappées d'anathèmes. J'ignore leur crime, o Seigneur, mais puisqu'elles sont malheureuses et insensées, elles sont criminelles et justement punies de quelque faute d'un ancien chef. Les Européens, au siècle de Colomb, eurent raison de ne pas les compter dans l'espèce humaine comme leurs semblables.

'La terre est un autel qui doit éternellement être imbibé de sang.'

O Pieux Impie! qu'avez-vous fait?

he adds, condemning in the same breath the representative of the Catholic faith and the Catholic Church itself. The tirade goes on:

Il a fallu que le cerveau de l'un des derniers catholiques fouillât bien avant dans le crâne de l'un des premiers chrétiens pour en tirer cette fatale théorie de la *réversibilité* et du *salut par le sang*. Et cela pour replâtrer l'édifice démantelé de l'Eglise romaine et l'organisation démembrée du moyen âge.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Poèmes antiques*, p. 195

<sup>2</sup> *Stello*, ed. Nelson, pp. 201 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 149

So that, as Vigny sees it, the Catholic Church is a rapidly failing institution, which the last survivors of the Catholic faith are attempting to prop up by sophistry, in the very teeth of reason. It is as outmoded as the Middle Ages.

Again, in *Daphné* Vigny studies the question of religion and insists on the idea that the Catholic Church, the outward manifestation of the Christianity of his day, is finished. In a note of 21 October 1844, entitled 'Réflexion et fin de la deuxième consultation', he writes

Les deux religions maîtresses du monde ancien et du monde moderne semblent suivre deux lignes courbes et parallèles. Dans le quatrième siècle le Polythéisme expirait. Il chercha pour se relever à se réfugier dans la Philosophie alexandrine, éclectique, déiste, qui, admettant tous les cultes comme divins, niait la divinité des Dieux et repoussait le Christianisme comme ennemi de la sagesse et de la science. — Mais cette école d'Alexandrie, se conformant au siècle et voulant marcher avec lui, devint une philosophie à demi-religion et une religion à demi-philosophie.

Le Christianisme en est donc au point où en était le Polythéisme en 300.<sup>1</sup>

Here Vigny attaches a historical significance to the Christian faith and insinuates that its efficacy is outworn and must be replaced by something else. While accepting the usefulness of religion for others (in the words of Louis Ratisbonne as a *véhicule* et *garantie* des idées morales au milieu des foules faibles et bornées<sup>2</sup>), Vigny, the superman, has no use for it personally. It holds no meaning for him. His attitude is made clear in the symbol of the Egyptian mummy in the *cristal*.

Sur ce cristal énorme sont gravés et peints des caractères sacrés qui, faisant adorer l'enveloppe, ont conservé le trésor des âges anciens. Les dogmes religieux, avec leurs célestes illusions, sont pareils à ce cristal. Ils conservent le peu de sages préceptes que les races se sont formés et se passent l'une à l'autre.<sup>3</sup>

Vigny's cult is that of the *esprit pur*, the *Visible Saint-Esprit*. The immortality he aspires to is immortality for his works, the admiration of his successors, Horace's *monumentum aere perennius*.

Flots d'amis renaissants! Puissent mes destinées  
Vous amener à moi, de dix en dix années,  
Attentifs à mon œuvre, et pour moi c'est assez!<sup>4</sup>

In the end it becomes impossible for Vigny, by reason of his own arguments, to believe in the Christian faith, and he writes

*La question religieuse*. Plus l'esprit est vigoureux, plus il se perd dans les catacombes de l'incertitude humaine. Pascal s'y est perdu pour avoir marché plus avant que les autres. Toute religion n'a jamais été crue qu'à moitié et a eu ses athées et sceptiques. Mais les sages ont gardé leurs doutes dans leur cœur et ont respecté la fable sociale reçue généralement et adoptée du plus grand nombre.<sup>5</sup>

Did Vigny, after a period of revolt and pessimism, ultimately join the ranks of *les sages*? So we are led to believe if we read the accounts of his last days, conflicting though they be.

Against Léon Séché's allegation that Vigny died a Catholic we must measure Louis Ratisbonne's categorical denial that the poet ever gave up his philosophical convictions—and Ratisbonne was the only person who visited him regularly during his last days. Though he finally agreed to receive a priest before he died, it is obvious that he did so purely out of regard for the pious feelings of the solicitous

<sup>1</sup> *Daphné*, ed. F. Gregh, Paris, 1929, pp. 226 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Daphné*, Note de Louis Ratisbonne, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> *Daphné*, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Destinées*, ed. Estève, 'L'Esprit pur', p. 174.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, p. 156.



Madame and Mademoiselle d'Orville According to Séché's version, Madame and Mademoiselle d'Orville

guettaient l'instant psychologique Vigny ne voulut pas les peiner et accepta de voir un prêtre qu'il connaissait de longue date, l'abbé Vidal, curé de Bercy, dont il avait su estimer la foi simple<sup>1</sup>

Ratisbonne's assertion, on the other hand, 'Il est mort comme il a vécu, incrédule au dogme et stoicien',<sup>2</sup> is fully in accord with the statement made by Vigny in his correspondence, protesting against vain efforts to convert him, that 'un homme qui a écrit ce qui est publié dans mes livres a depuis longtemps construit en lui-même l'édifice immuable de ses idées philosophiques'<sup>3</sup> Or, as he had made it abundantly clear elsewhere

*De la foi* On parle de la foi Qu'est-ce, après tout, que cette chose si rare? — Une espérance fervente — Je l'ai sondée dans tous les prêtres qui disaient la posséder et n'ai trouvé que cela — Jamais la certitude<sup>4</sup>

## II

Oh ! fuis ! fuis les hommes et se retirer parmi quelques élus,  
élus entre mille milliers de mille<sup>5</sup>

For a man to whom love and faith were lacking, the way was hard, and, if life were still to be liveable, a substitute for these had to be found Vigny discovered his remedy in the adoption of a Stoic attitude in keeping with his high intellectual ideals Others of his age were finding other ways out The morbid Wertheresque temperament of the Romantics revealed itself not only in literature but also in behaviour The fluctuating social and political conditions, the lack of stability, the feverish excitement, following upon the Revolution and the Napoleonic upheaval, drove some to drown their mental turmoil in orgies of pleasure, others, unable to bear the strain of existence, committed suicide, other, loftier spirits, like Vigny, sought a cure in the cultivation of the Stoic ideals

Detachment and resignation, self-sufficiency, isolation from the world, indifference to the opinions of the vulgar mob, willing acceptance of the inevitable accidents of fortune—these for the Stoic were the beginning and end of all happiness How well this philosophy, which flourished in ancient Greece, especially at the time when the Greek cities had lost their independence, suited the times in which Vigny lived, what a splendid intellectual anaesthetic for an over-sensitive nature such as Vigny's, if only he could make use of it!

In Stoicism, or in his personal interpretation of Stoicism, the poet found an *attitude digne* Angry revolt, sombre pessimism, scepticism, were superseded by this new creed which provided an interest in life The constant struggle to attain the Stoic heights was stimulating and filled Vigny with a sense of his own nobility 'En retranchant le désir et la lutte, il n'y a plus qu'ennui dans la vie',<sup>6</sup> as he says of the Utopians, combining the attitude of Faust with that of the Stoics Pain, uncertainty, fear of death, all the ills which assail mankind, could now be defeated by strong will, solitude and silence

Qui soutiendra ce Roc contre les coups qui assiègent son pied et son front? Sa force même, son poids, son immobilité Qu'il ne donne que peu de prise au vulgaire sur lui, qu'il aine la solitude, le silence, la fortune modérée<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by B de La Salle, *A de Vigny*, Paris, 1939, p 407

<sup>2</sup> *Revue de Paris*, 15th July, 1900, p. 307 n

<sup>3</sup> Cf Lauvrière, *A de Vigny*, Paris, 1909, p 373 n

<sup>4</sup> *Journal*, p 188

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, p 51

<sup>6</sup> *Journal*, p 227

<sup>7</sup> *Journal*, p 187

If only he could contemplate it aright, even suffering could bring happiness in its train!

La contemplation du malheur même donne une jouissance intérieure à l'âme, qui lui vient de son travail sur l'idée du malheur<sup>1</sup>

Like Montaigne—and Vigny has much in common with his predecessor—the poet sets out on the absorbing task of studying himself

Platon dit γνῶθι σεαυτόν et 'age quod agis' Connais-toi toi-même et fais tes actions. Agis dans le présent avec vigueur sans trop rêver à l'avenir<sup>2</sup>

At the end of 'L'Esprit pur', composed in 1863, we find him still absorbed by this task

Je peux en ce miroir me connaître moi-même<sup>3</sup>

Here in Stoicism is a ready-made justification for his retreat into his *tour d'ivoire*. People have treated him unkindly, have misjudged him, have ignored his genius—he will repay them with disdain, *bonne monnaie pour payer les choses humaines*<sup>4</sup> And it comforts him, the genius in moral isolation, misunderstood by his fellows, to be able to write

Plus je vais, plus je méprise la popularité et ceux qui la recherchent. Une seule est digne d'être ambitionnée, c'est la popularité parmi l'aristocratie de l'intelligence,<sup>5</sup>

or

Qu'ai-je besoin de cette vaine chose qu'on nomme espérance? Espérance de bruit dans un monde que je méprise

It would be interesting to discover what reasons, besides the natural reaction of searching for a powerful intellectual antidote to suffering, made Vigny turn to Stoicism. Citoleux, writing on the moral philosophy of Vigny the Stoic, says 'Les ouvrages des Stoiciens l'aideront à dessiner ses Chatterton, ses Renaud, ses Paul de Larisse'.<sup>7</sup> But which *ouvrages stoiciens*? Vigny mentions by name Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. Were these the only *origines luesques* of the poet's Stoicism? Were they, indeed, the most important sources? A suggestion which bears examination is that it was not in reading the Ancients that Vigny acquired his first taste for Stoicism but in reading Montaigne's *Essais*.

Let us pause for a moment to consider the evolution of the Stoic idea in Vigny's works. We see the Stoic attitude held up to admiration, but very briefly, in *Cinq Mars* (1826) in the death of Cinq Mars and De Thou. In *Stello* (1832) the prisoners at St Lazare await death with Stoic resignation. Remember the description of the *chaise de paille*—'C'était un album que cette planche! Les voyageurs qui s'y étaient inscrits étaient tous au seul port où nous soyons sûrs d'arriver'.<sup>8</sup>

*Servitude et Grandeur militaires* (1835) provides an apt illustration of the *impassibilité du sage*, the absence of passions, Stoic pride, and constancy in face of death. But *Chatterton*, published in the same year, is even more interesting. It contains conclusive proof of Vigny's debt to Montaigne. There we have the Stoic idea of suicide expounded by Vigny in words that are too strikingly reminiscent of the *Essais* not to be a direct imitation. Compare, for example, *Chatterton*, act III,

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, p. 96

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, p. 90

<sup>3</sup> *Les Destinées*, 'L'Esprit pur', p. 173

<sup>4</sup> *Servitude et Grandeur militaires*, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, p. 54

<sup>6</sup> *Journal*, p. 255

<sup>7</sup> Citoleux, *A de Vigny, per sistance classiques et affinités étrangères*, Paris, 1924, p. 496

<sup>8</sup> *Stello*, p. 153. Cf. Montaigne, *Essais*, ed. J. Plattard, II, III, p. 31, 'l'unique port des tourmens de ceste vie' 'C'est un port tres-assuré'

scene II, with Montaigne's 'Coustume de l'Isle de Cea'<sup>1</sup> It is sufficient to place the relevant passages side by side for the reader to draw his own conclusions

Chatterton, act III, scene II

Chatterton Qu'on me donne une heure de bonheur, et je redeviendrai un excellent chrétien Ce que ce que vous craignez, les stoiciens l'appelaient sortie raisonnable.

Le Quaker C'est vrai, et ils disaient même que les causes qui nous retiennent à la vie n'étant guère fortes, on pouvait bien en sortir pour des causes légères.

Mais il faut considérer, ami, que la Fortune change souvent et peut beaucoup, et que, si elle peut faire quelque chose pour quelqu'un, c'est pour un vivant

Chatterton Mais aussi elle ne peut rien contre un mort

Le Quaker Tu as bien raison, mais seulement, c'est un peu poltron — s'aller cacher sous une grosse pierre, dans un grand trou, par frayeur d'elle, c'est de la lâcheté

It will be noted that, of these Stoic expressions, two were taken by Montaigne from Seneca, *Epistolae* 70 and 77,<sup>2</sup> one from the *Life of Zeno* by Diogenes Laertes<sup>3</sup> and the last is Montaigne's own invention Vigny then obviously borrowed directly from Montaigne

Further, Vigny did not really understand the Stoic attitude towards suicide, for Chatterton commits suicide in order to escape from his miserable existence His act is an act of despair, and as such would not be recognized by the Stoics as *une sortie raisonnable*

A glance at the *Journal* shows how preoccupied Vigny was with the idea of suicide On 26 April 1832 he makes the following entry 'Il y avait des stoiciens qui, excusant le suicide, l'appelaient sortie raisonnable'<sup>4</sup> But as early as 1823 he was considering the subject seriously and at one time planned to write a treatise containing examples of suicides and explaining their causes 'La deuxième consultation sur le suicide Elle renfermera tous les genres du suicide et des exemples de toutes leurs causes analysées profondément'<sup>5</sup> This *deuxième consultation* was never written, but 'Les Amants de Montmorency', inspired by a contemporary tragedy, shows two unhappy lovers choosing suicide as an escape from life's ills

How often, too, in the *Journal* particularly, but elsewhere also, we find the recurring themes of Stoic philosophy<sup>1</sup> The struggle against Destiny, for instance

Montaigne, 'Coustume de l'Isle de Cea'

Ils appellent cela εὐλογον ἐξαγωγήν (Diogène Laërce, *Life of Zeno*)

Car, quoy qu'ils dient qu'il faut souvent mourir pour causes legieres, puis que celles qui nous tiennent en vie ne sont guiere fortes, si y faut-il quelque mesure (Sén *Ep* 77)

Toutes choses, dit un mot ancien, sont esperables à un homme pendant qu'il vit. 'Ouy mais, respond Seneca, pourquoy auray-je plustost en la teste cela, que la fortune peut toutes choses pour celuy qui est vivant, que cecy, que fortune ne peut rien sur celuy qui scait mourir?' (Sén *Ep* 70)

C'est le rolle de la couardise, non de la vertu, de s'aller tapir dans un creux sous une tombe massive, pour éviter les coups de la fortune

<sup>1</sup> *Essais*, ed. Plattard, II, III, pp 34, 36

<sup>2</sup> Seneca, *Epistolae morales*, Loeb ed., Bk II, *Ep* lxxvii, p 170, 'Saepe enim et fortiter desinendum est et non ex maximis causis, nam nec eae maximae sunt, quae nos tenent' Bk II, *Ep* lxx, p 58, 'Ego cogitem in eo, qui vivit, omnia posse fortunam, potius quam cogitem in eo, qui scit mori, nil posse fortunam?'

<sup>3</sup> Diogenes Laertes, *Life of Zeno*, Heinemann ed p 234, εὐλογος τέ φασιν ἐξάγειν αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου τὸν σοφὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ πατριδος καὶ ὑπὲρ φίλων, etc

<sup>4</sup> *Journal*, p 62 Cf Montaigne, *Essais*, II, III, p 36, 'Ils appellent cela εὐλογον ἐξαγωγήν'

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, p 63

Le combat intellectuel. La destinée.<sup>1</sup>

La destinée et l'homme<sup>2</sup>

La Destinée emporte tout à elle seule, il n'y a pas un lutteur qui lui résiste<sup>3</sup>

Je pense que la Destinée dirige une moitié de la vie de chaque homme et son caractère l'autre moitié<sup>4</sup>

Les hommes sont partout et toujours de simples et faibles créatures, plus ou moins ballottées et contrefaites par leur destinée. Seulement les plus forts ou les meilleurs se redressent contre elle et la façonnent à leur gré, au lieu de se laisser pétrir par sa main capricieuse.<sup>5</sup>

The attitude to be adopted towards Fate or Fatality is touched upon in these lines

Les Stoiciens de l'antiquité disaient qu'il fallait braver le sort et ne s'occuper que de ce qui dépend de l'âme<sup>6</sup>

L'impassibilité, la résignation à la fatalité, c'est tout le stoïcisme antique<sup>7</sup>

The problem of suffering which must be affronted courageously is indicated in such phrases as 'Il est mal et lâche de chercher à se distraire d'une noble douleur pour ne pas souffrir autant. Il faut y réfléchir et s'enfermer courageusement sur cette épée'<sup>8</sup> 'L'art de bien souffrir et de bien mourir', as he expresses it in *Servitude et Grandeur*<sup>9</sup>

The search for happiness. What must we teach man in order to make him happy? The answer suggested by Vigny in *Daphné* is 'Il faut réaliser le règne des philosophes, la pensée pure de Marc-Aurèle'<sup>10</sup> All wisdom is contained in the Stoic maxim, 'Souffre et abstiens-toi'

La philosophie antique renferme toute sagesse humaine dans cette maxime. Souffre et abstiens-toi, sentant que nos plus fortes inclinations sont vicieuses et tendent à la destruction de la société<sup>11</sup>

We shall be happy if we do not attach over-much importance to worldly things.

La seule vraie fin à laquelle l'esprit arrive, en pénétrant tout au fond de chaque perspective, c'est le néant de tout. Gloire, amour, bonheur, rien de tout cela n'est complètement<sup>12</sup>

If we would know the sage's happiness, we must neither hope nor fear

Il est bon et salutaire de n'avoir aucune espérance. L'espérance est la plus grande de nos folies. Cela bien compris, tout ce qui arrive d'heureux surprend<sup>13</sup>

N'ayez peur ni de la pauvreté, ni de l'exil, ni de la prison, ni de la mort, mais ayez peur de la peur [avec une citation d'Épictète]<sup>14</sup>

That, by the way, is one of the few references to Epictetus, but elsewhere we find another saying from the *Manuel* which Vigny might have found in the *Essais*, viz 'Un fait n'est ni un mal ni un bien, c'est un fait seulement'<sup>15</sup>

If the *Journal* contains many notes indicating Vigny's leaning towards the moral philosophy of the Stoics, his *Daphné* is even more in accord with Stoic ideals both in tone and outlook. In *Stello* Le Docteur Noir represented the triumph of

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, p. 3

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, p. 35

<sup>4</sup> *Journal*, p. 233 Cf. Montaigne, *Essais*, I, xlii, p. 176, 'C'est notre caractère qui fait à chacun de nous sa destinée' (from Cornelius Nepos)

<sup>5</sup> *Stello*, p. 119

<sup>6</sup> *Journal*, p. 199.

<sup>7</sup> *Journal*, p. 244

<sup>8</sup> *Journal*, p. 108

<sup>9</sup> *Servitude et Grandeur militaires*, p. 145

<sup>10</sup> *Daphné*, p. 117. Elsewhere he refers to 'la morale pure de Marc-Aurèle'

<sup>11</sup> *Journal*, p. 92

<sup>12</sup> *Journal*, p. 145

<sup>13</sup> *Journal*, p. 63

<sup>14</sup> *Journal*, p. 159

<sup>15</sup> *Journal*, p. 15. Cf. Montaigne, *Essais*, I, xx, p. 127, 'La vie n'est de soy ny bien ny mal, c'est la place du bien et du mal selon que vous la leur faites'

Stoicism, in *Daphné* the struggle between Christian and pagan or Stoic morality ends in victory for the latter. Here Vigny multiplies the use of the term Stoic, so that all the characters may be said to adopt the Stoic attitude at times. In order to accomplish his mission, 'Pour porter la parole de Daphné' to Julian, Paul de Larisse has become a slave, and even when Julian is made Emperor, Paul refuses to become a free man because he regards life from the vantage-point of the Stoic—at least that is the impression Vigny wishes to convey. In telling phrases the slave's admirable attitude is described thus:

Ce fut alors seulement que Libanius aperçut Paul de Larisse et lui tendit la main. Celui-ci s'avança lentement et mit sa main dans celle du maître, qui, voyant sous son manteau entr'ouvert la saie des serviteurs, dit à Julien

'Eh quoi! Paul est-il donc toujours esclave?'

'Toujours et pour toujours, dit Paul de Larisse, mais plus libre que lui qui voulait m'affranchir malgré moi.'

Then Libanius, addressing Julian, says

Tu m'as ramené Paul de Larisse que je vois stoicien et plus solide que jamais sur ses pieds.<sup>1</sup>

Just as he wished to represent Paul de Larisse as a Stoic, so Vigny refers to the Emperor Julian and to Basile de Césarée as 'Stoiciens'. In reality, of course, none of these is a Stoic, but each adopts on occasion the Stoic attitude.

And that Stoic attitude is one which we can appreciate again in such poems as 'La Bouteille à la Mer', where the sailor shows truly Stoic resignation, or in 'La Mort du Loup', whose closing lines convey the same idea:

Si tu peux, fais que ton âme arrive  
A force de rester studieuse et pensive,  
Jusqu'à ce haut degré de stoïque fierté,  
Où, naissant dans les bois, j'ai tout d'abord monté  
Gémir, pleurer, prier est également lâche  
Fais énergiquement ta longue et lourde tâche  
Dans la voie où le sort a voulu t'appeler,  
Puis, après, comme moi, souffre et meurs sans parler.<sup>2</sup>

That Stoic attitude was what appealed especially to Vigny. He knew little of the philosophic system of Zeno. He does not seem to have made any profound study of Stoic doctrine. He toys with certain Stoic ideas, like Destiny, Fatality, Suicide and so on. He quotes Brutus and Cato as examples to be followed. He approves of the maxim, 'Souffre et abstiens-toi'. He mentions Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, but actually his notions of Stoicism have a strong personal tinge.

As in Montaigne's case, it was an excessive sensitiveness which led him to cultivate the Stoic attitude towards life, but Vigny differed from Montaigne, in that it was not particularly the study of the Ancients which encouraged him to adopt this course. He *may* have read Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, but he certainly *did* read and study the *Essays*. Both his ideas and his style are influenced to some extent by Montaigne. It is true that Vigny only mentions Montaigne by name four times, twice in the *Journal*,<sup>3</sup> once in *Stello*<sup>4</sup> and once in *Cinq Mars*,<sup>5</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> *Daphné*, pp. 125 and 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Destinées*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, p. 91, following after 'Les Stoiciens sont bons, désespérés et doux, forts et miséricordieux', we read 'Excepté la poésie, tout est plus ou moins de la conversation écrite — Ainsi, toute la prose de Montaigne, de Voltaire etc.' Also, p. 161, 'La Critique de Montaigne dans Malebranche — Finesse et exactitude géo-

métrique de l'analyse — Le livre IIIe, *De l'Entendement ou l'Esprit pur*, est un des meilleurs.'

<sup>4</sup> *Stello*, p. 259, 'Torquato Tasso, les yeux brûlés de pleurs, couvert de haillons, dédaigné même de Montaigne (ah! philosophe, qu'as-tu fait là!).'

<sup>5</sup> *Cinq Mars*, Paris, Delagrave, 1925, II, ch. xvi, p. 7 'elle [la lampe] éclairait le buste de l'Hospital, celui de Montaigne, du président de Thou.'

there are innumerable turns of phrase which remind us of the *Essays*. Take, for example, such expressions as these

Chaque homme n'est que l'image d'une idée de l'esprit général.<sup>1</sup> (Cf. Montaigne 'Chaque homme porte la forme entière de l'humaine condition' <sup>2</sup>)

Nous nous sommes choisis entre tous, nous nous sommes devinés et rencontrés, nous ne pouvons jamais nous perdre.<sup>3</sup> (Cf. Montaigne 'Nous nous cherchions avant que de nous estre veus, et par des rapports que nous oyions l'un de l'autre, qui faisoient en nostre affection plus d'effort que ne porte la raison des rapports, je croy par quelque ordonnance du ciel' <sup>4</sup>)

Compare, too, the style of the first few pages of *Servitude et Grandeur militaires*, e.g.

Je ferai donc parler les autres plus que moi-même, hors quand je serai forcé de m'appeler comme témoin. Je m'y suis toujours senti quelque répugnance, en étant empêché par une certaine pudeur au moment de me mettre en scène. Quand cela m'arrivera, du moins puis-je attester qu'en ces endroits je serai vrai. Quand on parle de soi, la meilleure muse est la Franchise. Je ne saurais me parer de bonne grâce de la plume des paons, toute belle qu'elle est, je crois que chacun doit lui préférer la sienne. Je ne me sens pas assez de modestie, je l'avoue, pour croire gagner beaucoup en prenant quelque chose de l'allure d'un autrui, et en posant dans une attitude grandiose, artistement choisie et péniblement conservée aux dépens des bonnes inclinations naturelles et d'un penchant inné que nous avons tous vers la vérité.<sup>5</sup>

Or an expression such as this

Je ne fais pas un livre, il se fait. Il mûrit et croît dans ma tête comme un fruit.<sup>6</sup>

Again and again the resemblance is there. Just as Montaigne assimilated the matter and manner of Seneca to a certain extent,<sup>7</sup> so Vigny has consciously or unconsciously assimilated Montaigne.

It is not surprising that Vigny should have felt himself attracted to his illustrious predecessor. There are many obvious similarities in the lives of the two writers. Both were incorrigible egotists, both had special attention as children, which tended to make them different from the herd, both were tortured by doubts which led to scepticism and to the adoption of a pagan philosophy. Life at first held many disappointments for both, both were thwarted in their ambitions, both reacted by retiring from the world in order to secure the sage's *solitude de l'âme*, both affected to despise public approval, both lived the larger part of their lives without the solace of faith, friendship or love, both suffered from painful illness. These similarities, of course, are outnumbered by differences between the two characters, but it is interesting to note that Vigny, like Montaigne, turned to Stoicism as a means of making life tolerable in face of pain, disappointment and frustration.

Montaigne's philosophy of life evolved onwards from Stoicism, Vigny's Stoic attitude was his final stand. Montaigne found happiness in a more human solution of life's problems, Vigny seems to have found satisfaction in struggling to conquer the unattainable Stoic heights. Yet, from time to time, we see how impossible he felt the struggle to be, as when he exclaimed 'Malgré tout ce travail de la volonté, la douleur nous saisit malgré nous et reste là',<sup>8</sup> or 'Le mépris m'étouffera

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, p. 17

<sup>2</sup> *Essays*, III, II, p. 29

<sup>3</sup> *Daphne*, pp. 127, 128

<sup>4</sup> *Essays*, I, XXVIII, p. 69

<sup>5</sup> *Servitude et Grandeur militaires*, pp. 5 f. Cf. Montaigne, *Essays*, 'Au Lecteur', 'Si c'eust esté pour rechercher la faveur du monde, je me fusse mieux paré et me présenterois en une marche étudiée. Je veux qu'on m'y voie en ma façon

simple, naturelle et ordinaire, sans contention et artifice car c'est moi que je peins'

<sup>6</sup> *Journal*, p. 113. Cf. Montaigne, *Essays*, II, XVIII, p. 94. 'Je n'ay pas plus fait mon livre que mon livre m'a fait'

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Camilla H. Hay, *Montaigne, Lecteur et Imitateur de Sénèque*, Pontiers, 1938

<sup>8</sup> *Journal*, p. 85

quelque jour',<sup>1</sup> or when he revealed his distaste for 'la douloureuse réalité qui nous enserre'.<sup>2</sup>

And the haunting suspicion that life has been unaccountably harsh towards him assails him forcibly—as it always assails the introspective egotist—when he makes an attempt to justify himself, and in so doing pierces the flimsy mask of Stoicism

La sévérité froide et un peu sombre de mon caractère n'était pas native Elle m'a été donnée par la vie Ce fut comme une réaction contre la dureté avec laquelle je fus traité<sup>3</sup>

Thus Vigny reveals the inadequacy of the substitute for faith and love and illustrates by his life and work that Stoicism is at best a *pis-aller* which can never fully satisfy the human soul

How far was the Stoic attitude in Vigny's case a hypocritical pose, 'la dure enveloppe qui cache une sensibilité profonde', a wilful avoidance of life's responsibilities?

'Hypocrisie, tu es la raison même!'<sup>4</sup>

CAMILLA H. HAY

HULL

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, p. 47

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, p. 67

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, p. 62

<sup>4</sup> *Stello*, p. 38

## POE AND BAUDELAIRE: THE 'AFFINITY'

Some of the more industrious researchers have attempted to clear up the confusions that have obscured the chronology of Poe's penetration into France. They are not themselves in complete agreement, but the following facts seem established. Poe's reputation had to emerge from a shadow of vulgarity, his name having been popularized through a somewhat notorious affair. On 12 October 1846 a certain E. D. Forgues, alias Old Nick, published in a paper called *Le Commerce* a much abridged version of *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, a more complete, though disfigured, translation having appeared earlier in the year in another journal. Neither of these renderings admitted the authorship of the tale, and accusations of plagiarism ensued which led to a lawsuit. In the course of it the counsel for the defence dropped a prophetic hint: 'Grâce à M. Forgues, tout le monde va savoir que M. E. Poe fait des contes en Amérique'. Already in 1845 an adaptation of *A Stolen Letter* had appeared anonymously. Later in the year another of the tales had been translated and published in *La Revue Britannique* with an editorial note which mentioned the author's name for the first time, and a few months before his trial Forgues sent the first article in French on Poe to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (15 October 1846). From then on Poe's fortunes in France show a decided improvement in quality.

On 27 January 1847 Charles Baudelaire opened *La Démocratie pacifique* and read *Le Chat noir*, one of the tales of Poe turned into French by Mlle Isabelle Meunier, who translated others for the same journal. His enthusiasm was immediate and unbounded. In a letter to Armand Fraisse, written about ten years later, he describes the circumstances of the discovery in words from which I shall quote later in the original.

I can reveal to you something still more singular, something incredible. In 1846 or '47 I came across a few fragments of Edgar Poe and was strangely disturbed. His complete works not having been collected, I had the patience to link up with Americans living in Paris so as to borrow files of the newspapers Poe had directed. It was then I found, believe me if you will, poems and short stories which I had had in my mind, but in a vague, confused, disorderly state, and which Poe had been able to bring off and carry to perfection.

The domination of Baudelaire's mind by this contact was for a time nothing short of spectacular. 'J'ai vu peu de possessions aussi complètes, aussi rapides, aussi absolues', wrote Asselineau. 'Baudelaire,' wrote Champfleury, 'pendant de longues années, s'incarna dans Poe.'

He decides to translate the tales and devotes four years to preparation, reading, consulting, brushing up his English and attempting to get into closer touch with his author's mind, not omitting to give offence by impulsive interrogation of travellers, lackeys, waiters, anyone who might be suspected of knowing something about America and whom he accosts, detains and argues with at unconventional moments. He procures every piece of Poe's work he can lay hands on, sets himself the task of translating one tale a day, and rages over the proofs.

On the development of the short story in France the tales have apparently had an enormous effect, and it was Baudelaire who made the best, if not always the first, version. He began with *Mesmeric Revelation*, which he translated for *La Liberté de Penser* (15 July 1848). From 1852 for a number of years he regularly sent renderings to the reviews. His version of Poe's most popular poem, *The Raven*,



came out in *L'Artiste* (1 March 1853). A few months later the appearance of a thin volume, *Nouvelles choisies d'Edgar Poe*, by another hand, may have urged him to collect his own. A first series, produced in 1856 as the *Histoires Extraordinaires*, was followed in 1857 by the *Nouvelles Histoires Extraordinaires Les Aventures d'A.-G. Pym* appeared *en feuilleton* that year and as a book the next. *Eureka*, part of which had already been published, came out in 1863 and was followed in 1865 by the last of the series, *Les Histoires Grottesques et Sérieuses*. Despite the efforts of many 'ivals', Baudelaire's versions have retained their rank as the most complete and widely diffused, though they are no longer regarded as 'one of the most accurate and brilliant translations in literature'.<sup>1</sup> They represent a serious amount of work and reveal an unexpected degree of persistent application.

The 'influence' begins in a discovery and is sustained by an attraction. Commentators are content to predicate an 'affinity' between the two poets, or rather between their minds, for only a few traces of demonstrable influence have been found in the *Fleurs du Mal*. The assumption is inevitable. But the affinity is the crux of the matter and remains an obscure point. Baudelaire himself throws little light on its intimate nature and the investigators accept it without analysis or argument as the most 'remarkable', the 'unique' case of its kind, or they shroud it in rhetoric. 'Poe', says Seylaz, 'fut comme le Messie littéraire qui révéla Baudelaire à soi-même', and M. John Charpentier, who is sometimes acute, can write 'La "commotion singulière" qu'il dit avoir ressentie au contact du Conteur américain n'est comparable qu'à celle de la grâce pour le chrétien en proie aux affres du doute'.<sup>2</sup> Generally it is agreed that the discovery of Poe helped Baudelaire, not in the popular sense to 'discover his genius', but to realize some of his characteristic faculties and potential *procédés*. The work of the American may, as Charpentier suggests, have replied to most of the questions the French poet set out to solve.

But what has Baudelaire himself to say about a relationship that meant so much to him? He insists on two points which he repeats without elaboration. The first is that he *understands* Poe and has written about him in a mood of sympathetic excitement, illuminated by similar circumstances and sufferings.

J'ai trouvé un auteur américain [he writes to his mother] qui a excité en moi une incroyable sympathie, et j'ai écrit deux articles sur sa vie et ses ouvrages. C'est écrit avec ardeur, mais tu y découvriras sans doute quelques signes d'une très extraordinaire surexcitation. C'est la conséquence de la vie douloureuse et folle que je mène.<sup>3</sup>

Along with this emphasis on his sympathy, his letters show a conviction of *resemblance*. It is worth glancing at the context in which he uses the word. Most of his comments on Poe's work and gifts will be found to refer to the tales and the theories, relatively few refer to the poems. Even when he talks of resemblances between himself and the American, the implication is the same. Yet he made one or two unmistakable references to similarities between his poems and Poe's.

The most emphatic is a phrase in the letter from which we have just quoted, it accompanied a copy of Poe's poems. Except for the early pieces and the *Scenes*

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.) It is unfortunate that the one positive note struck in this piece of critical hauteur should have been wide of the mark.

<sup>2</sup> In the course of a somewhat laborious article, 'La poésie britannique et Baudelaire', *Mercure de France*, 15 April and 1 May 1921.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Mme Baudelaire, 27 March 1852. Cf. 'Comprends-tu maintenant pourquoi, au milieu de l'affreuse solitude qui m'environne, j'ai si bien compris le génie d'Edgar Poe, et pourquoi j'ai si bien écrit son abominable vie?' (26 March 1853).

from *Politian*, he tells his mother, 'tu ne trouveras que du beau et de l'étrange'. Then he adds

Ce qu'il y a d'assez singulier, et ce qu'il m'est impossible de ne pas remarquer, c'est la ressemblance intime, quoique non positivement accentuée, entre mes poésies propres et celles de cet homme, déduction faite du tempérament et du climat

The feeling of resemblance is for Baudelaire inescapable. But, intimate and independent of temperament and milieu, it is not revealed by positive signs. This is not very helpful, least of all to the type of researcher who conceives the quest of 'influence' as the collection and cataloguing of 'positive signs'. The letter may furnish a faint clue in the association of the words 'beau' and 'étrange'. They fit the *Fleurs du Mal* as they do everything Poe wrote. The American was fond of quoting Bacon's phrase 'There is no Excellent Beauty, that hath not some Strangeness in the Proportion'. 'Etrangeté', echoes Baudelaire, 'condiment indispensable de toute beauté'. He admits differences of temperament. But both he and Poe were involved in that type of spiritual polarity, that violent contrast of moods, which he called 'Spleen et Idéal', the pull of a world of evil, hardship, deception, ennui, exerted upon the aspirations of the spirit—'l'extase de la vie et l'horreur de la vie'. The sense of this radical psychological ambivalence, reflected in the antitheses of their poetry, must, I think, have been one of the chief elements in the French poet's conviction of 'resemblance'.

The statement in the letter to Mme Baudelaire is unique in its definiteness. The much-quoted phrase in the letter to Fraisse, where, referring to his shock of recognition, Baudelaire says he found 'des poèmes et des nouvelles dont j'avais eu la pensée mais vague et confuse, mal ordonnée, et que Poe avait su combiner et mener à la perfection', is on the other hand indefinite, so far as his own achievement goes. Baudelaire wrote no tales after *La Fanfarlo*, though many were planned in imitation of those he was translating. Nor has one any reason for thinking that those 'poems', which vaguely hovered in his mind when he discovered Poe's, were ever written down.

The only other reference worth noting occurs in a letter to Thoré (about 1866). Protesting against the accusation that he imitates the American, the French poet asks 'Do you know why I so patiently translated Poe?' and retorts

Parce qu'il me ressemblait. La première fois que j'ai ouvert un livre de lui, j'ai vu avec épouvante et ravissement non seulement des sujets rêvés par moi mais des PHRASES pensées par moi et écrites par lui vingt ans auparavant.

Here the reference is obviously to the tales.

The excuse for bringing these texts together is the difficulty one has in perceiving much, if any, resemblance between the poems of Baudelaire and those of Poe. And the question arises, with what degree of exactitude was the word used? M. Michaut points out that the Frenchman used it of his feelings not only for Poe but also for Delacroix, Wagner, De Quincey and others.<sup>1</sup> Two conclusions, however, seem valid: that his sense of affinity with Poe was stimulated by a belief in similar misfortunes and that its strongest pull operated through the tales and the ideas rather than through the poems, or between the mind reflected in the tales and ideas and that of the man who translated or adapted them. Charpentier is probably

<sup>1</sup> R. Michaut, 'Baudelaire et Edgar Poe. Une mise au point', *Revue de Littérature comparée*, October—December 1938. The similarity between the phrase in the letter to Thoré and one in a letter Baudelaire had written to Wagner (17 February

1860) is striking enough to suggest that his enthusiasms might prompt the same kind of self-appropriating formula as a supreme compliment to the work of any artist he admired.

right when he says 'Baudelaire ne laisse pas de s'illusionner en partie sur l'exactitude de sa ressemblance avec Poe'. Not that he neglected the poems. Ferran makes the surprising statement that Baudelaire seems not to have been particularly struck by the verse of Poe and recalls a reservation he made to Lowell's praise of the shorter piece *To Helen*. Granting that this reflects on the poem itself, I can find only one other reference out of several which is not emphatically flattering—the reservation about the juvenilia in the letter to his mother. In 1854 he called Poe 'un des plus grands poètes de ce temps', and the phrase, 'Sa poésie, profonde et plaintive, est néanmoins ouvragée, pure, correcte et brillante comme un bijou de crystal', published in 1852, reappears with a slight alteration four years later and again with a more significant change in 1857. As late as 1862 he sent Alfred de Vigny a volume of his beloved poet's work with the remark: 'Enfin voici les poésies de Poe. Je ne vous recommande rien, tout est également intéressant'.

And yet what interest Baudelaire took in the poems cannot be compared with his practical preoccupation with the tales. He brought out a rendering of *The Raven* in 1853 and again in 1854, and thought for a time of publishing translations from the poems along with one or other of his selections from the tales. But he advanced no further with the project beyond translating *The Haunted House* as part of *The Fall of the House of Usher* and turning a sonnet Poe had written to Maria Clemm into a dedication for the *Histoires Extraordinaires*.

Passing from the mysteries of affinity to the assumptions of influence, Seylaz makes the biggest claims. He believes that the poems of Baudelaire abound in reminiscences of the tales he was translating. But few of his *rapprochements* convincingly support this view, and he admits that the influence is much more clearly visible in the doctrine of Baudelaire.<sup>1</sup> The superior importance for the latter of Poe's ideas on the nature of poetry and the poet's craft, though frequently stressed—Valéry's essay is largely devoted to them—has not yet been studied in all its literary implications. With this aspect of the relationship I have attempted to deal, though without pretending to any kind of finality in a field that appears to bristle with unsuspected difficulties.<sup>2</sup> As for the relation of the *Fleurs du Mal* to the poems of Poe, some investigators take a dogmatic stand on the dates 1843–4, the pertinent fact being Ernest Prarond's claim that in 1843 he saw in a finished state fifteen of the pieces that went to make up the volume of 1857. Ferran dismisses the point with a vague appeal to the dates.<sup>3</sup> Crépet, in his notes to the Conard edition of the *Fleurs du Mal*, admits that most of the poems must have been composed between 1840 and 1850, but reminds us that they were constantly revised almost up to the poet's death in 1867. And Lemonnier contends that in the process occasional points and turns were incorporated from Poe and other poets of the English tongue. Lemonnier's information is formidable, but he seems to have stretched 'proof' beyond evidence in making an exception of a group of poems, the immediate inspiration of which was a 'platonic' passion for Mme Sabatier, who presided over a salon which attracted Baudelaire in the early fifties. The admirer's attitude to 'La Présidente' is compared with that of Poe to Mrs Whitman and, on the basis of an unimpressive argument, Lemonnier asserts that the poems in question 'clearly' proceed from Poe. The only example he refers to is a sonnet, *Le Flambeau vivant*, which he calls a 'paraphrase' of Poe's longer piece *To Helen*,

<sup>1</sup> L. Seylaz, *Edgar Poe et les premiers symbolistes français*, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> The attempt was made in an article published in the *Modern Language Review* for July

1944. The present note was part of the original draft, held over out of considerations of space.

<sup>3</sup> A. Ferran, *L'Esthétique de Baudelaire*, p. 175.

They are my ministers—yet I their slave.  
Their office is to illumine and enkindle—  
My duty, *to be saved* by their bright light  
unextinguished by the sun !

Ils sont mes serviteurs et je suis leur esclave,  
 Tout mon être obéit à ce vivant flambeau  
 \* \* † † † † † †  
 Astres dont nul soleil ne peut flétrir la flamme !

P MANSELL JONES

<sup>1</sup> I suggest that whenever Poe is directly imitated, whether by Baudelaire or by any other French poet, the closer the imitation the worse the result. Translation is another matter. Lemonnier's argument seems largely invalidated by some recent revelations made in the course of M. Albert Feuillerat's precise and charming study *Baudelaire et la Belle aux cheveux d'or*, Yale Univ. Press, 1941, pp. 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> For details see L. Lemonnier, *Edgar Poe et les poètes français*, pp. 25–32. Actually Baudelaire may have been more indebted to certain minor Romanticists like Philotée O’Neddy and Pétrus Borel. See the valuable notes in Dr Erind Stakie’s edition of *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Blackwell, 1943), and her article in the *Modern Language Review* for October 1944.

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE POEMS OF GUIDO CAVALCANTI

Surveys of the language of the early Tuscan poets have so far been lamentably scarce. With the exception of studies on the poetic vernacular of Dante,<sup>1</sup> Brunetto Latini,<sup>2</sup> Guittone D'Arezzo,<sup>3</sup> and *Il Fiore*,<sup>4</sup> hardly anything has been accomplished in this field, though it is exactly researches of this kind that are needed. As Barbi complained only too justly,

la mancanza di vocabolarii, di studi sulla sintassi, di analisi speciali sulla lingua dei vari periodi e dei singoli autori si ripercuote nelle difficoltà che incontra chi prepara un'edizione critica. L'interpretazione non giusta, non storica, fuori fuoco d'un testo, astratta dalla perfetta conoscenza dell'uso linguistico, impedisce anche la giusta e precisa interpretazione e il retto giudizio critico.<sup>5</sup>

Hence, only when the language of the early Florentine poets, such as Andrea Monte, Rustico di Filippo, or Chiaro Davanzati, of the Stalnovisti, and of the early poets of Siena, Pisa, Lucca, and Pistoia, has been analysed thoroughly, will it be possible to reach a precise and satisfactory estimate of the intrinsic nature of poetic Tuscan in its early stages. Caix's well-known work,<sup>6</sup> the only comprehensive one on the subject, is far from complete, as well as being quite out of date, and its weaknesses are chiefly to be ascribed to the absence of such essential surveys.

The poetic language of Cavalcanti met with the approval of so fastidious a critic as the Divine poet. It was in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* that Dante praised the lyric vernacular of Cavalcanti,<sup>7</sup> while condemning that of Guittone D'Arezzo and his Tuscan followers, Florentines included.<sup>8</sup> 'Sed quanquam fere omnes Tusci in suo turpiloquio sint obtusi, nonnullos vulgaris excellentiam cognovisse sentimus, scilicet Gidonem, Lapum et unum alium, Florentinos',<sup>9</sup> wrote Dante, recognizing without hesitation the excellence of Guido's language.

Cavalcanti's language shows him on the whole as conforming with contemporary poetic tradition. But unlike many of the Florentine poets of his time, and notably the many admirers and followers of Guittone D'Arezzo, such as Chiaro Davanzati, Andrea Monte, and Palamidesse, to give a few examples, he refrained from borrowing indiscriminately from the Provençals and the Sicilians. This should not, however, be taken to imply that Cavalcanti entirely refused to borrow from literary dialects from outside. He did borrow, had he not done so he could hardly have conformed with established literary convention. But there are degrees in borrowing, and thanks to an innate taste and sense of proportion, Cavalcanti was able to steer clear of the excesses of the 'Provenzaleggianti Toscani'. Thus the reader of

<sup>1</sup> Amongst which should be noted N. Zingarelli, 'Parole e forme nella Divina Commedia alene dal dialetto fiorentino', *Studi di filologia romanza*, I (1885), 1-202, E. G. Parodi, 'La rima e i vocaboli in rima nella Divina Commedia', *Bullettino della società dantesca italiana*, n. s. III (1896), 81-156, G. Bertoni, 'La prosa della Vita Nuova' in *Lingua e cultura* (Firenze, 1939), pp. 165-222, G. Bertoni, 'La lingua di Dante', in *Lingua e Poesia* (Firenze, 1937), pp. 27-50, A. Schaffini, 'Note sul colorito dialettale della Divina Commedia', *Studi Danteschi*, XIII (1928), 31-45.

<sup>2</sup> In 'Der Tesoretto und Favolello B. Latini', ed. B. Wiese, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, VII (1883), 236-389.

<sup>3</sup> L. Rohrsheim, *Die Sprache des Fra Guittone D'Arezzo* (Halle, 1908).

<sup>4</sup> By B. Langheinrich in *Deutsches Dante Jahrbuch*, XIX (1937), 97-196.

<sup>5</sup> M. Barbi, *La nuova filologia e l'edizione dei nostri scrittori da Dante al Manzoni* (Firenze, 1938), p. xli.

<sup>6</sup> N. Caix, *Le origini della lingua poetica italiana* (Firenze, 1880).

<sup>7</sup> Dante, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I, XIII, 3, II, VI, 6, II, XII, 3, quotations from Dante's works are according to the Florence edition of 1921.

<sup>8</sup> *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I, XIII, 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* I, XIII, 3.

Cavalcanti's *Canzoniere* is not aware of the hybrid nature of its vernacular, while he cannot avoid being painfully so when reading the poetry of Guittone's circle. Actually, Cavalcanti, who in this agreed with Dante, held some decidedly strong views about the linguistic ideals of those Tuscan poets who were to be so mercilessly criticized in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.<sup>1</sup> What he thought of the poetry of some of his contemporaries, and particularly of that of Guittone D'Arezzo whom even Guinizelli, the great Guinizelli, had hailed as 'caro padre meo',<sup>2</sup> is disclosed by the following lines addressed to Guittone by Cavalcanti

Nel profferer che cade 'n barbarismo  
difetto di saver ti dà cagione.  
E come far potresti un sofismo  
per sillabate carte fra Guittone?<sup>3</sup>

In the light of this, it is not to be altogether excluded that Dante's dislike for the 'Guittonian' may perhaps be traced ultimately to the influence of his 'primo amico' Cavalcanti, with whom we know he had discussed the question about the application of the conventions of Latin rhetoric to the *volgare*,<sup>4</sup> and who had encouraged his intention to write the *Vita Nuova* in everyday language.<sup>5</sup> According to Filippo Villani, a late fourteenth-century authority it is true, but not necessarily unreliable because of that, Cavalcanti 'in rhetoricis delectatus studus, eandem artem ad rithmorum vulgarium compositionem vulgariter transduxit'.<sup>6</sup> Such a statement, seen in connexion with what we are told in the *Vita Nuova*, makes it at any rate possible to suggest that Dante's views on the role of the *volgare* in literature may have been influenced by his conversations with Cavalcanti. Perhaps the first idea of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* may be tracked down to such contacts.

Quite naturally, the basic element of Cavalcanti's language was the Florentine vernacular. But, let it be well understood, not the dialect spoken by the illiterate, not that which may be read in some of the writings collected by Schiaffini,<sup>7</sup> but rather that heard amongst the more cultured section of the community. In fact, the dialect, to quote a passage by Giovan Battista Gelli, written, admittedly, during the sixteenth century, but nevertheless still of some significance for our purpose, 'che fauellano i nobili et veri cittadini fiorentini che hanno qualche cognizione, o di lingue, o di scienze, et non di quella che usano i plebei, et gli huomini che hanno cognizione di poche altre cose che di quelle che si conuengon loro come animali'.<sup>8</sup> Because of this, very few features of what we might call

<sup>1</sup> Supra, p. 284, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Rimatori del Dolce Stil Nuovo*, ed. L. di Benedetto (Bari, 1939), p. 19. All references to *Stil Nuovo* poets, Cavalcanti included, are according to this edition.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Dante, *Vita Nuova*, xxv, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. xxx, 3.

<sup>6</sup> F. Villani, *Liber de origine civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem famosis civibus*, curante G. C. Galletti (Florentiae, 1847), p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Such as the *Frammenti di un libro di conti di banchieri fiorentini* of 1211, and the *Libro della tavola di Ruccomanno Iacopi*, both of which preserve the forms of the current dialect, and are printed in A. Schiaffini, *Testi fiorentini del dugento e dei primi del trecento* (Firenze, 1926), pp. 3-33.

<sup>8</sup> B. Giambullari, *Della lingua che si parla e scrive in Firenze* (Firenze, 1551), pp. 25-6.

Similarly, Celso Cittadini wrote 'Il Fiorentino idioma, dico, si è quello che usano i Fiorentini scrittori, non pigliato dal mezzo del volgo, e dalla gente bassa, ma con discrezione, e con giudiziosa elezione di vocaboli non ignobili, non vili, non plebei, non troppo antichi, e scaduti e stantii, nè troppo nuovi ancora e non accettati, nè usati giammai de veruno' (*Opere di Celso Cittadini raccolte da Girolamo Gighi* (Roma, 1721), p. 299). It is interesting to note that during the Renaissance several kinds of Florentine were deemed to be spoken in Florence. Cf. for instance the remarks on the subject in S. Baugagli, *Il Turamino* (Siena, 1602), p. 74. Lionardo Salviati included a version in 'Lingua Fiorentina di mercato vecchio' in his collection of dialectal translations of one of Boccaccio's tales, cf. L. Salviati, *Avvertimenti della lingua sopra 'l Decamerone volume primo* (Venezia, 1584), sig. xx2v.

Florentine 'sermo plebeus' are to be found in Cavalcanti's poems. His lyrics do not supply any instances, for example, of that epenthesis of hiatus, which was one of the salient characteristics of the popular language, and one lonely *fue* (vi, 22)<sup>1</sup> is the sole relic of an insertion of *e* following a final stressed vowel. *Boce* (xlviii, 10), *niquità* (xlix, 9), and a few instances of *i* before an initial impure *s* should also be noted. With regard to *boce* and *niquità*, and in such a connexion may also be considered *santaleña* (xlviii, 1), *scrignutuzza* (xlix, 1), *aggruzza* (xlix, 3), *uzza* (xlix, 5), *gentiluzza* (xlix, 8), their employment may be explained on the grounds that they appear in sonnets of a jocular nature, where the use of plebeian terms, and even slang, was admissible.<sup>2</sup> Of some interest are *pu* (xxiii, 28) for *puoi*, a very rare form also occurring in *Vita Nuova* (xxii, 16),<sup>3</sup> and *lumicorno* (xlv, 6) in which article and noun have merged, and there is only one instance of falling diphthong, *ave* (vi, 22) for *aere*. To this Florentine base, Cavalcanti added the various features that characterized the traditional language of the thirteenth-century Italian lyric.<sup>4</sup> Thus *é* and *ó* are very often preserved instead of being diphthongized into *ie* and *uo*,<sup>5</sup> and many of the Latinisms fashionable in poetry, such as *pleno* (xlv, 2), *loco* (i, 23), *aude* (i, 65), *preco* (xxxvi, 25), occur very frequently. Naturally, the Sicilian element is present, but not overwhelmingly, and consists solely of forms which had become part of the lyric currency of thirteenth-century Tuscany. These included besides some conditionals in *-ia*, which will be examined presently, *priso* (i, 6, xxix, 7), *saccio* (vi, 30), *aggio* (i, 40), *nur* (passim), *vur* (passim), *vedite* (xxi, 1), *seggio* (xxii, 3), *veggio* (xxiv, 11). Some of these, as for instance *nur*, *vur*, *vedite*,<sup>6</sup> *priso*, occur only in rhyme, this being in accordance with poetic convention, a convention also followed by Dante.<sup>7</sup> *Eo* (vi, 30), *canoscenza* (iv, 14),<sup>8</sup> *ancide* (xxv, 5), all of which were much used in thirteenth-century lyrics, were similarly part of the conventional vocabulary.

Borrowings from the dialect of Arezzo were also employed fairly frequently by thirteenth-century Tuscan poets, owing to the great prestige of Guittone and his school. Even Dante's early lyrics included some Aretine rhymes.<sup>9</sup> Such forms are not, on the other hand, to be found in Cavalcanti's *canzoniere*, which is not surprising in view of his anti-Guittone attitude. Two possible exceptions, but extremely

<sup>1</sup> The Roman numerals indicate the number of the poem in Di Benedetto's edition, the others the line in which the word occurs.

<sup>2</sup> Cf in this connexion the language of Dante's 'Tenzione' with Forese Donati, and his remarks in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II, iv, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Pu* implies the development *pōies* > *puoi* > *pu*, it is, however, not to be excluded that it may have been influenced by analogy with *nur*, *vur*, etc., cf. E. G. Parodi, 'Rima siciliana, rima aretina e bolognese', *Bullettino della società dantesca italiana*, n. s. xx (1913), 134.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning the *Stil Nuovo* language, it is just as well to bear in mind Barbi's warning that 'le forme della tradizione poetica e quelle del parlare nativo fiorentino s'avvicinano in questi rimatori, e sarebbe errore metodico stabilire una sistematica coerenza di forme' (*La Vita Nuova di Dante Alighieri*, ed. M. Barbi (Firenze, 1932), p. 47, n.).

<sup>5</sup> On which cf. Schaffini, *Note sul colorito dialettale della Divina Commedia*, p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> In connexion with *vedere*, which might

equally well be a transfer from the 2nd to the 4th conjugation, it may be noted that according to Castelvetro 'non ha gran tempo, che i finissimi parlatori della lingua cortigiana di Roma soleuano ridurre le voci di questa persona de verbi della seconda, et terza maniera alla norma de verbi della quarta dicendo non altramente, che si dice 'dite, leggitte, valite' (L. Castelvetro, *Giunta fatta al Ragionamento degli articoli et de verbi di Messer Pietro Bembo* (Modena, 1563), sig. Hir).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dante's *Rime* and *Commedia*, passim.

<sup>8</sup> *Canoscenza* was probably the outcome of Provençal *canosensa* + *canoscere*. According to C. H. Grandgent, *From Latin to Italian* (Cambridge, Mass. 1933), § 473, *canoscere* was derived from the Sicilian *caunoscere*. What seems more likely is that it was the result of *cognoscere* + *agnoscere*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *aulesse* (i, xxv, 59), *benegno* (i, xxv, 34), *venia* (ii, lxxi, 2), *penta* (ii, lxxi, 3). References are according to the 1921 Florence edition of Dante's works.

doubtful ones at that, are *sur* (xxx1, 36),<sup>1</sup> which might equally be, and almost certainly is, a Latinism, and *el* (xvi, 10), which belongs also to the Siennese region.<sup>2</sup> Besides these, the only other Tuscan but non-Florentine forms to be found in Cavalcanti's lyrics are *fore* (xvii, 11), which was predominantly southern and eastern,<sup>3</sup> and *inguihosa* (xxxvii, 7) which belonged to both Pisa and Lucca.<sup>4</sup> Loans from the dialect of Bologna also occur very occasionally, but as usual they were confined to the rhyme. It was from this dialect that he borrowed *flome* (1, 52), *lome* (1, 17) and *costome* (1, 14). Also this borrowing from the Bolognese had been traditional amongst Tuscan poets, and *lome* appears also in *Inferno*, x, 69. The reasons for accepting Bolognese forms for rhyme purposes are not difficult to divine. The lyric poets of Bologna, such as Guido Guinizelli, Onesto Bolognese, and others, were very well known in Tuscan literary circles.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Bologna happened to be to thirteenth-century Italy what Paris was to France, and Oxford to England, namely, the main cultural centre in the country. Little wonder then that the dialect spoken there by the educated classes, which was highly praised by Dante,<sup>6</sup> should be accepted for rhyming purposes by the Tuscans since the days of Guittone.

Naturally enough French and Provençal loan-words are very much present in Cavalcanti's poetic production. But again here, Cavalcanti succeeded in striking a happy balance. His poems were not overloaded with Gallicisms, and these are taken to include borrowings from Provençal as well as French, as were those by the 'Provenzaleggianti Toscani'. Nor did he coin fresh Gallicisms, as was done by the writers of *Il Fiore* and *L'Intelligenza*, but merely used those already in circulation in poetry. Several of the words in Cavalcanti's vocabulary, which were traditional in the lyric of the Duecento and appear to have been conditioned by Provençal, might perhaps have been taken instead from North Italian dialects, where they also occurred. To such a class belong *plager* (xxiv, 4), *merzede* (x, 1), *dolzore* (xiv, 1), *saver* (1, 56), *discovrine* (xxvi, 23), *cavelli* (xlv, 3), *servidore* (1, 16), *coveto* (1, 59).

The morphology requires little comment. The use of the present *sole* (<SOLET) (xi, 3, xv, 4), with function of imperfect, was fairly common in the early lyric.<sup>7</sup> Preterites include *-aro* and *-oro* endings,<sup>8</sup> such as *guardaro* (ii, 1), *accusaro* (ii, 3), *mostraro* (ii, 5), *pighiaro* (ii, 7), *fuoro* (xiii, 1), as well as endings in *-io* both in the first person singular, *sentio* (xlv, 25), *audio* (xlv, 16), and the third person singular, *gio* (xix, 3).<sup>9</sup> Also worthy of note are the originally Sicilian conditionals in *-ra*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf Parodi, *Rima siciliana, rima aretina e bolognese*, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> *El* is definitely not Florentine (*Il Tristano Riccardiano*, ed. E. G. Parodi (Bologna, 1896), p. cxviii), and is to be found in the Arezzo and Siena dialects (Schiaffini, *Testi fiorentini del dugento*, p. xliii, n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Parodi, *La rima e i vocaboli in rima nella Divina Commedia*, § 3.

<sup>4</sup> As an example of *inguihosa* (MS Biblioteca Nazionale, Firenze, II, viii, 49 ff., 5v, 43v, Schiaffini, *Testi fiorentini del dugento*, p. 208). Despite its being in the Florentine version of *Li Fet des Romans*, it is a form definitely belonging to the Pisa and Lucca dialects (Schiaffini, *Testi fiorentini del dugento*, p. xxxix, n.).

<sup>5</sup> Cf G. Bertoni, *Il duecento* (Milano, 1939), *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> De Vulgari Eloquentia, I, xv, 3, 6. On this dialect cf. A. Triauzzi, 'Il volgare eloquio di

Bologna ai tempi di Dante', *Studi danteschi a cura della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna nel VI centenario dalla morte del Poeta* (Bologna, 1921), pp. 121-63, and the remarks in A. Ewert, 'Dante's Theory of Language', *Modern Language Review*, xxxv (1940), 355-66. Bolognese rhyme words occur also in the *Documenti d'amore* by Francesco da Barberino, cf. R. Weiss, 'The Imperfect Rhymes E I, O U in Early Italian Poetry', *Modern Language Review*, xxxix (1944), 137.

<sup>7</sup> Barbi, *La nuova filologia e l'edizione dei nostri scrittori da Dante al Manzoni*, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> On which cf. Parodi, *La rima e i vocaboli in rima nella Divina Commedia*, § 31c, Schiaffini, *Testi fiorentini del dugento*, pp. xv-vvi.

<sup>9</sup> On which cf. B. Wiese, *Altitalienisches Elementarbuch* (Heddelberg, 1928), § 31c, *Tristano Riccardiano*, § 88b, A. Gaspari, *La scuola poetica siciliana del secolo XIII* (Livorno, 1882), p. 239.



which formed a striking feature of the poetic vernacular, and which occur in *sanna* (iv, 6), *pona* (iv, 9), *fara* (vii, 7), *gimano* (xiv, 9), *puungenia* (xv, 14), *sana* (xxxii, 9), *pacerna* (xxxix, 4), and *nterna* (xlii, 7).<sup>1</sup> Switching over to the syntax, one can note the frequent use of *omo* followed by the active verb and expressing the passive, which usage had been taken over from the French,<sup>2</sup> and the use of the personal pronoun of third person followed by an impersonal tense,<sup>3</sup> a frequent feature this in early Italian.<sup>4</sup>

Such were the main characteristics of the language of Guido Cavalcanti, a language which, despite its conventional and hybrid nature, proved in his hands an admirable instrument for lyric expression. The success of the so-called *Stil Nuovo* poetry must be chiefly ascribed to the originality and power of the inspiration of its poets. But an important share in its achievement must be assigned to its vernacular, which in Dante's and Cavalcanti's hands was to reach its greatest heights.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Schiaffini, 'Influssi dei dialetti centro-meridionali sul toscano e sulla lingua letteraria—II, l'imperfetto e condizionale in -ia (tipo "avia" e "avria") dalla scuola poetica siciliana al definitivo costituirsi della lingua nazionale', *Italia Dialettale*, v (1929), 1-31. The conditional in -ia was also Aretine and Eastern Tuscan, cf. 'si ll' averia donato a bona gente' (*Conti di antichi cavallieri*, Wiese, *Altitalienisches Elementarbuch*, p. 201), and appears with *saria* in the *Tristano Ruccardiano*, p. 242. It was, and still is, to be

found in Northern dialects, cf. *avria*, *Trattato de regimine rectoris di Fra Paolino Minorita*, ed. A. Mussafia (Vienna, 1868), p. 37, *pona* (ibid. p. 32, Bonvesin da la Riva, *Il libro delle tre scritture*, ed. L. Biadene (Pisa, 1902), p. 11).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *passim*. On this use of *omo* cf. Wiese, *Altitalienisches Elementarbuch*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxvi, 10, xxxi, 3, xxxi, 31.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. Bourciez, *Éléments de Linguistique Romane* (Paris, 1930), § 440a.

## THE THEORY OF TRANSLATION IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

The 'theory of translation' is the principle which the translator follows when rendering a word, sentence or literary work of any description into another language. It is possible to gain knowledge of these principles through an analysis of the translations or through express statements by the translators. This essay will attempt to discuss such statements without raising the question how much the theoretical principle is borne out in the actual translation. Only the *theory* of translation will be examined and, generally speaking, translations as such will neither be quoted nor discussed.

The theory of translation, however, is connected and interwoven with other contemporary developments such as questions of language, grammar, and literary criticism. These in their turn influence, and are influenced by, the theory of translation. Therefore the range of this essay must needs be wider than an enumeration of statements on translations, for such precepts can be understood in their proper perspective only when considered from the wider aspects of sixteenth-century thought.

This connexion between the theory of translation and contemporary thought is most marked in the rendering of Holy Scripture, which has always offered difficulties unknown to the translator of profane literature. The special exigencies of the translation of the Bible have sometimes modified the existing theory of translation. Therefore it is necessary to consider the translation of profane literature separately from that of Holy Scripture, and it is only *profane literature* with which this essay is concerned.

Translations in sixteenth-century Germany were either into German or into Latin. A study which considers the translation into one of these languages only would be incomplete and might easily lead to misrepresentation and misunderstanding. Moreover, it should be taken into consideration that, as Latin was the language of learning, theoretical principles may be expressed in Latin even if they are applied to a translation into German.<sup>1</sup>

### I

Medieval translators had attempted to render each Greek word by a Latin one, and thus to preserve Greek idioms and syntax in Latin. Against this theory of word-for-word translation, Italian humanists such as L. Bruni Aretino had proclaimed the principle that translations should satisfy the highest exigencies of style. German forerunners of humanism in the third quarter of the fifteenth century were greatly influenced by this thought of the Italian humanists. The imitation of their precepts led to the attempt to refine German style through imitating Latin order of words, idioms, and syntax. Other translators protested against this way of translation. Thus a discussion on the theory of word-for-word translation took

<sup>1</sup> Sebastian Brant in his translation of *Cato* and Emser in his *Wider die anfechtung des todes* state their principles of translation in Latin though the rendering is into German.

place one group of translators wished to render word for word to fulfil the exigencies of rhetoric, the other to translate sense for sense in order to be clearly understood<sup>1</sup>

In the sixteenth century these two schools of translators could still claim followers.<sup>2</sup> But this controversy no longer bears the same significance. Other questions now appeared more urgent.

In the fifteenth century<sup>3</sup> only works of prose were rendered, and even Terence's comedies, which were partly translated by Albrecht von Eyb, were probably considered as being prose.<sup>4</sup> At any rate they were translated into prose. It is natural that in a poetical rendering the traditional contrast between word-for-word and sense-for-sense translation should lose some of its importance, for new questions concerning the imitation of metre, rhyme, etc. arise. This change of outlook is apparent in the work of an author such as Sebastian Brant, who wrote some of his verses in Latin with a rhythmical translation in German.<sup>5</sup> These poems might possibly be considered as products of a bilingual poet whose work reveals the close connexion between the two languages. But the publication of a poem in two languages brings home to the reader that art which was forgotten or not practised until now: the art of rendering verse as verse.

When in 1508 Sebastian Brant attempted the translation of the collection of Cato's didactic verses into German, he writes of his way of rendering verses. In his Latin preface he announces his intention to render word for word in so far as the rhythm allows of this practice,<sup>6</sup> i.e. the theory of translation is subjected to the aim of making the rendering poetical. In fact it is difficult to believe that Brant intended to follow his own precept, for in his translation there seems to be hardly a trace of an attempt to render word for word.

In 1510 Reuchlin published a Latin verse translation of *Batrachomyomachia*, a

<sup>1</sup> For details on fifteenth-century translation see W. Schwarz, 'Translation into German in the Fifteenth Century', *MLR* xxxix (1944), 368 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the different schools of translators see P. Joachimsohn, 'Frühhumanismus in Schwaben', *Württemberg Vierteljahrshefte f. Landesgeschichte*, NF. v (1896), 103 ff.; W. Stammer, 'Zur Sprachgeschichte des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts' (*Festschrift Gustav Ehrismann*), 1925, pp. 183 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For convenience I call, for example, Seb. Brant and Joh. Reuchlin sixteenth-century translators though part of their work was written before 1500. The transitions were, of course, fluid and the dates given are symbols rather to indicate the general tendencies.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the prose paraphrase of Eilhart's *Tristan* where it is said 'Von der leut wegen, die solicher gereimter bucher nit genad haben, auch etlich, die die kunst der reimen nit eygentlich verstehen kunden, hab ich ungenannter dise hystorien in die form geredet'. Quoted by G. Müller, *Deutsche Dichtung von der Renaissance bis zum Barock*, p. 93. In the sixteenth century see O. Luscinius (Nachtigall) who even in 1515, in his *Senarii Graecarum Quingenti et eo amplius versi, Singuli moralem quandam sententiam aut typum proverbialem prae se ferentes*, states that many read Terence as prose. Therefore he intends to translate proverbs in prose.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. his pamphlets. A facsimile edition by P. Hertz-F. Schultz, 'Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant' (*Jahresgaben d. Gesellschaft f. elsässische Literatur*, III, 1915). There are pamphlets which have the Latin and the German text side by side (nos 1-4, of 1492, *Donnerstein von Einsiedeln*) and others in which the Latin and the German texts were printed separately (no 10 German = no 11 Latin, of 1496, *Von der wunderbaren Suß zu Landser*, no 12 German = no 13 Latin, of 1496, *Von der zufälligen Ganß = De monstroso Anseri atque Porcellus*).

<sup>6</sup> Seb. Brant changing Horace (see below) writes in his *Preface*

Ac verbum verbo curavi reddere quantum

Id rhythmus tulit et praecipitantis opus

As an example for his translation may serve 'Mundus esto Saluta libenter', which is rendered

Du solt seyn rein / eins suberen leben

Gern deinen grüß den leuten geben

For earlier translations of Cato see Fr. Zaincke, *Der deutsche Cato* (1852), *passim*; Johannes Müller, *Quellenschriften und Geschichte des deutschsprachlichen Unterrichts bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (1882), pp. 214-17, 301-2. Cf. Heinrich Bebel's verses of c. 1501 quoted by G. Bebermeyer, *Tübinger Dichterhumanisten* (1927), pp. 9, 38-9.

work in comparison with which Brant's translation of Cato seems unimportant. In his *Preface* Reuchlin explains that the style and character of the original work are not to be found in his word-for-word translation<sup>1</sup> Homer's work, Reuchlin continues, is alive only when read in Greek.<sup>2</sup>

Like Brant, Reuchlin uses the words of Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, 133-4, for the defence of the word-for-word method, but while in the fifteenth century these verses were explained by translators as if Horace advocated the word-for-word method of translation,<sup>3</sup> Brant and Reuchlin change Horace's wording.<sup>4</sup> It seems that they refer to these words because they follow the tradition handed down to them, for they do not hesitate to change the original meaning.

These few lines of Brant and Reuchlin contain something unknown to the fifteenth-century translators, who at best try to imitate certain forms of rhetoric. Brant understands the value of rhythm and is ready to throw overboard any theory of translation which would impede its requirements. The more fastidious Reuchlin sees the discrepancy between the original work and its translation. He has the feeling for the form of a literary work, and he knows that this form in its dependence on the original language cannot be preserved in translation. So a new approach to literature can be found in these translators, namely the recognition of its aesthetic value. Perhaps they restrict this value to the beauty of language, style, and rhythm. Yet this appreciation leads rapidly to the discovery of new views of literary criticism. This was a new development, but neither Brant nor Reuchlin was the first to introduce it into Germany. It was learned from classical writers and classical critics. Its beginnings can be traced back to the discussion whether classical or medieval Latin should be read and used. This controversy, so important for the development of thought, created a new understanding of the differences of style which is reflected in the prefaces of these translations. The controversy about medieval and classical Latin was, of course, not confined within national boundaries. But for the purposes of this paper it is unnecessary to discuss these wider issues or to raise the question whether German translators were influenced by, or dependent on, Italian humanists.

What has been called a new approach to literature found a representative whose critical judgement on all questions of literature and style has rarely been surpassed. He understood that different types of literature require different forms of expression. He was imbued with a rare knowledge of Greek and Latin literature, the greatest of the humanists of his time. Erasmus of Rotterdam.<sup>5</sup>

In his first translation (three *Declamations* of Libanius) Erasmus is very cautious in the application of a theory which he thinks right. He has followed, he writes on 17 November 1503, Cicero's rule that a translator should think of the weight

<sup>1</sup> W. Stammer, loc. cit. p. 183, does not illustrate the full significance of Reuchlin's translations which are not easily understandable without a comprehensive study of their historical background.

<sup>2</sup> Non sic graeca sonant non est ridendus  
Homerus

Spirat enim vivus, si modo graecus erit  
Sed uerbum uerbo dum curo cuique referre

Non color ille prior nec sonus ille adest

<sup>3</sup> See W. Schwarz, loc. cit. pp. 370 f.

<sup>4</sup> Horace Nec uerbo uerbum curabis reddere  
fidus

Interpres

Brant Ac uerbum uerbo curau reddere  
quantum

Id ihythmus tulit

Reuchlin Sed uerbum uerbo dum curo cuique  
referre

Non color ille prior .

<sup>5</sup> Erasmus is mentioned here because his influence is felt throughout Europe. For Erasmus's view on nationality see J. Huizinga, 'Erasmus über Vaterland und Nationen' (*Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, hrsg. von der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel (1936), pp. 34 ff.)

and force of the sentences, not of the number of the words<sup>1</sup> This clearly indicates Erasmus' intention to translate sense for sense Yet, he continues, as a new translator, he has preferred to be more faithful than bold He adds that the reader must judge if he has been successful He had learned from the attempt that nothing is more difficult than to render good Greek into good Latin<sup>2</sup>

A little more than two years later (January 1506) he expresses his aim more clearly in his translation of Lucian's *Toxaris* He analyses the two different types of style as found in the speeches of the two persons of Lucian's dialogue The style used is typical of the person the one affable, elegant, and witty like a Greek, the other simple, rough, serious, uncouth, and vigorous like a Scythian Erasmus sets out to imitate these two distinct types of style in his translation<sup>3</sup>

It is necessary to discuss this at some length since, as far as is known to me, this is the first time that north of the Alps the style of a work of prose is analysed Earlier authors who had spoken of style referred to it as elegant or bad, but they never expressed the view that style is an essential part of a literary work Erasmus, however, wanted to imitate this stylistic peculiarity of Lucian's dialogue in Latin Thus he introduces a new aspect into the theory of translation It is interesting to note that in this introductory letter Erasmus does not even mention if his rendering is word for word or sense for sense How much attention was paid by Erasmus to the imitation of style can be learned from the fact that he discontinued the translation of one of Lucian's dialogues when he recognized that the limitations of Latin make this imitation impossible<sup>4</sup>

In the same month (24 January 1506) another analysis follows, that of Euripides' *Hecuba*, contained in the preface to his translation of this drama.<sup>5</sup> Again he stresses the difficulty of rendering good Greek prose into good Latin prose This difficulty, he writes, is so great that there were centuries in which no translator could be found who was truly praiseworthy. From this fact it can easily be conjectured how difficult it is to render a work of poetry as poetry, especially one so varying and unusual as a tragedy written by a classical poet where any change of the conciseness or elegance of the original would be harmful Additional difficulties are Euripides' rhetoric and pointed style, the very obscure choruses, the corruptness of the MSS etc It is therefore not strange, Erasmus continues, that nobody has ever been successful in a translation of Greek verses in general and of Euripides in particular<sup>6</sup>

Erasmus then explains his own principle of translation he attempts to exhibit the Greek figures of speech, to render verse for verse, even almost word for word, and to display the weight and force of the original sentences As in his first translation he refers to the precept of Cicero who, in his *De optimo genere oratorum*, advocates that the sense should be rendered rather than the words In very guarded language Erasmus expresses his doubt about the validity of this rule, and thinks that if anything should be missed in his own translation it would be splendour

<sup>1</sup> *Opus Epistolarum*, ed P S Allen (quoted from now on as 'Allen'), I, no 177, ll 95 ff Secutus sum veterem illam M Tulli regulam (*Opt Gen* 14), vt in vertendo sententias modo mihi putarim appendendas, non annumeranda verba Tametsi nouus interpres, religiosior esse malui quam audacior (The translation was published in 1519 only See Allen, I, preface to Ep. 177)

Allen, I, no 177, ll 95-101 The last lines are Illud vnum testamur, nimirum experimento

docti, nihil esse difficilius quam ex bene Graecis bene Latina reddere This phrase is often repeated, e.g. Allen, I, no 188, l 20, no. 197, ll 11-13

<sup>2</sup> Allen, I, no 187, ll 28-35

<sup>3</sup> Allen, I, pp 6, 36-7, 19

<sup>4</sup> Allen, I, no 188, ll 20-70

<sup>5</sup> See Allen, I, no 188, the notes to ll 37-40, Allen, I, p 4, ll 29-34 (Ep. of 30 Jan 1523) Cf G Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Altertums*<sup>2</sup> (1893), II, pp. 191 ff.

and beauty rather than fidelity. He objects to following the method of those who paraphrase and make the sense obscure because they do not understand the original text. Agreeing with Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, 97, Erasmus sets out to avoid grandiloquent and bombastic words but he has, in accordance with the 'interpreter's duty', preferred concise soundness to a turgid rhetoric alien to the original.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Erasmus' argument, in which at the beginning Euripides' style is analysed as concise, plain, and unadorned,<sup>2</sup> ends with the statement that these stylistic qualities are reproduced in his rendering. This translation is almost word for word, but unlike earlier word-for-word translators who tried to render the exact wording without any regard to style,<sup>3</sup> Erasmus stresses these requirements and lessens the rigidity of word-for-word translation.

Together with *Hecuba* Erasmus published a translation of Euripides' *Iphigenia*. There is a special preface to each drama, and the remarks on the translation of *Iphigenia* reveal a different approach towards translation.<sup>4</sup> Erasmus is at pains to explain that the different style of the two dramas (he even doubts Euripides' authorship of *Iphigenia* on this account) demands a different technique of translation. The style of *Iphigenia* is clearer and more copious. Therefore, Erasmus says, he has not preserved the same punctiliousness as in *Hecuba* but has translated more copiously and diffusely without, however, departing from that faithfulness which is required of a translator. Erasmus has purposely not imitated the metric system of the choruses because, in its confusion, it does not differ much from prose. His opinion is that these parts contain absurdities and therefore he would not hesitate to rewrite them completely in future translations.

These last words lead to the point of danger in this theory. If style is the translator's main consideration, he is tempted to follow his own literary judgement and to add to, or change, the original text. Even a man of such critical qualities as Erasmus is ready to change those parts which he dislikes and to write instead a song on a 'commonplace' or a 'pleasant diversion'.<sup>5</sup>

Erasmus' influence on contemporary translators cannot be gauged with any certitude. His conviction that style is an essential part of a literary work is the outcome of a great knowledge of languages and of a strong feeling for diction. His theory of translation reflects his own sensitiveness and personality. It may be expected that a translator with less knowledge and less ability will, without regard to the original, render into a style which he can master. This is the method used by Leo Jud who, in his translation of one of Erasmus' works into German, changed the 'ornate' style of the original into 'simple' German, rendering the meaning only. His words are

Mines Vertutschens halb bekenn ich wol, das ich an vil Orten die Art und Manyr des Latins nit hab mögen erfolgen, doch wer mag das? besunder in der wolgezierten und geplumpten latinschen Red des hochgelerten Erasmi? dann uß gutem zierlichen Latin gut zierlich Tutsch zu machen, was Arbeit das bruche, und wie viel deren syen, denen solichs glucklich gerat, mag nieman urteilen, dann der solichs versucht hat.

<sup>1</sup> Allen, I, no 188, II 50 ff

<sup>2</sup> Ibid II 25 ff

<sup>3</sup> Ibid II 68-70 may possibly refer to scholastic translation

<sup>4</sup> There are two prefaces to *Iphigenia*, the first to the edition of 1506 (Allen, I, no 198), the other to the second edition of 1507 (Allen, I, no 208). The second is longer and makes Erasmus' view

clearer, but the contents of both are the same — For textual criticism on *Hecuba* and for Erasmus' view on the choruses of the Ep to Aldus Manutius of Nov 1507 (Allen, I, no 209) — For editions of these translations see Allen's preface to no 188.

<sup>5</sup> Allen, I, no 208, II 12-28

Deßhalb ich mich meer des gemeinen landlichen, dann des hohen und hofischen Tutsches in minner Tranßlation geflissen hab, das mins Beduncks wäger ist dem einfaltigen Leyen (dem dise min Arbeit furnamlich gschehen ist) infaltklich und kurz die Meinung zu verstoen geben, dann mit hoch geblumpter Red den Verstand zu verduncklen.<sup>1</sup>

But even if Erasmus' precepts found no followers, his theory is an important stage with which other contemporary translations must be compared. The opinions of Sebastian Brant and of Johannes Reuchlin point, through their appreciation of form, in the same direction which, as far as I know, is not found later in this century. It may well be that preoccupation with religion prevented this new and not yet deeply rooted phenomenon in German literature from developing. In this connexion one might perhaps quote Erasmus' bitter remark: *Ubi regnat Lutheranismus, ibi litterarum interitus*.<sup>2</sup>

Translators other than Erasmus express their method of translation in a new way which almost sounds like a parody of the words of Reuchlin or Erasmus. Emser, for example, writes in 1517 that he renders neither verse for verse nor word for word but the sense only.<sup>3</sup> Some writers seem to paraphrase rather than to translate, e.g. Luther in his translation of Aesop's fables. Traces of such a way of rendering can be found in many translations of the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> It must, however, be stressed that Luther's connexion with the past does not make his work less important or less of a personal achievement. But knowledge of his own peculiar style can be gained only when it is compared with earlier authors or translators. Otherwise qualities may be attributed to him which are characteristic of his epoch.<sup>4</sup>

At this point it is useful to compare these tendencies of translation with those prevailing in the fifteenth century. Then, a translator had to decide if he intended to render word for word or sense for sense. Sense-for-sense translators, it is true, sometimes enlarged the original text and used paraphrase. Nevertheless there was a clear-cut distinction between these two different theories of translation. In the sixteenth century this old contrast still plays its part, but it is modified by the introduction of new thought: the literary value of the original work should not be lost in the translation. This tendency, which finds its finest expression in Erasmus' work, was bound to soften the rigidity of the word-for-word method. The aim to be absolutely clear led to paraphrasing as in Luther's case.

<sup>1</sup> Leo Jud, *Teutsche Paraphrasen*, Zurich, 1521, quoted by F. Kluge, *Von Luther bis Lessing*<sup>6</sup> (1918), p. 53. The original edition has not been accessible to me. For Jud see *A D B* and Allen, VI, no. 1737, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Wider die anfechtung des todes vnnnd das der nit tzuforchten sey ein schon gedicht getzogē aus dē Edeln Poetē Baptista Mātano* (Leipzig, 1517). On the title-page of this translation into German the following Latin verses are found:

*Nec numeris numeros nec verbis verba repono  
Sensa tamen vatis barbara lingua refert  
Dent veniam docti, si mystica sacra prophanem  
Est etiam ratio plebis habenda rudis*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. F. Wenzlau, 'Zwei- und Dreihedrigkeit in der deutschen Prosa des XIV und XV

Jahrhunderts' (*Hermaea*, IV, 1906), *passim*, esp. pp. 36-42, W. Borvitz, 'Die Uebersetzungstechnik Heinrich Steinhoewels' (*Hermaea*, XIII, 1914), esp. p. 141, B. Stauss, 'Der Uebersetzer Nicolaus von Wyle' (*Palaestra*, CXVIII, 1912), esp. pp. 214 ff., F. W. Gehring, 'Die Leistung deutscher Prosabearbeiter im Rahmen der Geistesgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts' (*Evphorion*, XXXIV, 1933), pp. 271-93.

<sup>4</sup> These connexions have not been stressed sufficiently by W. G. Moore, 'The Literary Quality of Luther's style' (*MLR*, XXVIII, 1933), pp. 338 ff. and W. Ettinghauser, 'Luther Exegesis and Prose Style' (*German Studies* presented to Prof. H. G. Fiedler, 1938), pp. 179, 181, 186.

## II

The word-for-word method of the fifteenth century was intended to refine German through imitation of Latin. If the sense-for-sense translators were opposed to this method, they gave as their only reason for their rejection that the word-for-word translation could not be understood. In the sixteenth century a new reason was advanced. It was recognized that German had its own idiom which should not be violated by the imitation of the style of other languages. In rather vague and guarded language translators imply, but do not expressly state, that German is a language of its own with rules of its own which must be respected. A good example of this is provided by the translation of Pliny by Dietrich von Pleningen (made in 1511, published in 1515)

Nun hab ich gnediger Furst / soult mir möglichen vnnd es vnser muterliche sprach erliden hat mögen, dy arte auch dy natur diser lobsagung die Plinius in latin gepraucht hat mit figuren vnd punktñ onuerändert behalten vñ den anhengig pliben <sup>1</sup> die wort nit leichtlichen vmbroñdt <sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to give the reasons for this new attitude towards German. For though the style of the chancelleries played a great role, this style had much more connexion with Latin than the spoken language. And it is the spoken language which now comes to the fore.

It has been said that the Reformation promoted the tendency of writing in the spoken language, and that the Church discouraged or even hindered this development for the sake of Latin, the language of the Church.<sup>2</sup> This is true to a certain extent, and the writers of the Reformation express this opinion.<sup>3</sup> Yet before the Reformation it had been recognized that German was a language *per se* with its own rules and its own grammar. It seems that Luther and his followers used the movement for the independence of the vernacular from other languages for their own purposes. There is no doubt that the German language developed quickly, and that the number of German books printed after 1517 grew considerably, even if the Catholic population was suspicious of this language because of its connexion with the Reformation.<sup>4</sup>

It is doubtful if it is possible to explain a phenomenon like the growing consciousness of, and understanding for, the particular character of a language. Any one reason advanced belittles the complexity of such a process, the fluctuation of which can be seen in any aspect of contemporary life. However, when the field of research is purposely limited to the illumination of one tendency within the whole movement, it is possible to consider one of its many aspects separately. Within this limitation it was perhaps not accidental that the knowledge of foreign languages in Germany grew as the particular character of German was recognized. As long as Latin *only* was known in Germany as had been the case in the fifteenth century,

<sup>1</sup> Preface, A iiii<sup>v</sup>-A v<sup>r</sup>. The words ' sprach erliden hat mögen ' have a parallel in Aventinus (quoted below p. 299, n. 1) ' die art der sprachen erliden mugen '.

<sup>2</sup> For a very biased description see F. Kluge, *Von Luther bis Lessing*<sup>5</sup>, 1918, pp. 1-26.

<sup>3</sup> See Kluge, loc. cit. *passim*. Cf. e.g. the interesting book by Johann E. Eberling, *Ein klagliche klage an dē christliche Römische kaysen Carolum / vñ wege Doctor Luthers vñ Vlrich von Hutten Auch von wegen der Curtisanē vñ bätel*

*munch Das Kayserlich Marestat sich nit lasz sollich leut verführen* (1521). This book is also called *Die XV bundtsgnoszen*. See esp. *Der VIII. bundtsgnosz* with the title *Warñ man heit Erasmus von Roterodam in Teutsche sprach transferiert Warum doctor Luther vñ heit Vlrich von Hutten teutsch schreiben Wie nutz vñ not es sy das sollich ding dē gemeynen man fur kom*.

<sup>4</sup> See K. Burdach, 'Die Einigung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache', in *Vorspiel*, I, II, pp. 9-10.



it was natural not only to compare these two languages but also to bring them into close relation. The observation that in comparison with Latin German was undeveloped led almost by necessity to the attempt to refine German in accordance with Latin rules.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was spreading, and there were theories proclaiming the near connexion between German and Greek. Aventinus even refuted the idea of any affinity between German and Latin. Instead the near relation between German and Hebrew was stressed.<sup>1</sup>

Greek, Hebrew and Latin were the three holy languages, and authors such as Reuchlin proclaimed not only the dependence of Roman thought on Greek philosophy, but also the derivation of Greek wisdom from Hebrew sources.<sup>2</sup> Greek and Hebrew therefore gained in importance, and it may well have been that the knowledge of differences between these languages (Pelikan published his Hebrew Grammar in 1501, Reuchlin in 1506) sharpened the existing consciousness of the peculiarities of German. Hebrew idioms, in particular, were wholly at variance with Latin and Greek ones and had to be accepted as characteristic of that language. Even Greek expressions often did not tally with Latin ones. Thus it could be recognized that every language had its own idioms which differ from those of all other tongues. If this was so, it was natural to conclude that German too had its own way of expression which cannot be rendered word for word into any other language, and that consequently other languages could not be translated word for word into German. This conclusion could even be reached by people who did not know Greek or Hebrew, for the interest in these languages was growing considerably, and it can be assumed that the knowledge of these differences between languages was common among men of letters. Such knowledge, combined with the desire to further the vernacular, might well have been a stimulus for the use of German idioms instead of the imitation of Latin ones.

The existence of such a current of thought can be assumed from the grammars published at that time in Germany. Latin grammars, the aim of which is to teach an elegant Latin style, often contain statements how to translate idiomatic expressions from or into German.<sup>3</sup> Jacob Wimpheling, who published his grammar *Isidoneus Germanicus* c. 1496, writes 'boys should be admonished that Latin does not always conform with German'. Examples are given to point out such differences. Wimpheling concludes 'The Latin idiom cannot follow our vernacular in all things, nor *vice versa*'.<sup>4</sup> If a translator follows this precept, he can no longer strictly apply the method of rendering word for word.

<sup>1</sup> Aventinus, *Rudimenta Grammaticae* of 1517. For examples see Johannes Müller, *Quellen-schriften und Geschichte des deutschsprachlichen Unterrichtes bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (1882), pp. 302 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Reuchlin, *Translation of Hippocrates' De praeparatione hominis* (1512) Preface, A 11<sup>v</sup>-A 11<sup>r</sup>. 'Quo intelligis saluberrimam hanc medicine artem a deo optimo maximo angelis demandatam, ab angelis iudaicae nationi primo traditam, ad illos ad aegyptios indosque profectam. Inde ad graecos emanasse, postremum ad latinos, et nunc ad nos suevos'.

<sup>3</sup> There were, of course, many grammars of that time without such advice and without any reference to German. But it is characteristic that grammarians mention rules for translation into

German. This seems to be a new development. For details on grammarians and their views, see J. Müller, loc. cit., and M. H. Jelinek, *Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Grammatik* (Germanische Bibliothek, ed. W. Streitberg, 1913, 1914).

<sup>4</sup> Ch. 19 of *Isidoneus Germanicus* has the heading *De vera latinitate eiusque copia et usu*. The decisive sentences are fol. xiii<sup>r</sup> (quoted also by Müller, p. 273) 'in copulandis vero latinis vocabulis premoneantur pueri non omnia posse latina conformari vernaculo nostro sermoni ne dicere assuescant Iuva mihi. Mihi hoc est oblitum. Mihi somniauit. Magister erit venire. Me friget. Me esurit. Latium ydeoma non potest per omnia sequi vernaculam nostram neque e diverso'. For translations into German see Müller, loc. cit. pp. 271 ff.

These differences between the two languages<sup>1</sup> are stressed in Joh Cochlaeus's grammar called *Quadrivium* (of March 1511, second edition in 1513). In this work Cochlaeus often draws attention to the fact that Latin and German do not correspond, and that the translator should follow the use of the German language in the rendering of article, adjective, etc.<sup>2</sup> These rules extend over a much wider field than Wimpfeling's remark. It is, therefore, nothing new when Nikolaus Carbach, in his translation of *Levy* of 1523, mentions as the special reason for the difficulty of translation the peculiarity of every language.<sup>3</sup>

These peculiarities demand a special solution in the case of proverbs. Collections of wise sayings were very popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Children had to learn them, and it was often thought that a translation was of value for remembering them.<sup>4</sup> The *Proverbia Communia* were published c. 1480, a collection of 803 Low German proverbs with their translations in Latin rhyme. When, in 1507, Heinrich Bebel published his *Proverbia Germanica*, he enlarged the *Proverbia Communia*, but he offered a Latin prose translation, omitting the German sayings. His translation is as polished and elegant as possible, but preserved the special character of the original wording.<sup>5</sup>

The other collection based on the *Proverbia Communia* was made by Antonius Tunnicius in 1513. It contains 1362 proverbs in Low German and their metrical translations into Latin hexameters. His aim is to refine the Latin style of boys and their manners ('mores'). There is no statement on his principle of translation. His rendering is, of course, sense for sense.<sup>6</sup>

Ottomar Luscinius (Nachtigall), who published two collections of proverbs, mentions Erasmus's *Adagia* in his first collection of 1515. In this work, Luscinius

<sup>1</sup> An early grammar pointing out the difference between Latin and German is Henricus, *Tractatus dans modum teutonici casus et tempora* of 1451. See Muller, loc cit pp 239 ff. Jellinek, loc cit I, 34.

<sup>2</sup> An example may be given here (quoted from Muller, loc cit pp 43-4):

vir	der man
Hic sol	die sun
equus	dz pferd
mensa	der tisch
Hec mulier	die frau
domus	dz hausz
templum	der tempel
Hoc tempus	die zeit
verbum	das wort

Vides (candide lector) quod latinis articulis Teutonici non respondent sed quilibet latinus potest per triplicem teutonicum exponi et contra. Igitur in articulorum interpretatione sequi oportet vsum patriae linguae non artem aut analogiam.

The explanations of the differences are generally shorter and not so circumstantial.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by W. Stammer, loc cit p 185, who has, however, not seen the historical background: 'das eyn ytliche sprach ein besondere eygenschaft an ir hat, die dei andern etwan gar nit oder seer wenig gemasz und gleich ist.'

<sup>4</sup> For collections of proverbs and their translations into German, see Muller, loc cit pp. 299 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Bebel: see *A D B*. A short appreciation of his work is given by G. Bebermeyer in the preface to his edition *Heinrich Bebel's Facetien* (Bibl. Literar. Ver. Stuttgart, COLXXVI, 1931), and in his *Tübinger Dichterkommentar*, Bebel/Frischlin/Flayder (1927), pp 36-8 (on his proverbs). Bebel's statement in the preface to his *Proverbia Germanica* is difficult: 'In quibus (proverbiis) si elegantiam desideraueris, cogitare debes in proverbiis et verba rebus, non res verbis, praesertim in multis, seruire oportere, et saepe proprietatem sermonis, quae maxime hic requiritur, elegantiae non posse dare locum' (ed. W. H. D. Suringar, 1879, p 7, quoted by Muller, loc cit p 301, note 16). This sentence, especially the contrast between *res* and *verba*, may possibly refer to the theory of translation only, but this wording may go back to scholastic thought. Cf. Reuchlin, *Translation of Athanasius, In librum psalmorum* (1515), Preface A IV: 'ubi accidentia sunt substantiae, ubi uerba uertuntur in res'.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, 1870. On the title-page of the edition of 1513 there is one of Murnellius' epigrams containing the following line: 'Hinc potens linguamque tuam moresque polire.' An example of this translation (Proverb 1349, p 107 in Hoffmann von Fallersleben's publication).

Gelt unde gut nimt vake ein quât ende

Infelix Croeso atque Midas fuit ultima fides

says, he does not render the elegance and rhythm of the original Greek proverbs, because this is not appreciated.<sup>1</sup> In the second collection of 1523 he has changed his mind and has used Latin *senarii*. Therefore, as he states, he has to render not only Greek sentences and style, but the Latin words which he uses must have the same amount of syllables as the Greek in order to fit the metre.<sup>2</sup> Sebastian Brant's *Cato*, mentioned above, belongs to this category of translations which were widely read and learnt, since they were used as school books. All these translations were into Latin. But these sense-for-sense renderings made the difference between the peculiarities of the Latin and German languages very obvious, and it is therefore natural to find the same method used for the translation into German. Erasmus's *Adagia*, first published in 1500, but often republished and enlarged, was used by Hauer in his grammar, *Hauervus* (published in 1516), who adds proverbs in German translation to a Latin grammar. The importance of this translation lies in the explanation that a word-for-word rendering would make the meaning unintelligible, and would destroy the praiseworthy grace of the adage ('gratiam adagij admirandam conculcabit').<sup>3</sup> Therefore he renders it whenever possible by a German proverb. An example may be given here where three Latin proverbs are translated by a German one: 'Aequalis aequalem delectat. Simile gaudet simili. Semper graculus assidet graculo. gleych vnd gleych geselt sich gern.' This method is consistent with the recognition that idioms cannot be translated word for word, but must be rendered according to the idiomatic usage of the language: sense for sense, or idiom for idiom, or, as the last development proves, proverb for proverb.

It must again be emphasized that the consideration of the German language was *not* the main consideration of the grammarians. For their aim was to teach Latin, not German. It was for this purpose that they stressed the difference between the languages, and in this way they furthered the development of the theory of translation for a short period at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

It is essential to realize this development to understand the background for the review and criticism of contemporary translation by Johannes Aventinus (Turmair), who in 1533 finished the translation of his own Latin history, *Bayerische Chronik*. Some translators, he writes in the preface, twist and distort the German language, some insert individual Latin words into German sentences,<sup>4</sup> some translate unintelligibly through talking in a roundabout way, and some imitate the Latin way of writing 'which should not be done since every language has its own usage and characteristic properties'. As Latin should not be written according to German rules, neither should German be interspersed with Latin words nor be used in imitation of another language, for in this case it would be unintelligible. In his own writing he attempted to use the language which was known to everybody. This language is generally used, it is found in verses, *dicta*, and proverbs. His own principle of translation, he states, has been to deviate from Latin only if the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 290, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Senarii Graecorum Quingenti et eo amplius uersi, Singuli moralem quandam sententiam aut typum prouerbialem prae se ferentes* (1515) and *Graece et Latine Moralia Quaedam instituta, ex variis autoribus* (1523) in the preface of which the following sentence is to be found (E): 'Duram sane prouinciam et impeditam, in qua non satis sit sententiam graeci sermonis et dictiones reddere, nisi etiam syllabas ipsas pari numero rependas, sed de hoc rectius iudicabunt artifices'.

<sup>3</sup> Muller, loc. cit. p. 301, note 19, where the text of his statement is quoted, together with some examples (of *ibid.* p. 266, note 82). For the earlier use of proverbs, see *ibid.* and p. 258. Even if, as Muller points out, proverbs had been rendered by proverbs before, it is the theoretical formulation which is of interest.

<sup>4</sup> On Latin words used in German translations see F. Kluge, loc. cit. pp. 150 ff., W. Stammer, loc. cit. p. 178, O. Behaghel, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, 1928, pp. 70 ff.

particular usage of German makes such a departure necessary. Anyone reading his work in both languages will understand the one language through the other.<sup>1</sup>

If these trends in translation were combined, a new theory of translation would indeed originate. The main principle of such a theory would be the consideration of the peculiarities of the language into which the translation is made. This consideration tends to attach little or no weight to the style and to the words of the original work and thus the translation may turn into a paraphrase. This danger seems to be inherent in Pirckheimer's words:

thut aber noth einem jeglichen/der eine Sprach in die ander verkeren will/daß er allein den Sinn/vnangesehen der wort in die Sprach/die er vor ihm hat/clar/lauter vnd der maßen verendert/daß ein jeglicher/derselben Sprach verstendig/das/so verkeret ist, leichtlich verstehen möge.<sup>2</sup>

This danger can be avoided only if the translator respects the *words* of the work he renders. He should feel that even though he does not imitate foreign idioms, the authority of the work does not allow of wide deviation. It was only God's words which could evoke this feeling of humility in the translator's mind and this reverence for the word. It is therefore easy to understand that this new theory was first used in the two great sixteenth-century translations of the Bible: Erasmus's *New Testament* of 1516 and Luther's *Bible* of 1522.

W. SCHWARZ

#### MANCHESTER

<sup>1</sup> Ed. M. Lexer (*Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, München, iv, 1883, pp. 5-6) 'und in dieser verteutschung brauch ich mich des alten lautern gewonlichen iederman verstendigen teutesches, dan unser iedner und schreiber, voraus so auch latein kunnen, biegen krumpen unser sprach in reden, in schreiben, vermengens, felschens mit zerbrochen lateinischen worten, machens mit grossen umschwaffen unverstendig ziehens gar von irer auf die lateinisch art mit schreiben und reden, das doch nit sein sol, wan ein ietliche sprach hat n aigne breuch und besunder eigenschaft

'Es laut gar ubel und man haist es kuchen-latein, so man latein redt nach ausweisung der teutschen zungen also gleichermasz laut's ubel

bei solcher sach eifarnen, wo man das teutsch vermischt mit frembden worten, verandert's auf eine frembde sprach, demnach's zerbrochen und unverstendig wirt. Es hat sunst auch der land und leut auch geschicht beschreibung ir art und pesunder monir, von welches wegen ich mich beflissen hab des alten, naturlichen, iederman verstendigen teutesches, so im gemainen brauch ist, in den alten spruchen, wolgesetzten reimen und spriechworten gefunden wirt und ie dannocht nit zue weit als vil muglich ist und die art der sprachen erleiden mugen, vom latein. Ein iedei, der paide werk lateinisch und teutsch zam lesen wil, mag ein sprach aus der andern wol verstên'

<sup>2</sup> *Theatrum Virtutis et Honoris, Oder Tugend Büchlein*, Nürnberg, 1606, p. 113

## THE PROBLEMS OF FATE AND OF RELIGION IN THE WORK OF ARTHUR SCHNITZLER

A study of the work of Arthur Schnitzler shows the important part which investigations into the various aspects of human life play in it. Among them the problems of personal relationships occupied his attention. In his consideration of those problems he is primarily an observer and as such he is never dogmatic, he considers the complexity of human nature, the various and infinite possibilities which exist in life. He merely states the problem, he shows its dependence on the character of the persons concerned, but he will never commit himself to any solution, for there never can be any solution to his problems for him. They are only discussed and illustrated, but not solved. They are problems of human life as complex and as flexible as they must be on account of the variety of circumstance and character. Thus each problem will require a different solution according to the different circumstances, and no standard solution can be drawn up, there never is a hard and fast guide to human conduct, for what may be right in one specific instance may be wrong in another, and what may be wrong in one may be right in another.

Schnitzler did not confine his study of problems to those of personal relationships. Other problems also occupied his mind, and among them the problems of fate and of religion must be considered as an essential basis of an understanding of his philosophy of life, which to so large an extent determined the value of his work. Schnitzler, as can be seen from his work, has studied the power of fate in human affairs throughout his life.

The principal conception which he has of fate is that we can never understand its working, it will always be incomprehensible to our minds. We are ignorant of its strange ways. Something may happen at any moment anywhere which may affect our future life, yet we cannot have the slightest notion of it.

Edmund Nurnberger, in *Der Weg ins Freie*, expresses this idea when he says to Georg von Wergenthin:

Lieber Georg! Wir wollen lieber beide von der Zukunft nicht reden. Weder Sie noch ich wissen es, wo in diesem Augenblick ein Faden zu unserm Schicksal gesponnen wird. Sie haben auch in dem Augenblick, als jener Kapellmeister vom Schläge gerührt wurde, nicht das Geringste verspürt. Und wenn ich ihnen jetzt Glück wunsche zu Ihrer weiteren Laufbahn, so weiss ich nicht, auf wen ich mit diesem Glückwunsch vielleicht den Tod herabgefeht habe.<sup>1</sup>

We have really no influence upon our own life, upon our own fate, matters beyond our control determine our life, this is the conclusion of Edmund Nurnberger.

‘Das ist’s ja, was ich immer sage, nicht wir sind’s, die unser Schicksal machen, sondern meist besorgt das irgendein Umstand ausser uns, auf den wir keinerlei Einfluss zu nehmen in der Lage sind.’<sup>2</sup> He points out that an innocent man had to die in another town, so that Georg could get a position as a conductor of an orchestra.

A similar attitude is taken up by Dr. Reumann when he refuses to accept an appointment, as he would only get it because his predecessor was killed in a mountaineering accident (*Der einsame Weg*).

<sup>1</sup> *Erzählende Schriften*, III, 425.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 423.

Sylvester Thorn (*Der Gang zum Weher*) holds the same view when he says that it was his fault that his wife and his child died, for he wished it in his heart

So weiss ich doch ihr Tod  
 War meine Schuld In meiner Seele Grunden  
 Hab' ich's gewollt Und scheint in Tageshelle  
 Wunsch und Geschehnis weltenweit getrennt  
 In unsichtbar geheimnisvoller Kette  
 Von einem schliesst zum andern Glied an Glied <sup>1</sup>

The way of fate is strange, this is the conclusion which the duke of Bologna draws in *Der Schleier der Beatrice* when he realizes what events had to happen so that he would be able to see the poet Filippo Loschi

Was bist du fur ein Wesen, Beatrice,  
 Dass ich Filippo Loschi sehen durfte  
 Ein einzigmal und so? Geheimes Walten  
 In welche Tiefen muss ich untersteigen  
 Die Wurzeln finden, wo sie sich verbergen <sup>2</sup>

Beatrice, too, wonders why she was chosen to bring suffering to so many people and finds no answer

Und warum war ich ausersehen vor allen  
 So vielen Leid zu bringen, und weiss ich doch.  
 Ich wollte keinem Boses? Staun' ich nur,  
 Dass ich es bin, der alles dies geschah <sup>3</sup>

This conception is found in early as well as in late works In *Reichtum*, an early short story, Schnitzler depicts the caprices of fate which alter completely the life of a house-painter who is asked by two aristocrats to their club, on a whim of theirs after they have watched him playing in a café There he breaks the bank and leaves with a fortune As he is very intoxicated, he hides his money, but he is unable to remember the hiding-place the following morning He can never remember it, although he continually retraces his steps His son grows up and becomes famous as a painter of gambling scenes As an artist he has access to the club of the aristocrats who once asked his father to gamble with them, so that he might be enabled to gain inspiration for his paintings The father suddenly remembers on his deathbed where he had concealed the money, his son finds the money, but when he returns, his father is already dead The son now tries his hand at gambling in order to gain at last true experience for his art, but loses his whole fortune in one night This shock drives him insane There seems to be a strange link in the ways of fate, yet one can never know whether it is destiny or merely accidental chance, a mere coincidence of unusual events

In the late story, *Spiel im Morgengrauen*, Leutnant Willi Kasda must gamble his whole existence away so that his former comrade Bogner can be saved from being exposed as a thief, for he has embezzled a sum of money in the business in which he is employed Several times fate intervenes to lead Kasda to his doom, when he does not meet his friends at home after having won enough money, when he misses the tram by half-a-minute, and the most ironic intervention of fate is that the thousand-crown note which Leopoldine left on his night table after a night of love, just as he left ten florins years ago on her table after a similar experience, enables Kasda to give Bogner the requested sum of money For a moment Bogner's fate is in the balance, for Kasda cannot discover the card with his address until he notices it by chance or by way of destiny in a corner of the room.

<sup>1</sup> *Der Gang zum Weher*, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Theaterstücke*, II, 316

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* II, 319.

Fate is inscrutable, thus we are to conclude from several of Schnitzler's short stories, such as *Die Weissagung*, a tale somewhat reminiscent of the romantic fate tragedy, where everything happens in the life of the hero, so that a picture a fortune-teller conjured up for him one day to forecast what was going to happen to the hero ten years later becomes reality, in spite of all the attempts of the hero to prevent its occurrence.

We can also never know what consequences any of our actions may have, this is another of Schnitzler's observations, as is shown by the short story *Die dreifache Warnung*. A youth is warned not to continue his walk in a wood, as it would mean to commit a murder, bring misfortune upon his country and cause his own death. The youth goes on and then is told that he killed a worm by stepping on it, his breath drove a butterfly from its course until it will reach the royal garden where it will lay an egg from which a caterpillar will emerge. This caterpillar will one afternoon creep over the sleeping queen and frighten her so much that the child in her womb will perish, thus the king's brother will inherit the kingdom and his harsh and cruel nature will cause the country to be embroiled in wars and overcome by misery. The youth himself is told that he will not be able to descend from the rock which he has climbed and he, indeed, loses courage and falls down from it into the abyss which yawns below his feet. Before he dies, however, he asks the voice which has warned him and which has told him all this, what being it is, and he receives the inscrutable answer:

Erkannt hat mich kein Sterblicher noch, der Namen hab' ich viele. Bestimmung nennen mich die Aberglaubischen, die Toren Zufall und die Frommen Gott. Denen aber, die sich die Weisen dunkeln, bin ich die Kraft, die am Anfang aller Tage warnend weiter wirkt, unaufhaltsam in die Ewigkeit durch alles Geschehen.<sup>1</sup>

Fate will intervene and will deceive the human being who thinks he can arrange his life and those of others as he likes. Thus the puppets with which Georg Merklin thought to play will work out their own independent life. In *Der tapfere Cassian* Martin, who thinks to play with other people, is foiled in his plans by his cousin, the gallant Cassian, the man of action. Fate also foils the plans of the young Medardus (*Der junge Medardus*), for each of his actions is foiled by weakness of will, by his passion for Helene and finally by the circumstances in which fate places him. The same applies to Helene. Neither of the two can free the world of Napoleon, as their passion for each other makes them destroy each other and frustrates their plans. Yet they are exercising their will-power by allowing themselves to be dominated by their passion.

The Freiherr von Mayenau (*Der Gang zum Weiher*) feels that in order to live successfully one must not be resigned, but act. Fate may be inexplicable, but his belief is that action depends on one's will and decision. He expresses this belief to Konrad von Uisenbeck:

Ich fühle nicht geheimnisschwer vom Schicksal  
Mich überhangen. Über mir die Wolke  
Ist auch nur Nebeldunst aus Menschenland  
Und am Verhangnis über mir bräut so  
Mein Will' auch mit.<sup>2</sup>

Fate is inscrutable, Schnitzler always repeats, we cannot know about it, this is the conclusion which Schnitzler draws, it is reflected in the words of the unknown man who with a stroke of his sword at the end of the playlet *Zum Grossen Wurstel*

<sup>1</sup> *Erzählende Schriften*, II, 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Gang zum Weiher*, p. 103.

severs the wires of the marionettes so that they collapse He himself is ignorant of what he means

Du fragst zu viel, Was ich bedeuten mag. —  
 Ich weiss es nicht Seit manchem Erdentag  
 Bin ich verdammt, ein Ratsel mir und andern  
 Die Welt nach allen Winden durchzuwandern  
 Dies Schwert hier aber macht es offenbar  
 Wer eine Puppe, wer ein Mensch nur war  
 Auch unsichtbaren Draht trennt diese Scheide  
 Zum manches stolzen Puppenspieler Leide<sup>1</sup>

He is afraid of his own power, as he does not know what he brings to bear nor to what purpose

Ist's Wahrheit, die ich bringe oder Nacht?  
 Folg' ich der Himmlischen der Holle Ruf?  
 Ist es Gesetz—ist's Willkur, die mich schuf?  
 Bin ich ein Gott? ein Narr? ein Euresgleichen?  
 Bin ich ich selber—oder nur ein Zeichen?<sup>2</sup>

We cannot know about fate, we must only marvel at the threads it weaves for us, as Georg von Wergenthin marvels why he and Anna became lovers, because Frau Ehrenberg invited Anna for Georg at one of her parties

Ware jener Abend nicht gewesen, so ware Anna nicht seine Geliebte geworden und nichts von alledem, woran er heute trug, ware geschehen, oder war auch hier irgendein Gesetz am Werke Gewiss! Es müssen wohl jedes Jahr so und sovieler Kinder zur Welt kommen und eine Anzahl darunter ausser Ehe. Und die gute Frau Ehrenberg hatte sich eingebildet, dass es in ihrem Beheben gestanden, Fraulein Anna Rosner einzuladen, für den Freiherrn von Wergenthin.<sup>3</sup>

Filippo Loschi, in *Der Schleier der Beatrice*, wonders why he and Beatrice were destined to meet We can only wonder and be astonished, but we really can know nothing about the nature and purpose of destiny, that is the conclusion Schnitzler implies in his discussion of the problem of fate in life, and again he is content merely to observe its working

It would be wrong to identify Schnitzler's own opinions with those of any of his characters, one can only observe the general tendency in the outlook of his characters, the universal current of thought underlying all their ideas Georg von Wergenthin thus has a feeling after the death of his child that its death was predetermined before its birth, that it had to die in order that some incomprehensible law of nature could be obeyed Yet it would be a mistake to classify Schnitzler as a determinist because such statements appear in his work.

In order to gain a clearer picture of what Schnitzler's conception of fate was, one has to turn to *Das Buch der Sprüche und Bedenken* Schnitzler is essentially a sceptic in outlook, and it is not surprising for a sceptic to be unable to hold a belief in a predestined way of life Fate may appear to him as something mysterious, something incomprehensible, but he will not be able to view it as a pre-ordained pattern It is not surprising, therefore, that Schnitzler will not consider this world to be an ordered whole with a purpose, but will be a strong believer in the existence of free will In the chapter *Schicksal und Wille* he expresses this strong conviction Free will seems to him an essential part of life He feels that there would have to be free will, even if one were to imagine that all actions had followed some law of causality, it strikes him as unimaginable that a choice was not made at the beginning and that some decision was not made by some will

<sup>1</sup> *Theaterstücke*, III, 266.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* III, 267

<sup>3</sup> *Enzzählende Schriften*, III, 361.



then He feels that without a free will the world would not only lack any sense and purpose, but also be completely boring, because lack of responsibility destroys any ethical code

Ohne unsern Glauben an den freien Willen wäre die Erde nicht nur ein Schauplatz der grauenhaftesten Unsinnigkeit, sondern auch der unerträglichsten Langweile Verantwortungslosigkeit hebt jede ethische Forderung, kaum als sie ins Bewusstsein trat, als wesenslos wieder auf, das Ich ohne Gefühl der Verantwortung wäre überhaupt kein Ich mehr, die Erde kein Schauplatz von Tragödien und Komödien, die sich zwischen Individuen abspielen, sondern ein lappisches oder trauriges Possenspiel zwischen freiliebenden Trieben, die sich zufällig in dem einen oder andern Individuum verkörpern <sup>1</sup>

Any individual without a feeling of responsibility would be no longer a real individual He feels that for any continuation of life it is necessary to believe in a free will, as otherwise life will merely appear nonsensical and futile An individual who believed in predestination would deny the existence of any independent action of the individual, and would merely, without any kind of responsibility, take the line of least resistance, indulge in a lethargic attitude towards life, and life would end in complete chaos and destruction Schnitzler is not a determinist, he feels that God has put free will as an equal opponent in the world

Er hat sich einen ebenbürtigen Gegner ins All gesetzt, den freien Willen, der in jedem Augenblick bereit ist, mit der Kausalität den Kampf aufzunehmen und es sogar dann tut, wenn er selber glaubt, sich einem unerforschlichen Ratschluss in Demut zu unterwerfen <sup>2</sup>

At times his work, especially his early work, gives an impression of a deterministic philosophy of life, but this impression is a deceptive one He feels that free will is essential, if life is to be continued at all It is his conception that it is the free will of man to decide his fate at each moment of his life for the fraction of each second, only once the decision has been made it has become a part of the past and of necessity All our thought is a rebellion against causality as a supreme law

Alle unsere Kritik, ja all unser Denken ist immer wieder eine Auflehnung gegen die Kausalität als oberstes Gesetz. Der freie Wille aber wirkt immer nur den Bruchteil einer Sekunde lang. Hat er seine Funktion erfüllt, so ist das, was er gewirkt hat, unwiderruflich im nicht mehr zu Andernden, nicht mehr Wegzudenkenden, im Geschehenen, daher Notwendigen untergetaucht <sup>3</sup>

In his early works one finds the inexplicability of fate emphasized, but this conception also exists in his late works, such as *Spiel im Morgengrauen* This belief in the mystery of fate does not imply a deterministic conception of life It is quite possible that free will exists and yet also some strange, unknown, transcendental connexion between our actions and those of others which we can neither explain nor foresee

Fate thus seems mysterious and inexplicable This conclusion must be drawn from a study of Schnitzler's dramas and his fiction, and it is also confirmed by a study of *Das Buch der Sprüche und Bedenken* He states that the workings of fate are inexplicable; even that which appears to be a completely accidental event can be caused by one's own action and often the chance event will appear like fate, if considered from a higher point of view Fate and chance will really appear identical, if viewed from this point of view

In logischem Sinne sind also Schicksal und Zufall niemals Gegensätze, sondern durchaus das Gleiche und umso unwidersprechlicher identisch, von je höherem Standpunkt aus wir ein Ereignis betrachten <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Das Buch der Sprüche und Bedenken*, p. 56.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p. 56    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid* p. 55    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid* p. 70

He also expresses the same view by saying that what appears to us as miraculous is in no way more miraculous than other events that happen to us, only that the former seems more striking to our imagination:

Wie durch ein Wunder, sagst Du, ist jene Kugel knapp an Deinem Ohr vorbeigegangen Und denke nur einen Andern hat die gleiche Kugel mitten durchs Herz getroffen War dies etwa ein geringeres Wunder? Du bist einem Freund dreimal hinter einander an der gleichen Strassenecke zur gleichen Stunde begegnet Darin sprach sich für dich ein Gesetz der Serie aus <sup>1</sup>

There is no doubt that Schnitzler feels that all these miraculous and strange events as well as those which appear normal cannot be explained, and must remain an enigma to the human mind Only adventurers of thought will seek to enter that sphere

Natürlich sind es gerade diese schwer kontrollierbaren, unsicher begrenzten Reviere der Metaphysik, des Okkultismus und des Unbewussten, wo den Abenteurern, Spekulant und Hochstaplern der Gedanken am wohlsten ist <sup>2</sup>

His belief that drama is essentially a resistance of the individual against fate is also expressed in his *Gedanken über die Kunst*

Dramatiker sein, heisst an den freien Willen glauben, wie, rein als einen Gott 'Denn was ist das Drama?' Der Widerstand, der Kampf des Einen, des Willens dieses Einen mit dem Schicksal? Die Summe, das Quadrat kurz irgendeine Zusammenfassung aller andren freien Willen plus den unabänderlichen Naturgesetzen.<sup>3</sup>

Art for him is also the ultimate proof of the existence of free will, for any deed can be explained as a result of causality, except a work of art, especially a work of music

Jede Tat und jedes Geschehen lässt sich kausal erklären, ohne dass wir eine Mithilfe des freien Willen anzunehmen zu brauchen, den wir deterministisch als den Ausdruck der in das Individuum gesperrten Kausalität bezeichnen dürfen Nur bei dem Versuch das künstlerische Schaffen zu erklären, kommen wir mit der Kausalität allein nicht aus, und am deutlichsten wird das in der Musik.<sup>4</sup>

From Schnitzler's drama and fiction one may receive the impression that he was in no way concerned with the problems of religion, with the conception of a reality which is greater than that of this world, and, in his eyes, religion seemed to play no part in life, as far as personal morals were concerned. For the world of his characters is a world without any morality of right and wrong, without any absolute standards It is a world of reason and rationalization, an amoral world in which the inhabitants can only sin on account of their lack of wisdom and intelligence, but not on account of transgressing absolute standards of right and wrong He never points out that an action is immoral or wrong in the higher sense He only points out that certain actions, that a certain conduct, will lead to unhappiness or appear pointless in the eyes of reason, but he introduces nowhere the principles of a higher code of Christian ethics. No absolute standards of right and wrong are introduced anywhere into personal relationships or into any other part of his work With the exception of the priests in *Professor Bernhardt* and *Im Spiel der Sommerlufte* who, by virtue of their vocation, must look beyond the problems of this world, there is no character who is concerned with absolute standards His characters are never prevented from doing any action by religious scruples Morality is for Schnitzler only a question of this world.

<sup>1</sup> *Buch der Sprüche und Bedenken*, p 132

<sup>2</sup> *Gedanken über Die Kunst in Die Neue Rundschau*, 1932

<sup>4</sup> *Buch der Sprüche und Bedenken*, p 177

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p. 127

As he is only concerned with life on this planet, the thought of the next world never enters into the discussion. There is no question of sin, there is no question of destroying something more spiritual than mere personal relationships. It is with this world that Schnitzler's characters are concerned, and the problems of right and wrong are the problems of this world. Right for Schnitzler is not a question of absolute wisdom, it is a matter of that which is conducive to the greatest happiness of the greatest number, it is a matter of intelligence. Wrong is the failure of one's intelligence to attain that aim. There is, therefore, never any question of doing right or wrong according to laws which are beyond those imposed by the reason and intelligence of this world. It is true that in *Der Geist im Wort und in der Tat* he implies the possibility of some greater values, but in his literary work there is no implication of that conception.

*Das Buch der Sprüche und Bedenken* makes it clear that Schnitzler was occupied with the question of religion. Religion being so very much a matter of faith and belief, Schnitzler was in great difficulty. He finds it hard, if not impossible to believe. He can only doubt. As he himself admits the limitations of human reason, he feels that in his scepticism and his doubts he experiences devotion and worship, and that which others call faith can be found in them, too. It is not faith, he thinks, that is necessary, but our questions to the divine which make us spiritually rich.

Unsere Fragen an die Gottheit sind es, die uns reicher machen, nicht die spärlichen Antworten, die uns zuteil werden. Die Sehnsucht ist es, die unsere Seele nährt und nicht die Erfüllung, und der Sinn unseres Lebens ist der Weg und nicht das Ziel. Denn jede Antwort ist trügerisch, jede Erfüllung zerfließt uns unter den Händen und das Ziel ist keines mehr, sobald es erreicht wird.<sup>1</sup>

Schnitzler is a sceptic, he doubts and refuses to believe without careful examination, yet, knowing the limitations of the human mind, he feels that one will never be able to know the truth about the divine, one can only ask questions and doubt, faith is an illusion. Human reason can never answer the question which we want to ask—life, the world is a chaos—philosophical systems, religious dogmas are only attempts at an escape from that chaotic truth which we cannot comprehend.

Und so sind wir stets auf der Flucht aus der chaotischen Wahrheit, die wir weder zu fassen noch zu ertragen im Stande gewesen waren, in den trügerischen Trost einer willkürlich geordneten Welt.<sup>2</sup>

A statement which reminds one of Dr Aigner's remark (*Das weite Land*) that the natural condition of the world is chaos, 'Das natürliche ist—das Chaos'.<sup>3</sup>

In order to be able to bear life, to live it at all, to see it as a whole, man has to escape into illusions so as to avoid the truth of the chaos and receive the consolation of an arbitrarily ordered world.

Schnitzler feels that it is impossible to believe or worship, as it all merely arises from ourselves, no emotional or intuitive relationship with God is possible, as our whole relationship with God depends on our own self, whether we want to rebel against it or worship it.

Jede gefühlsmässige Beziehung zu Gott ist sinnlos, Auflehnung nicht minder als Ergebung, denn der Altar, vor dem wir im Staube fielen, wie der, den wir zertrümmern wollen,—wir sind es immer selbst, die ihn aufgerichtet haben.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Buch der Sprüche und Bedenken*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Theaterstücke*, iv, 372.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *Das Buch der Sprüche und Bedenken*, p. 34.

Schnitzler is a sceptic, he can only trust or believe his own reason, his own judgement, the limitations of which he acutely realizes. He can only ask for the divine, but for him there never will be an answer.

A study of the problems which Schnitzler treated in his work makes it obvious that he is primarily an observer, that his vision is limited by the boundaries of this world, as he cannot reach by faith and spiritual guidance beyond them. His attitude towards fate and the divine in life is the attitude of the relativist, the man who will never commit himself to any definite point of view, who affirms the independence and individuality of the human being, as far as this world is concerned, but who can only reserve his judgment as to the world beyond and, therefore, fails to attain that inner harmony which alone gives peace of mind and happiness.

This study of the role of fate and of religion in the work of Arthur Schnitzler shows that it would be wrong to consider him as a determinist, as has been done by several critics of his work. Thus Josef Korner in *Schnitzlers Gestalten und Probleme*, one of the most authoritative works, states:

Und was als fatalistische Grundfarbe durch alle bunten Gemälde durchschimmert, die des Dichters Einbildungskraft vor uns hinzaubert, ist sein Bekenntnis zum unbedingten Determinismus.<sup>1</sup>

A similar conception is maintained in the article by an American scholar who states that Schnitzler was above all a determinist. 'It cannot be denied that Schnitzler in his writings reveals a philosophy that is above all else that of the determinist', and she concludes her article by saying

Schnitzler is himself in doubt whether man is what he is notwithstanding existing conditions or because of them. Either point of view, however, precludes the freedom of the will, for Schnitzler, the physician, the alienist, and the psychologist, has clearly demonstrated in an exceedingly large proportion of his dramatic and narrative production, that the question of individual responsibility is replaced, in his estimation of the vaster conception of man as being subject to laws over which he has little or no control, those of physiological, biological and social science.<sup>2</sup>

W. Dehorn, in an article on psycho-analysis and modern writing, reveals the same conception.

Dr Reiks Diagnosen zeigen, dass Schnitzler ähnlich wie Freud den fatalistischen Grundgedanken vertritt, wonach der Mensch ein Geschlechtswesen ist, das von frühester Kindheit auf unglaublichen Schleichwegen dem Rauschglück der erfüllten Stunden nachspürt.<sup>3</sup>

It would be to misunderstand Schnitzler's philosophy of life to class him as a determinist, or even to adopt the compromise which Miss Frida Ilmer adopts in her article on Schnitzler's attitude towards the transcendental, where she seeks to connect those two different conceptions of Schnitzler's attitude of mind. Miss Ilmer, however, is right in stating that Schnitzler was led 'to doubt everything'.<sup>4</sup> She does, however, not draw the conclusion which must be drawn from a study of Schnitzler's attitude towards transcendental problems and which determined his whole outlook on life, viz. that this negative conception of life, this mere

<sup>1</sup> Josef Korner, *Arthur Schnitzlers Gestalten und Probleme*, in the chapter 'Der Puppenspieler'.

<sup>2</sup> Selma Kohler, 'The question of moral responsibility in the works of Arthur Schnitzler'.

(*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xxii, no 3, July 1923).

<sup>3</sup> 'Psychoanalyse und neuere Dichtung', *Germanic Review*, vii, 3 (1932).

<sup>4</sup> 'Schnitzler's attitude with regard to the transcendental', *Germanic Review*, x (1935).

observation of and commentary on the spectacle of the world, did not allow him to have a definite point of view which he could express in his work did not allow him to have a creative and moral purpose which is essential as a basis of any artistic work of lasting merit. Arthur Schnitzler therefore fails as a writer to achieve anything on a large scale which can stand the test of time and which alone can make him rise above being merely a significant and interesting example of the literature of his time.

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## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

### LOMBARDS' LETTERS ('PIERS PLOWMAN', B v, 251)

Skeat rightly judged that in his day it was more important to provide accurate editions of Middle English texts than to delay publication until he had elucidated every allusion in them. Two lines from the confession of Avarice in the B-text of *Piers Plowman*

And with Lumbardes lettres I ladde golde to Rome,  
And toke it by taille here and tolde hem there lasse (B, v, 251-2)

are among many that he left unexplained. True, from the note to l. 242 of the same passus, in which he draws on Southey for a description of the Lombards' activities, one can get a hint of the general significance of this reference to them. But everything we know of the poet's methods suggests that he had a specific type of transaction in mind, and the history of the cameral merchants of the papacy provides the clue.

From the time of Gregory IX (1227-41) the papacy used Italian bankers as agents for the deposit, transport, and exchange of money and, in particular, of papal dues. The bankers' representatives abroad received deposits from the collectors of these dues and forwarded them to the camera. They 'might transport the actual specie, or make the transfer by order on the representative of the firm at the papal court, or by bill of exchange. For this service they received a portion of the money transferred, and they might also charge for the exchange of the money from the currency of the country in which it was received into the money current at the papal court'.<sup>1</sup> The bills of exchange were known as 'letters of exchange'. And there can be little doubt that the Lombards' letters of which Avarice speaks were such bills.

The opportunities for corruption in such a system are obvious. As an agent of the cameral bankers—probably of the merchants of Lucca, to whom the term 'Lombards' generally refers, and towards whom Londoners showed much illwill during the period 1359-79<sup>2</sup>—Avarice 'toke [golde] by taille here', i.e. he received the full amount due to the papal treasury from the local collectors of papal dues, and gave a receipt (tally) for it.<sup>3</sup> But when he reached Rome (the papal court had been transferred thither from Avignon in January 1377) he 'tolde (counted) hem there lesse': he paid into the camera less than he had received—presumably deducting more than the proper 'service charges' (which would include a charge for changing the money transferred into the coin current in Rome). That such dishonesty was not uncommon is suggested by several of the documents assembled by Lunt. On one occasion the merchants collected more than was legally due to them, on another we find the camerarius asking the local collector for an account of the money he had transmitted through these bankers (in this case the society of Alberti Antiqui) 'so

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1934), I, 53.

<sup>2</sup> Vide A. Beardwood, *Alien Merchants in England, 1350-1377* (Cambridge, Mass. 1931), pp. 11 f., 23 (with the reference to the *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1374-7, p. 419), and 57 (two

Lombards tried in 1376 for acting as brokers in a usurious loan).

<sup>3</sup> For an early example of a papal order requiring a local collector ('brother John of Kent') to deliver the sums he collected to a cameral merchant, vide Lunt, op. cit. I, 302.

that we can learn more clearly and truly if they have paid and rendered it to the aforesaid camera' <sup>1</sup>

Avarice makes one other reference to 'Lombards' in the course of his confession

I lerned amonge Lumbardes and Iewes a lessoun,  
To wey pens with a peys and pare the heuyest,  
And lene it for loue of the crosse to legge a wedde and lese it (B, v, 242-4)

There is at least one instance of a collector 'paring', or 'clipping', coin on its way to the camera <sup>2</sup> It was a trick with which the Jews (sometimes themselves known as Lombards, if they came from Italy) were also charged, not without reason, and a few years before the presumed date of the B-text the Commons had complained that the Lombard merchants were harbouring Jews, although their presence in England had been illegal since 1290 <sup>3</sup> It is clear that the writer of these and other passages in the poem (in particular, lines 128-33 of Passus iv) followed with a keen eye the devious and complicated financial transactions of his day—especially those centring on the papal treasury

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#### SHAKESPEARE'S 'HEBENON' AGAIN

The studies of Bradley and Montgomery (*M L R* xv, 1920, 85-7, and 305-7, respectively) show conclusively that the name *hebenon* (or *hebona*) derives through Marlowe, Spenser, and Gower from *ebenus*, the ebony tree. But the twofold effect which Shakespeare attributes to 'hebenon' has not been so finally explained. It seems inescapable that he has associated this deadly concoction with the effects of perhaps more than one deadly plant. Many times suggested are henbane and yew (see especially Nicholson and Harrison, *Tr New Sh Soc* 1880-2, pp 21-31, and 1880-5, pp 295-321), and for *lignum vitae*, regarded as a species of ebony, Montgomery proposes interesting arguments. In the search the most famous of all poisons has been neglected<sup>4</sup>—the hemlock, as it has been described by Pliny

Holland's translation or the original, perhaps both, might well account for the lines describing the terrible operation of the poison when poured into the ears (*Hamlet*, I, v, 64-73)

whose effect  
Holds such an enmity with blood of man  
That swift as quicksilver it courses through  
The natural gates and alleys of the body,  
And with a sudden vigour it doth posset  
And curd, like eager droppings into milk,  
The thinn and wholesome blood. So did it mine,  
And a most instant tetter bark'd about,  
Most lazar-like, with vile and loathsome crust,  
All my smooth body

<sup>1</sup> Vide Lunt, op cit i, 313, and v, 53

<sup>2</sup> Vide Samaran, C. and Mollat, G., *La Fiscalité pontificale en France au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1905), pp. 216, 217. In 1364 London Lombards were prosecuted 'de minoracione regie monetæ' (Beardwood, op cit. p 13)

<sup>3</sup> *Rotuli parliamentorum*, II, 332a, 1376 (and cf 350b)

<sup>4</sup> Suggesting the word *hebon*, K. Elze adds the

afterthought, 'Perhaps should we not conjecture that *hemlock* was intended here?' V B Green-Armytage dismisses the question with the statement that "'hebenon" must mean hemlock' ('Gynecology and obstetrics in Shakespeare', *J Obstet and Gynaec Brit Emp* xxxvii (1930), 283) These are the only allusions to hemlock I have noted

Pliny thus describes the perils of the famous hemlock (Bk 25, ch 13)

Sucus exprimitur foliis floribusque, tum enim maxime tempestivus est Semine trito expressus et sole densatus in pastillos necat sanguinem spissando. Haec altera vis, et ideo sic necatorum maculae in corporibus adparent.

This passage Holland renders somewhat awkwardly (ed 1635, p 236)

There is a juice pressed out of the leaves and floures both together, for that is the right reason [season], namely whiles it is in flour the which is pressed out of that seed stamped, being afterwards dried in the Sun and made into bails or trosches, kills them that take it inwardly, by congealing and cluttering their blood, for this is a second venomous and deadly quality that it hath which is the cause, that whosoever die by this means, there appear certain spots or specks in their bodies after they be dead

In brief, hemlock is said to produce two effects it kills by 'congealing and cluttering' the blood, upon the dead body it produces 'certain spots or specks' The first effect, much elaborated in the *Hamlet* passage, is identical with that in Pliny, in the second, *maculae* may have suggested the leperous tetter

The pouring into the ears, it has been often suggested, Shakespeare may have adopted from Pliny's warning about the use of henbane in this same book, chap 4

Oleum fit ex semine [of henbane], quod ipsum auribus infusum temptat mentem.

If this sentence afforded the poet a starting point, then the later unique attributes of hemlock may easily have stirred him to the poetic elaboration which follows Such a possibility in no way denies the poet's acquaintance with other dangerous plants, accounts of which may as easily have reinforced the passage here

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## TWO ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF HERDER'S 'MARAN ATHA' A NOTE

W K Ruprecht ('Felicia Hemans und die englischen Beziehungen zur deutschen Literatur', *Anglia*, XLVIII (1924), 206) and H Tronchon (*Le jeune Edgar Quinet* (Paris, 1937), pp 242 f) draw attention to *A Brief Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John From the German of the celebrated Herder* (London, Hatchard, 1821, 291 pp), the former without further remark, the latter with an observation that the translation 'semble intégrale' and a few lines on the translator's Introduction on Herder Darling's *Cyclopaedia Bibliographica*, 1859, II, col 1742, confuses matters by listing this work under *Johannes Offenbarung* and not *Maran Atha*, as if it might be a translation of the *Uniform* of this latter Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual* notes that the translator was Sir George Duckett, Bart Allibone describes Sir George as the translator of Michaelis's *Burial and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, London, 1827,<sup>1</sup> while Halkett and Laing, who list *A Brief Commentary* without a note of the translator's name and with the wrong date (1831), erroneously give Sir John Duckett as the name of the translator of Michaelis's work

Sir George Duckett (1777-1856), F R S, F S A, was the son of the first baronet, Sir George Jackson (who assumed the name of Duckett, his wife being heiress of

<sup>1</sup> *Erklärung der Begräbnis- und Auferstehungsgeschichte Christi nach den vier Evangelisten. Mit Rücksicht auf die in den Fragmenten gemachten Einwurfe und deren Beantwortung. (Das fünfte Fragment selbst aus G E Lessings viertem Beytrage zur Geschichte und Litteratur mit J D*

*Michaelis Anmerkungen, als ein Anhang zur Begräbnis- und Auferstehungsgeschichte Christi.)* Halle, 1783-5 An interesting echo of Lessing's controversial writings in this country The British Museum catalogue lists the translation, but does not state the name of the translator



the Duckett family), Secretary to the Admiralty and Judge-Advocate of the Fleet, after whom Port Jackson, N S W, and Point Jackson, N Z, were named. Sir George is described by his son Sir George Floyd Duckett in *Duchetrana* (London, 1874), pp 59 ff, as a 'classical scholar of the very highest order', who knew the main European languages, and, 'as a layman, quite unequalled in theological researches', 'his translations of "Michaelis's Burial and Resurrection of Our Saviour"', from the original German, and "Herder on the Revelation of St John" are well known works, and "Luther's Preface to St Paul's Epistle to the Romans", or "the Doctrines of the Reformation in opposition to those of Romanism" (also from the German), has gone through many editions'<sup>1</sup> He was Member of Parliament for Lymington and Plympton

Duckett precedes his translation by a 'Short Biographical Account of the Author', of barely eight pages, referring his readers for further information to 'Dantz and Grueber' (not 'Duntz', much less 'Duntzer', as Tronchon erroneously notes) This account is in the main an enumeration of the main facts of Herder's life, with minor slips, together with the then customary likening of Herder to Plato and a faulty repetition of Grueber's eulogistic application to him of the description of Plato by Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>2</sup>

Nothing can exceed the sweetness of his language, when he chooses the easy, amiable, and artless style He is singularly perspicuous, he uses always the proper word, and, in his anxiety for clearness, shuns a redundancy of epithets An antique taste reigns throughout him, like a delightful air blowing from fragrant flowers in a verdant mead There is nothing pompous, nothing childish in him He is censurable only when, with unbridled fury, he obscures the general clearness of his style by too great a copiousness of diction

More informed readers are now inclined to be less glowing about Herder's style But the tribute is important as an indication of the authoritative position Herder held in his day

The translation does not follow the original of *Maran Atha* in every particular Its author, in order to 'improve' upon Herder, changes round passages from place to place, so as to give greater continuity to the text and to minimize the effect of the interpolation of quotations from the Bible There are frequent omissions of phrases and sentences in the interest of smoothness Long sentences are broken up, not without skill At times the omissions and contractions are quite considerable, and much of the power of the original is lost with its turbulence, the removal of an epithet here, a phrase there, a sentence or two elsewhere causes us to speak 'of

<sup>1</sup> The British Museum catalogue lists only *The Prefaces to the Early Editions of Martin Luther's Bible*, ed by T A Readwin (translated by Sir G D), London and Manchester, 1863 The Introduction to this work contains the following information 'These Prefaces were translated some years ago, and presented to the Editor by his late revered friend, Sir George Duckett, Bart, F R S, with the exception of the Preface to St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which had been previously published The Editor is now enabled to publish the Prefaces in a complete form, through the liberality of the Messrs Hatchard, who have gratuitously placed the copyright of the "invaluable" Preface to the Romans at his disposal' In addition to the Preface to Romans, the Prefaces to the Psalms, Prophets, Isaiah, and Acts and the

Subject of the Prophecies of Isaiah, by Luther, are included, as well as 'General and Special Rules relating to the Old Testament' and 'Rules relating to the Bible generally', the object of the whole being 'to illustrate the great principle of Justification by Faith', they were, the Introduction continues, 'partly the composition of Luther, and partly that of pious men, to whom the religious circle of the time must have looked with implicit confidence'

<sup>2</sup> Dantz und Grueber, *Charakteristik Johann Gottfried v. Herders* (Leipzig, 1805), pp 521-2 The translation is misleading e.g 'er bedient sich der eigenthümlichen Ausdrücke' becomes 'he uses always the proper word', while Duckett's habit of paraphrasing and telescoping is apparent even in this short extract

an abridgement or adaptation rather than a translation. Comparison of the texts is thus confusing and tiresome. The translation is divided by Duckett into two parts, the second part being Herder's defence of his own work (*Werke*, ed Suphan, ix, 231 ff), in Part I Herder's seven chapters are cut up into nine. So extensive is the rearrangement in many places as the translation proceeds that one can scarcely regard it as much more than a revised paraphrase (e.g. the introductory note).

Darling, loc. cit., refers also to Moses Stuart's *A Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 2 vols (London, 1845), as containing allusions to Herder. Stuart (1780-1852) was a distinguished American Hebrew scholar and Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. He was much praised in his day, not only for his Biblical scholarship, but also for having 'opened the rich treasures of German literature and theology to the American, if not to the English world', as the *Evangelical Review*, July, 1862 (quoted by Allibone) put it. His *Commentary* refers (I, 471) to *Maran Atha* with some enthusiasm and contains an Appendix which gives specimens from that work in translation. The translation appears to be original, and is much less mangled than Duckett's (to whom Stuart makes no reference). The observations on Herder are of some interest, we read (I, 471) that while 'Herder was not distinguished for ability as a mere exegete or interpreter [and], on the score of grammatical and historical interpretation, not much ground was won by him' 'in regard to the rhetorical character of the book and on the score of aesthetics, Herder's work was really the commencement of a new era'. It was a 'fundamental error', says Stuart, to 'make everything important in the Apocalypse relate to Jewish history' (wherein Herder followed Abauzit's *Discours historique sur l'Apocalypse*), but the book nevertheless 'remains, down to the present hour, with all its errors in interpretation, the most attractive and delightful work that has yet been written upon the Apocalypse'. 'Never before was the nature of its poetic representation so fully and finely unfolded. Nor has the aesthetical judgement of the public been materially changed since Herder gave it a new direction'. It is an honour, then, for Herder to be singled out for quotation in the Appendix, Stuart's reason being that *Maran Atha* 'has become rather scarce in Germany, and in our country it can be but very little known, except among some classes of the German population' (II, 491).

'In his time', he continues, 'Herder performed an important service, he arrested the current which Oeder and Semler and Corrodi had set in motion so strongly against the Apocalypse. The peculiarities of his style are adapted to excite attention, and create a lively interest in what he says. I will not call him the *Tacitus* of the Germans, for he has an imagination so luxuriant, fancy so boundless, and vivacity so sparkling, that I cannot liken him to Tacitus. But in brevity and sententiousness, and in the apothegmatic form of his sentences, and the pregnant sense of his words, he has much resemblance to Tacitus'.

Stuart has clearly more appreciation of Herder's manner than Duckett, and he goes on to say that 'in the first place, our language lacks the power and energy and variety of the German' to express his style adequately, and 'in the second, Herder is so peculiarly idiomatic that any one might as well ask him to translate *Shakespeare* (*sic*) into German, as to demand of me to give the exact image of Herder in English'. He reproduces passages from the end of *Maran Atha*, where Herder vindicated his work (*Werke*, ed Suphan, ix, 231 ff). It is a successful effort, very readable and close to the original, it ends at p. 248 in the Suphan text.

A. GILLIES

SOME QUESTIONS OF LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE CONSIDERED BY THE  
U S S R ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The Research Department of Literature and Language of the Soviet Academy of Sciences is concentrated in five institutes Russian Language, the Marr Institute of Language and Thought, the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Pushkin House (Literature), and the Maxim Gorky Institute of World Literature. These were in Leningrad and Moscow respectively up to the outbreak of the war, but it was found that the plans of work of the departments for the study of language literature and Slav and Oriental cultures needed to be altered to suit wartime requirements.

The army, within whose ranks were the many nationalities of the Soviet Republics, made new demands upon literary and language studies. Not only dictionaries of military terms, in languages of the various nationalities, but also pocket editions of Russo-national dictionaries were urgently required. This task devolved in the main upon Institutes of the U S S R Academy of Science and its branches. As the Red Army approached the borders of hostile states the necessity for contact with the population became more urgent. Special text-books had to be made up for soldiers who did not know foreign languages. Bilingual conversation books were needed and twenty-three of these were quickly compiled. Other important work done by these institutes during the war included the translation of documents, and consultations on drawing maps of the border countries. The language institutes took an active share in the pedagogical work of military schools, giving further teaching to those commanders who had already some knowledge of languages. However, wartime tasks did not entail any neglect of the principal research work being carried out. On the contrary, those institutes evacuated from Leningrad and Moscow found still closer contact with kindred scientific institutions in the national republics. They employed their stay in the cities of Central Asia to enrich their stock of knowledge and to give assistance to the scientific research workers of Central Asia. The Institute of Oriental Studies, the Gorky Institute of Literature and the Pushkin House were in Tashkent, the Marr Institute of Language and Thought in Alma Ata and Stal'nabad, respectively.

As a result of close co-operation between scientists from the central institutes and local scientists, the compilation of academic grammar text-books in Uzbek, Kazakh and Marri, of which a comprehensive study was being made, was hastened. A series of Russo-national dictionaries (Kirghiz, Marri and Bashkir) were compiled on the same principles. Work was begun on a dictionary of the Karakalpak language, and a four-volume Azerbaijanian dictionary was published in Baku. Orientalists completed work on monumental dictionaries under the guidance of such leading scholars as Professor Alexeev (Chinese dictionary), Professor Konrad (Japanese hieroglyphics), Professor Kozin (Mongolian). Important work is being done in Arabic philology by Professor Krachkovsky, in Chinese poetry by Professor Alexeev, while Professor Barannikov is continuing his researches in the modern languages and literature of India. In the course of the last two years a translation with a commentary has been completed of treatises on the military art of Sunsi and Wusi, two classics which are studied in special courses at Chinese and Japanese military academies. These are now published for the first time in a full scientifically verified edition, under the editorship of Professor Konrad.

An outline of the history of the Russian literary language of an earlier period by Professor Obnorsky is an outstanding book on Russian and other Slav languages. Of considerable value in the study of Slav languages is Professor Derzhavin's

introduction to Slav philology. The scope of the work he has been directing on the Slav Committee of the Academy has been considerably extended as a result of close contact with the Slav countries during the war. A comparative review of the principal syntax structures of a series of languages of different groups, a work that was begun and recently completed, might serve as a text-book for both language study in general and for the compilation of grammars of different languages.

Work on the study of literature was not given up during the war. Before the war the Pushkin House was preparing to publish a ten-volume history of Russian literature from olden times up to the present day. It also undertook the compilation of histories of the western European literatures—English, French, Italian, Spanish and German, and the literature of the United States. These are of necessity the work of a number of scholars, and they contain much new data. Not only do they review the merits of the writer and his importance for the development of national and world culture, but they go deeply into the connexion between the great masterpieces of creative art and the development of the people's social struggle. Special attention is devoted to the history of Soviet literature—how it was built up, its links with past literature, and the general trend of its development. The history of literature is presented in close relation with the Soviet people, their social aims are indicated, the growth of the inner spiritual unity of all Soviet nationalities—not only those that possessed ancient culture, but those that have only recently built up a written language. It is natural that the war should have brought forward in these studies questions of patriotism, love of country, national consciousness and the relation between Russian and western European literature. This work is nearing its completion.

Meanwhile monographs on writers form excellent supplementary material to the aforementioned histories. Studies on the work of Pushkin, Lermontov, Leo Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Gorky, Chekhov, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Roman Rolland, Rabelais and others are in course of preparation.

Other large works begun during the war were *A History of Russian Criticism* in five volumes, *A History of Thought in Russian Literary Studies* in three volumes, *A History of Russian Folklore*, and also a collection and analysis of Soviet folklore and wartime folklore.

Monographs on Belinsky and Pisarev have been prepared, and one on Chernyshevsky is under way. These three were great Russian democrats, thinkers and critics of the 1860's. Histories of national literature have also been prepared in the Academies and branch Academies of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, etc.

The war inevitably evoked an enormous demand for books of a popular scientific nature. The institutes have published a large number of pamphlets on Russian writers who have become classics because of their love of country and their attitude to Prussianism. Much attention is naturally devoted to Maxim Gorky and his views on fascism.

Now that archives and the big libraries have returned to Moscow the work described in this article is acquiring still greater scope and impetus.

The war gave to the study of language and literature, subjects to which the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and Soviet scholars have always devoted so much attention, a greater depth and a more immediate interest.

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## REVIEWS

*The Crooked Rib: an Analytical Index to the Argument about Women in English and Scots Literature to the End of the Year 1568* By FRANCIS LEE UTTLEY.  
Columbus Ohio State University 1944 xiii + 368 pp \$4.00

Professor Uttley's immediate purpose is to provide a catalogue of the literature of the *querelle des femmes* written during the Middle Ages and the Tudor period. This he does in three workmanlike indexes, and his collection is comprehensive. Were this the sole achievement of his work, it would provide ample evidence for many literary studies and for related sociological and psychological topics. There is, however, an introduction of some ninety pages in which Professor Uttley explains with wit and penetration the many pitfalls in a theme 'as old as the Egyptian Book of the Dead and as new as the American comic strip'. He points out the many correctives, psychological, social, economic and anthropological, which should help to explain fully the complex motives underlying the charges against women. There are timely warnings against the too-facile conclusion that satire on women is a product of the Middle Ages in time or of the influence of the East in spirit. He points out that the savage asceticism of *Halé Mardenhed* and the Wife of Bath's comment that

it is an impossible  
That any clerk wol speke good of wyves

are extremes rather than trustworthy evidence of 'monkish satire'. In all, he demonstrates that responsibility for the theme cannot be ascribed safely to any one age, class, individual or way of life, since 'the monk, the preacher, the bourgeois, the Arab and Jew, the individual poet, the male and female, the jester and the courtly lover', all help to change the perspective.

Professor Uttley also describes in the introduction the literary forms in which his subject is contained, some organically suitable, such as the *chanson d'aventure*, confession and debate, others of the length and scope of the *Romance of the Rose*. Chronologically, the literature extends from *The Owl and the Nightingale* to Bannatyne's collection of 1568, covering all variations on the way to reconcile the sentiment that

Mulier est hominis confusio  
Wommen is mannes joye and al his blis

From the later examples Professor Uttley has evidence to prove his point that with the late sixteenth-century's revolution in women's education, the greater stress on individualism, the old jest as such passes to the less literate masses, while Spenser and Shakespeare incorporate it in a larger view.

It is, perhaps, a slight defect that, in the lay-out of the indexes, the summary of the subject-matter of each piece of work cannot always indicate fully its relative importance. The first entry in the index of first lines is Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*, 'a narrative warning against inconstancy, a moralising sequel to *Troilus and Criseyde*'. Professor Uttley set himself the necessary restriction that 'the subject-matter be women primarily, and that the intent and attitude be exaggerated or controversial'. Thus *Gawayne and the Grene Knyzt* has to be omitted in the index, though its importance is stressed in the introduction as a document concerning courtly love and the deceit of women.

These are but slight objections compared with the value of the whole, both as a useful introduction to the subject and as a book of reference for further literary studies.

ELIZABETH J. SWEETING

LONDON

*Sea Language Comes Ashore* By JOANNA CARVER COLCORD New York: Cornell Maritime Press 1944 224 pp \$2 25

Varieties of vocabulary have claimed an increased attention of late. Lively accounts have appeared in American journals of the speech of lumbermen, pitchmen and truck drivers. Elsewhere competent treatises have been written, from first-hand experience, on such themes as 'Army Talk' and 'Royal Air Force Slang'. Miss Colcord has now written an entertaining little book on sea terms which have made their way into common American usage.

Born at sea off Cape Horn, descendant of five generations of New England captains, Miss Colcord spent her childhood in sailing ships and heard seamen's talk every day. This language, she avers, is a 'sub-dialect of English', common to Americans from either side of the Mason and Dixon Line, common to British and American seamen alike. She writes with zest and verve, but she writes with such erudite authorities as Ernest Weekley and Eric Partridge at her elbow and clearly she owes much to *Sea Terms Come Ashore*, a volume recently added to the University of Maine Studies by Professor G. D. Chase. Comparing William Falconer's *Universal Dictionary of the Marine* (1769) with Gershom Bradford's *Glossary of Sea Terms* (1942), she observes with joy and pride how many idioms have remained unchanged by time. Behind her gaiety lies a serious and laudable purpose. She is deeply solicitous for the more precise use of language in general and for the correctness of sea metaphor and idiom in particular. Her book is therefore most welcome. One or two points may be noted. It is not likely that *double Dutch*, 'gibberish', originally referred to a method of coiling rope' (p. 67), since, demonstrably, the seventeenth-century Englishman thus expressed his contempt for the unintelligible language of his enemies. The lexicographer mentioned (p. 82) is Cotgrave, not Cotgrove. Whether Shakespeare intended Polonius to advise Hamlet to 'grapple' his tied friends to his soul with 'hoops' or 'hooks' of steel (*Hamlet*, I, iii, 63) is highly controversial, but it is misleading to assert that '*hooks* appears in only one edition of Shakespeare' and that 'we may be sure that the editor who changed it to the more familiar *hoops* was a landlubber' (p. 89). Doubtless the writers of the First and Second Quartos were landlubbers and so, too, were Messrs Hemminge and Condell. All the Quartos and Folios have 'hoops'. It was that inveterate landlubber Pope who first preferred 'hooks' and he has since been followed by more than one editor. That *dead in dead reckoning*, 'comes from the abbreviation *ded* meaning deduced' has the support of Weekley who, however, suggests it tentatively and who, apparently, is unduly influenced by *route estimée*, its French counterpart. In fact, there is nothing tangible to confirm this derivation. All the available evidence is in support of an easily explained extension of meaning of the adjective *dead* in the sense of 'absolute' as in *dead level*. So N E D s v *dead*, a V 25. The rostra which adorned the orator's platform in the Roman forum were trophies from the naval victory at Antium, not Actium (p. 152). Difficulties, phonological and semantic, are involved in the association of *lark* in *skylark*, 'a sailor's term for romping, chasing one another up the rigging' with 'the old English *lake*, to sport or play' (p. 169). Children in the north of England may still 'lake and laik about', but these are diverse words, each with its long, well-attested history.

SIMEON POTTER

LIVERPOOL

*English Pronunciation and Shorthand in the Early Modern Period* By WILLIAM MATTHEWS (*University of California Publications in English*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 135-214) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, London: Cambridge University Press, 1943 4s 6d

Much can be learnt about the pronunciation of early Modern English from the

rhymes of poets, from the instructions of orthoepists and from the 'occasional spellings' of letter-writers and others. Something, too, can be learnt from the transcriptions of stenographers, and in this most useful monograph Dr Matthews has recorded the results of further gleanings in this field. This paper is complementary to his own account of *William Tiffin, an Eighteenth-Century Phonetician*, contributed to *English Studies* (1936), and to the essay by Helge Kokeritz on *English Pronunciation as described in Shorthand Systems of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* in *Studia Neophilologica* (1934-5), to which frequent reference is made. Matthews has scrutinized all the shorthand material in the British Museum and in many other public and private libraries. He has made a thorough study of the symbols used in text-books and manuscripts and he has noted stenographers' comments on pronunciations. For all this labour he has, in fact, been amply rewarded, although he himself modestly concludes that 'the phonological value of shorthand is much poorer than one might suppose'. Much of the evidence is not new but, corroborating statements hitherto conjectural or controversial, it is nevertheless of value. One general impression may be noted. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there must surely have been heard many varieties of pronunciation, dialectal, social, occupational, individual, even idiosyncratic, among people who were in widely differing degrees speech-conscious. Stenographers seemed to indicate several main types of pronunciation deriving from M E [ɪ] [i] retained or [æɪ], [æi] or [ei], [ʌi] and [ɔi]. They testified to a threefold pronunciation of M E [oi] [oi] retained or [ɔi], [ʌi] and [ui]. It is manifest that some speakers continued to pronounce M E [u] as a long vowel within this period. 'Use of a rising diphthong, such as [əʊ], in which the second element was dominant, is a possibility, which, however, receives very little support from shorthand, a diphthong beginning with an unrounded central vowel, [ʌʊ] or [əʊ], and very similar to the present-day Standard pronunciation, seems to have been most popular from about the middle of the seventeenth century, a diphthong with a fronter first element, [eʊ], is preferred by Tiffin (1751)'. The evidence for the consonants is perhaps more valuable than that for the vowels. Especially interesting is the omission of p, b, t, d in certain combinations, initial h, medial f, and of v, r and l, and the varied pronunciation of initial wh, wr, gn and kn. The reader will sometimes be left in doubt as to the precise meaning of the term 'Standard British' which may or may not be a stylistic variation of 'Standard English'. The expression 'southern British Standard' (p 148, l 22) is misleading. Are there, then, regional varieties of 'Standard British'? For the present study this question is cardinal: every possible ambiguity should be removed. It is unfortunate that Jespersen's name is misspelt at p 157, l 33, and again in the Bibliography. 'Orthoopia' (p 212, l 1) is a misprint for 'Orthoepia', and 'Neophilologica' (p 212, l 18) for 'Neophilologia'.

LIVERPOOL

SIMEON POTTER

*The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth. Poems founded on the Affections. Poems on the Naming of Places. Poems of the Fancy. Poems of the Imagination.* Edited from the manuscripts with textual and critical notes by E. DE SELINCOURT. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1944. xi+538 pp 25s.

*A Study of Wordsworth.* By J. C. SMITH. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd 1944. 6+104 pp 5s.

*Strange Seas of Thought. Studies in William Wordsworth's Philosophy of Man and Nature.* By NEWTON P. STALLKNECHT. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press 1945. x+284 pp \$3 50.

The second volume of the great Oxford edition of Wordsworth—the last to receive the final corrections of Ernest de Selincourt, that name always to be honoured in

Wordsworthian criticism—follows the same principle of order as the first, that of Wordsworth himself. It also contains the Prefaces and the 1835 Postscript, which, though in the 1849–50 edition they were placed at the end of vol. v, here find a natural home, and an Appendix of four poems either not reprinted by Wordsworth or hitherto unpublished: these are *Andrew Jones*, some stanzas which may have been rejected from the Prologue to *Peter Bell*, *Alcæus to Sappho* (which has been wrongly ascribed to Coleridge), and *The Glow-Worm*. The notes are like those of the first volume, to the point and full of information and corrections of earlier misunderstandings and mistakes.

Professor J. C. Smith's study, which is rightly dedicated to the memory of de Selincourt, consists of seven short and unhurried chapters. In the first of these Professor Smith discusses Wordsworth's dominant senses of sight, touch (in the older, wider significance) and, though of a more limited kind, hearing, his almost non-existent sense of smell and taste, and, more important than any of these, 'a capacity for impressions: whether this capacity was simply an extraordinary heightening (hyperæsthesia) of the senses of sight and hearing—or some mode of perception transcending sense'. In the other chapters the feelings arising from and associated with these sense-impressions, the tenacious memory of Wordsworth, are considered, then the essential elements of pleasure, fear and love in the growth of his, or any poet's, mind, then his dreams, hallucinations, reveries and visions, and so we come to Wordsworth's theory of poetry and his political and religious development. It would be difficult to find greater good sense, good feeling, discernment and scholarship in any Wordsworthian criticism.

Professor Stallknecht's larger book, which also owes much to de Selincourt's editorial work, is not easy reading, since it concentrates on the philosophical problems raised by Wordsworth's poetry. Much of it will be familiar to those who have read Professor Stallknecht's articles in *PMLA* and the Wordsworth and Coleridge *Festschrift* published in honour of Professor Harper, but these articles have undergone a good deal of not merely formal revision. It is interesting to notice the 'shifts of emphasis' referred to in the preface, pleasant and edifying to recognize the scholarly openness to appreciation of new arguments, and pleasant also to find oneself here and there carrying on an imaginary debate.

EDITH C. BATHO

LONDON

*From Script to Print: an Introduction to Medieval Literature.* By H. J. CHAYTOR.  
Cambridge University Press 1945. 156 pp. 12s. 6d.

Dr Chaytor's business is to consider what was the effect on medieval literature of the practice of hearing it read aloud. As late as the seventeenth century the dramatists of England and Spain were safe to assume that if a letter were received by one character its contents would be overheard by another (and by the audience). At least the lips moved actively and there was a murmur near to speech. That was so even under conditions of print, when the flood of cheap books had made visual and silent reading possible. But in the Middle Ages each scholar had very few books, if any, and reckoned to get most of his information through his ears. The laity had no books, but a vivid curiosity and retentive aural memory. Hence the straightforward fashion of speaking and constructing incidents, the recapitulations, the indifference to consistency in works that spread beyond one audition, the divisions approximately equalling the period of one entertainment, etc. Hence, also, at first, the preference for verse. Prose came in later with realism, satire and chronicle. Hence also the plagiarisms, which were commendable, since only by copying did any work circulate, and by refurbishing it kept up to date. An aspect



unexpectedly omitted by Dr Chaytor is song. The lyric was not made to be read, but to be heard as a song, and many of its peculiarities are due to that fact. A *rondeau*, for instance, was not merely a pretty piquette in verse, but a musical form which a composer could count upon for success, novelty of melody partly depended on uniformity of verse-pattern and contents. Much of the monotony we detect in manuscript collections of lyrics would disappear if we heard the lyric completed by its music.

These essays are friendly, wise and full of good reading. They should teach many to enjoy Old French literature who may now think that it is little better than a bagful of gobbets for etymologies.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE

OXFORD

*Pascal: Genius in the light of Scripture*. By EMILE CAILLIET. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1945. 7+383 pp. \$3.75.

M. Emile Cailliet, to whom all 'Pascalisants' will wish well for future, and offer hearty congratulations upon past achievements, has provided bibliographers and librarians with a mild headache, or, if you prefer it, an interesting little problem.

In 1943 he published in America *The Clue to Pascal*. In 1944 the same book appeared in England under the auspices of the S. C. M. Press. Now in 1945 that book forms four chapters of a new volume under a new title which, by the way, is greatly preferable to the old.

This rather complicated method of publication in no way detracts from the value of the work, which is solid, sensible, and well abreast of the times. For instance, Léon Brunschvicg's latest utterance, *Descartes et Pascal: lecteurs de Montaigne* (Neuchâtel, 1942; N. Y., Brentano 1944) is duly noted. The net is widely cast and covers almost everything that has been written about Pascal in recent years. I may mention an ancient and ephemeral article of my own in *For et Vie*, 1923, here dragged from oblivion on p. 242.

There is indeed only one first-class authority on Jansenism which seems to have been overlooked, viz. J. Paquier, *Le Jansénisme* (Paris, 1909). This is a pity, for M. Cailliet's handling of the clashing theological systems in the seventeenth century sometimes needs clarification. What, for example, is the 'physical premonition' of the Thomists? 'Physical premonition' is familiar, but 'premonition'?

However, I do not intend in this short review to embark on theology, beyond registering my conviction that M. Cailliet is successful in establishing the strictly scriptural character of Pascal's attitude and argumentation in both the *Pensées* and the *Lettres Provinciales*. Thus the promise made in *The Clue to Pascal*, p. 82, is fulfilled, and we may be grateful for it.

The *Little Letters* receive, in the book before me (chapters x-xiv), a generally satisfactory and original treatment. With regard to the 'Miracle of the Holy Thorn' which played so important a part in them and in Pascal's mental and spiritual development, it is difficult to discover what M. Cailliet thinks about it. At least he does not mention Sainte-Beuve's rationalizing explanation in *Port-Royal*, t. III, p. 178. Perhaps (and probably) his verdict, like that of all sensible and unprejudiced people, will be 'Not proven'.

M. Cailliet writes 'objectively', as they say, but he has a lively historical imagination. He rightly reproves M. Lhermet, author of *Pascal et la Bible*, for imaginative flights in respect of Pascal's father, yet he himself does not always resist the charms of *la maîtresse d'erreur et de fausseté*. To take a single example. He speaks of the *serenity* of Jacqueline Pascal. Now I should hesitate to ascribe serenity to either her or her brother, a tempestuous pair. I find no sign of it in her *Relation* to La Mère Angélique, that wonderful self-disclosure. The admirable mother had

need of all her power of consolation in the endeavour to cure the depression of the poor girl, whose subsequent story displays the courage which a bishop should possess and a wealth of wit and irony, but never serenity.

Of Blaise himself the picture which emerges from this profound and searching study is on the whole true and living, although I think that he receives more credit than he deserves in the account of the Saint-Ange affair. His harshness towards the unhappy heretic whose career he helped to ruin is consonant with his own character: imperious, passionate, obstinate, but it is none the less regrettable. It is not the first time that strong and narrow conviction has issued in cruel action. M. Caillet is so tender towards his hero that I am amazed to find the epithet 'spiteful' applied to him in connexion with Montaigne (p. 108) and I suspect a mistranslation of 'avec malice'. Mischievous Pascal doubtless was, but spiteful, never.

This leads me back to a remark which I made in reviewing *The Clue to Pascal* (*M L R* xxxix, No. 4, October 1944). There I expressed regret that M. Caillet did not write in French where he is most at home. Now the secret is out. The present work is a translation, and the translator was the philanthropist to whom it is dedicated, the late Theodore Carswell Hume.

There are other petty blunders which it would be pedantic to specify and of little importance, but which tend to spoil the pleasure one has in reading this excellent and important book. Misprints are few and easy to correct (e.g. pp. 189, 270). The print is clear, the style of presentation American, with its headlines, spelling, division of words at the consonant and so on. These are trifles and only worth mentioning for the sake of a reprint if it comes, as it should do, for works of this disinterested, self-effacing character are all too rare. It is obvious that M. Caillet's single aim is to bring his readers into touch with a great Christian whose nature and subtle thought are apt to be misunderstood.

H. F. STEWART

CAMBRIDGE

*Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500)* By WALTER H. RUBSAMEN. (*University of California Publications in Music*, Vol. 1, No. 1.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943. 82 pp. \$1.25.

The term 'Vocal Music' implies a partnership, a combination of two elements, text and music, a partnership which may be casual and thus partially ineffective, or careful and almost scientific. In the latter case we may expect and do find results. The Madrigal may be accepted as one of the high points in the history of musical art, and its forerunners, the *Frottola*, *Strambotto*, and so on evoke our interest for that reason. Apparently the texts of the *Frottola* have aroused more enquiry than the music, and like others Mr Rubsamen has concentrated on this aspect. In the earlier times of the *Frottola* (about 1470) the verse seems to have been in feeble imitation of Petrarch, but from about 1507 onwards an improvement took place, with Bembo and others contributing texts. The musical form is less polyphonic than that of the Madrigal, being essentially homophonic with a certain dressing of florid ornament, another sharp distinction from the Madrigal being that the latter is 'through-composed' while the former has music repeated for each verse, with a refrain.

Mr Rubsamen describes for us the relationship of the *Frottola*, as an art-composition, to its acknowledged model, the 'Street-song'. In deriving its name from *Frocta* he does not allude to a suggestion put out by Ernst Ferand in the *Musical Quarterly* (New York) for July 1941, p. 328, that the derivation is to be sought rather in *frotta*, a crowd or masses. The usual suggestion by encyclopaedists is *frutto* (e.g. Apel, *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 1944, p. 284).

To discuss whether the *Frottole* were sung by a soprano with accompaniment, or by four voices in harmony, seems needless. As in the Middle Ages, so in the Italian Renaissance, one singer and three players were as good as four singers, and perhaps better to some ears: at times there may have been four singers and four players, and so much the better, for they were concerned with music, not with what was 'correct'. What should we think of the researchers of A.D. 2400, could we behold them in advance, trying to get up an argument as to whether in 1945 it was correct to sing hymns in church in unison or in harmony? The author (p. 5) rightly alludes to diversity of practice, where other experts choose to dogmatize.

*Barzelle, Strambotti*, and other forms are described in some detail for us in this treatise, with an abundance of scholarly reference: and finally we are told of the invasion of the domain of the text-writer, hitherto an unskilled versifier (the 'Street-song' almost suggests 'Tin-Pan-Alley'), by the more literary school. Eleven musical examples are given, and a full bibliography.

For any who are unfamiliar with the ground, and find this publication a trifle on the heavy side at first reading, we would recommend by way of introduction an excellent short article by Everett B. Helm, 'Heralds of the Italian Madrigal', in the *Musical Quarterly* for July 1941, p. 306.

ANSELM HUGHES, O.S.B.

BURNHAM, BUCKS

*Manual de Entonación Española*. By TOMÁS NAVARRO. New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1944. 306 pp. (No price stated.)

The general attitude to language teaching has changed considerably in recent years. It is now established that the ear, not the eye, is the true receptive organ of speech, whilst proficiency in any language cannot be achieved until both the auditory and the articulating organs have been rationally trained. The science of phonetics takes every advantage of both organs and is given its due recognition to-day as indispensable for the thorough study of a language. As far as intonation is concerned it is now recognized that every language has its own distinctive set of tunes. Nothing gives the foreigner away more certainly than a faulty modulation of the voice in speaking. Language students cannot afford to neglect this essential aspect of phonetics. The study of voice fluctuations is very important in conveying meaning and implications. Unfortunately, intonation has been relatively neglected in the study of most languages. This deficiency is probably due to the extremely complicated nature of the melodic combinations that go to express both meaning and emotion in speech.

*Manual de Entonación Española* by Tomás Navarro is an outstanding contribution to dynamic phonetics and a fitting sequel to the author's excellent *Manual de Pronunciación Española*.

Probably the most impressive feature of this treatise is the penetrating depth with which Señor Navarro examines every detail and aspect of intonation. Whilst dealing principally with the intonation of educated Spanish, he devotes some consideration to regional peculiarities of various parts of both Spain and Spanish-America. Señor Navarro makes the interesting disclosure that the intonation used by cultured people throughout the Spanish-speaking world is largely the same.

Broadly speaking, this book is divided into two sections—dealing with logical and emotional intonation respectively. In his remarkably exhaustive treatment of logical intonation, Señor Navarro emphasizes that it 'should be considered as the basis for the study of the musical lines of the voice in relation to the spoken word'.

The second part of the book is devoted to an analysis of the effects of emotional states on the normal fluctuations of speech intonation. Thus the two sections build up a comprehensive study of Spanish intonation in all its aspects.

To illustrate his numerous observations, Señor Navarro has included a wide variety of pertinent excerpts from well-known Spanish authors.

At the end of the volume there are a few diagrams of the principal tunes, and in view of their helpfulness in clarifying various points, the foreign student may well regret that these examples are not more numerous. This system of diagrams has already proved invaluable in such books as *Studies in French Intonation* by H. N. Coustenoble and L. E. Armstrong, *A Handbook of English Intonation* by L. E. Armstrong and I. C. Ward, *A Handbook of German Intonation* by M. L. Barker, *English Intonation* by H. E. Palmer.

This detailed analysis of intonation fills a long-felt deficiency, and nobody could be better qualified to treat the subject than Señor Navarro who is the recognized authority on Spanish phonetics.

Equally useful to the specialist and the layman, the native and the foreign student, *Manual de Entonación Española* together with its forerunner *Manual de Pronunciación Española* forms a complete guide to the correct speaking of the Spanish language.

IVAR DAHL

LONDON

*Lope de Vega El Sembrar en buena Tierra*. A critical and annotated edition of the autograph manuscript. By WILLIAM L. FICHTER. New York: Modern Language Association of America, London: Oxford University Press, 1944. xiv + 247 pp. (Price not stated.)

Professor Fichter calls attention to the moral doctrine of this play. It is the Renaissance moral taught by Cervantes' *El Amante liberal*, namely that nothing so surely wins love as generosity. In Cervantes' novel there was more reticence and more variety. The play does all its business in public, and the scenes reduce themselves to instances of money-wasting and money-grasping. The hero temporarily begs himself for the sake of a harpy, who rejects him just before his inheritance comes home from America. The heroine gives away all her property to help the hero out in his need. The harpy takes everything, but her last grasp is of empty air. The whole action is a buying and selling of love, as distasteful as *La Dorotea*. Lope was as constant a man as ever lived habitually out of wedlock, and he has a flair for making the domestic virtues faintly immoral. It is partly a consequence of his two-dimensional technique. Once the social status of his personages is settled, he carries them forward by the appropriate conventional motives, which seem so thin. This being so, it may still be the case, as Professor Fichter argues, that this play gives a realistic picture of life in Madrid, the characters being types well known about town. They are not much individualized, and there is only one outstanding scene—that in which the harpy tries all she can to get a present from a harpy-proof young cynic.

The autograph (Brit. Mus. Egerton 547, ff. 216–75) is exactly dated 6 January 1616. Four pages, reproduced in facsimile, show that the play was written in a swift, legible cursive, sometimes heavily corrected. Erasures have made the lists of actors partly illegible. Professor Fichter is able to adduce some curious points in Lope's orthography and syntax: *u* for *o* before words beginning in *d-*, *gaula* for *jaula*, *visasté*, etc. The play was composed too hastily to be consistent about the names of minor characters, and to this speed we may attribute some incoherence of style. The edition of the text, the notes and the introduction are wholly commendable.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE

OXFORD

*La Argentina y la nivelación del Idioma* By AMADO ALONSO Buenos Aires  
Institución Cultural Española 1943 191 pp (No price stated)

There are three main themes in this important little book (1) the Argentine influence on the *lengua general* of Spanish-speakers, (2) an explanation of the reforms in grammar and literature in the Argentine secondary schools, (3) the elegant use of language, especially on the boards

It is the first which is of special interest to English students The second subject is made somewhat remote from us by the fact that reform emanates from a ministry and not from the zeal of the teaching profession itself (apart from certain influential members) The third is a matter for comparison with other languages which set up a standard of elegance based on stage use The first, however, raises the question whether the intellectual centre of the Spanish world has not been displaced in our time It is not merely that Spanish publishers have set up offices in Buenos Aires (chiefly) and Mexico City to do the business they have not been able to do in Madrid, not merely that Spanish writers in exile write for these publishers, but that a new habit of reading has sprung up in the Argentine, and that the Spanish exiles write directly for the Argentine (and other American) readers Thus Madrid is short-circuited in the literary process, and Paris will, doubtless, never recover her hegemony in the South American market for South American books There remains behind a question mark the problem of the South American *littérateur* Hitherto this sort of person has not expected to gain a livelihood from writing, but has hoped that a government office would take up a sufficient number of copies to stave off a severe loss Poetry has flourished because it is a private affair, one unburdens one's heart of the poems and one's pocket of some pesos for copies to inflict on one's friends Dr Alonso finds that there is a more professional outlook among Argentine writers, and that they are beginning to count on a Pan-American public

This brings him to his main topic of the Argentine influence on the *lengua general* He points out that such an influence is necessarily bookish, only books are used over and over again It is through their merit as makers of books that the Argentines will affect the common tongue They have felt a grievance that argentinisms are not well-received and often not recorded abroad Dr Alonso points out that the Argentines are as much possessors of the Spanish language as are the inhabitants of Madrid, but goes on to say that no insistence on peculiarities can influence common opinion, still less a cult of local vulgarisms, the latter has been tried and has provoked purist reactions in the Argentine, which have gone too far in discountenancing perfectly legitimate usages. Propaganda either way is sterile, since the decision lies irremediably with those who write books good enough to be admired for their language Something, he thinks, may be done by registering respectable argentinisms and forwarding them with proper definitions to the editors of the Spanish Academy's dictionary To this dictionary he attributes wholeheartedly a normative function He does not ask its editors to record the existing state of the language, but to state what words and expressions are demonstrably part of correct usage Other dictionaries have a duty to record the state of the language, he says Which, in Heaven's name?

WILLIAM J ENTWISTLE

OXFORD

*La Ciudad del Estudio Ensayo sobre la universidad española medieval. Selección y Reforma ensayo sobre la universidad renacentista española* By ALBERTO JIMÉNEZ. Mexico El Colegio de México (Centro de Estudios Literarios) 1944 160+186 pp. (No price stated.)

These two volumes are not works of erudition in the sense of contributing new

facts to knowledge. Their characteristic is wisdom. Sr Jiménez brings to the consideration of the medieval and middle periods of Spanish university life a wide reading and a judgment trained by his great work as head of the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid. That post is not so exclusively administrative as the headship of an English college. It is the expression of an educational ideal which must always be kept bright because it is always controverted. Sr Jiménez, therefore, is attracted to examine the past history of Spanish universities to see what kind of men they produced, what influence they had on the life of the country, how they kept pace with other centres of learning, what setbacks they suffered. It is characteristic of his method that he records with loving care the details of the appearance of the Spanish colleges, those stones which, according as they were grandly hewn or miserably patched, as they were severe or ornate, reveal so much of the spirit within their fold. He turns to art and literature, also, and to the general themes of each age, to complete his account of what the universities achieved.

Such an account can hardly be given from the documents so elaborately reproduced in the individual histories of Spanish universities. They give constitutions, lists of names, royal interventions, ceremonials, but the tenuous essence of mental life escapes them. Even a documentary history must use non-documentary matter. For medieval Salamanca, for instance, we have to rely on Alfonso X's confirmatory letter, though we cannot be certain how far it was actually effective, we have to suppose that the university functioned like the ideal university of the *Partidas*, though few things in Alfonso's reign went as he wished them, and we may well suppose, as Sr Jiménez implies, that the graduates would have passed through some such finishing process as Alfonso recommended for princes.

Though perhaps Sr Jiménez attributes to the 'school of Toledan translators' more solidity than they had, the point is well made that the universities arose not in the heat of the quest for knowledge, but in a second moment of codification. They answered, in Spain, an imperious demand for nation-wide law, and a secondary demand for doctors. The first volume balances these three requirements of university education: acquisition of knowledge, conservation and ampliation, and professional service.

The second volume has four chapters. The foundation of colleges within the older university of Salamanca created an *élite* for the government of the empire. Sr Jiménez identifies the residential system with the aristocratic trend in education. He goes on to show how the state, recovering from the anarchy of the later Middle Ages, relied on the university for its civil service. The new university of Alcalá was directed towards the corporate execution of works of learning necessary for the well-being of religion. In the fourth chapter, Sr Jiménez runs over the important contributions to international law, medicine, and theology made by Salamancan teachers. The triumph of one of them (Melchior Cano) had the misfortune to encourage fear of innovation and to lead to the closing of the frontiers. Sr Jiménez shows how the prohibition of student travel led to stagnation, not at first visible in the world of art and letters, though soon pretty evident in the narrowing of the trained mind.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE

OXFORD

*Maria Magdalena*. By FRIEDRICH HEBBEL. Edited by G. BRYCHAN REES. (Blackwell's German Texts.) Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1944. lx + 135 pp. 8s 6d.

Hebbel's dramas have found little favour among a wide public in England. Dr Rees says that *Maria Magdalena* does not appear to have been produced in

this country, and Hebbel is likely to remain an author who appeals to the few. The individuality of his work as a whole and the sombre texture of this drama in particular preclude the possibility of wider popularity. It is a play that can be understood only if the German background and Hebbel's own life and development are known. His *Bürgerliches Trauerspiel* shows how great the changes are which this genre underwent since the days of its inception in Germany, when its central idea was the presentation of life in the most general terms. With Hebbel it has become the vehicle for the dramatization of private experiences, although, as Dr Rees points out, *Maria Magdalena* is not lacking in the qualities of realism and objectivity.

The editor has perhaps confined himself too narrowly to the task of elucidating this private background, but in his chosen sphere he is a generous interpreter. He has given a careful account of the genesis of the drama, explaining the crucial experiences that went to the making of the tragedy and tracing the stages in the slow elaboration of the dramatic plan. He offers all the relevant material from the author's diaries and letters, and he adds (with an illuminating preface) Hebbel's *Vorwort*, that provocative, intermittently profound and ill-written manifesto.

Dr Rees has achieved his purpose of providing 'an introduction, or at least an approach, to the larger aspects of interpretation and criticism'.

E L STAHL

OXFORD

*Heine in England* By STANTON LAWRENCE WORMLEY Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, London H Milford 1943 xvii+310 pp 18s

The sponsor of this book, the Dean of Yale College, claims for it not only exhaustive completeness but judiciousness of judgement. Of the first only a worker in the same field can competently speak,<sup>1</sup> the second one cannot accept without some qualification.

The author's avowed aim is to present a survey of the entire field of Heine translations in England, and to discover the attitude of the English to the man and poet and the influence he has had on our literature. His concern is as much with quantity as with quality, since he thinks that the vast number of references to Heine is in itself a testimony to his popularity.<sup>2</sup> The book is arranged to facilitate rapid reference and is in fact a compilation involving much industry and research. It is a pity that it did not frankly remain such, for the sections on Heine in English criticism and informal opinion, where the author is content with the modest role of recorder, are the best. When he turns to literary criticism the results are less satisfactory. Our reliance on his judgement is immediately shaken by this oversimplification (p 3) 'All Heine's writings are merely variations of the same little theme, the "history of Cupid and Psyche"'; or again by the false emphasis and lack of historical perspective in the statement that Heine is like Flaubert and Thomas Mann in believing that 'in art the form is everything, the substance nothing' (p 264). This pronouncement of Heine is after all an echo of the views of Goethe and Schiller, and in the orthodox tradition of aesthetics. And is it not precisely the all-importance of form that constitutes the difficulty of translating any poetry, not only Heine's? Dr Wormley's attempt to account for the special difficulty of translating Heine's lyrics into English is not only unconvincing but illogical. Why suggest in the conclusion that it is because the 'crystal-clear' nature

<sup>1</sup> Dr Wormley might, however, have strengthened his bald statement on the influence of Heine on A. E. Housman by Housman's own testimony. 'The influence of Heine is evident in *A Shropshire Lad*' (*A E H* by Laurence Housman, London, 1937, p 199).

<sup>2</sup> His continued appeal is demonstrated by the recent appearance of still another translation of the poems into English by Kathleen Helen Bradley Kirby, London, The Euston Press, November 1944.

of our English lyric is utterly foreign to the quality of Heine's songs, when he has repeatedly characterized these as 'crystalline' and 'crystal-clear'?

In the section on translations the combination of criticism and compilation reveals itself as an unfortunate method quite apart from the quality of the judgements, and it is difficult to see for which kind of reader it can be intended. Those unfamiliar with the German originals will need some guide as to the quality of the numerous translations. But they could surely have been catered for by some method such as Mr Baedeker's terse but accurate marks of commendation. For those who know the originals, judgements of a translation only spring to life when they are precise, when we see how they have been arrived at, and why the translation succeeds or fails. Such criticism, of its nature, requires selection from the material available. To attempt to provide completeness in the guise of literary criticism is bound to result in a meaningless monotony of evaluating adjectives and phrases. The intention no doubt was to make compilation palatable, and a similar desire to leaven the dullness of a book of reference seems to have governed the details of style. But it is difficult to see why this book should have been more than half its present length.

ELIZABETH M. WILKINSON

LONDON

## SHORT NOTICES

Professor James Sutherland's inaugural lecture on *English in the Universities* (Cambridge University Press 1945 30 pp 1s 6d) seems to set out with some cursing for 'scholarship', but soon continues altogether to bless it. It appears to be a question of likes and dislikes. But surely there is good and bad scholarship, whatever the chosen field, whether sources or literary reputation, or editing, or that ill-defined field of highest endeavour singled out as criticism. Professor Sutherland is himself a distinguished editor of Pope. He is aware of the danger of appearing to favour an academic school of *belles lettres*, and guards against it, though he lays unaccustomed stress upon sensibility as a qualification. Edward Ferrars, according to Marianne, would have failed to pass the test.

The real problem, of course, lies at a lower level in the schools. It is greatly open to question whether English should be 'taught' and examined in the schools at all, except as a language. But the bookless home and the scholarship system compel it. University schools of English are nevertheless built upon the sands of increasing ignorance, as Professor Sutherland points out. There is much to be said for his scheme (pp 24-5) for scholarships in English to be awarded for classical studies at school. And he has much else to say that deserves close attention and thought. The true ultimate purpose of a University School of English, in definable terms, remains obscure, and is perhaps best left so. Modern society will not easily tolerate a 'useless' subject, and pay for it.

C. J. Sisson

LONDON

Dr Manfred F. Bukofzer, in his pamphlet *Sumer is icumen in. A Revision* (University of California Publications in Music, Vol II, No 2 vi+36 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press 1944 75 c), gives his reasons for revising the estimated date of 'Sumer is icumen in'. He maintains that the folio 11 of Harley 978 upon which it is written had no necessary connexion with the Reading Calendar of 1226 to 1238 on folio 16, and that the date must be found from internal evidence only. This involves a process in which the rules of logic must be very carefully watched, or we find ourselves arguing in a circle. There are not so



many medieval music MSS where external evidence is definite as to date, though many provide a *terminus a quo* in their texts, the martyrdom of St Thomas is a frequent case in point

The case which the author builds up on internal evidence for a date 1300–25 is, we think, probably right so far as our present knowledge goes but the tendency of all research in this field during the past century goes to show how this or that form, whether of composition or of notation, is older than had been previously recognized His conclusions may be described as highly probable but not final

He takes no account of the Middle English text of the Rota beyond saying that the decision of A J Ellis (for the middle of the thirteenth century) in 1868 'must be investigated anew', because 'the history of notation is more precise and reliable than mere palaeographical and philological evidence' This we take leave to doubt. Nor do we find any discussion of the late Dr G R Woodward's contention that the Latin text is original, and the English an addition On the other hand, we are given many interesting and valuable notes on side-lines arising out of the discussion, including a new Worcester fragment

ANSELM HUGHES, O S B.

BURNHAM, BUCKS.

Dr F S Boas, in his Presidential Address to the English Association (*American Scenes, Tudor to Georgian, in the English Literary Mirror* London, H Milford 1944 20 pp 2s), links the *Four Elements* of John Rastell in 1519 to the Harvard speech of Mr Churchill in 1942, with felicitous quotations on the way from Arthur Barlow, Drayton, and Chapman, Burke, Matthew Arnold and Rupert Brooke, not forgetting the less kindly comments of Marryat and Dickens Most significant of all are perhaps the lines from Daniel's *Musophilus*—

To what strange shores  
This gain of our best glory shall be sent,  
T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?  
What worlds in th' yet unformed occident  
May come refin'd with th' accents that are ours?

They might be taken as a motto by the British Council

E C BATHO

LONDON

*The Critical Theory of Lord Kames*, by Helen Whitcomb Randall (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, Vol XXII, Nos. 1–4) (Northampton, Mass. Smith College 1944. viii+147 pp \$2 00), is a study and elucidation of *The Elements of Criticism*, by Henry Home, Lord Kames, first published in 1762 and the subject of some thirty-six editions, abridgements and translations before the end of the nineteenth century, becoming a fashionable college text-book of rhetoric and poetics, especially, in its abridged forms, in America. Wherein lay the virtue of the book, it is the purpose of Helen Whitcomb Randall's examination to explain, and this she does by relating the critical principles of Kames not only with the prevailing aesthetic but also with the 'moral Newtonianism' of his day, with the interpretation of emotion and of mental processes, especially in their relation to the arts, that derived from Hobbes, Locke and their successors and, in the case of Kames, from Hume

In the central chapters she examines Kames's theory and its claims to originality in two sections, reflecting the stages of his critical method. First came Analysis, by which he purposed to 'ascend gradually to principles', to disclose through their effects upon the emotions the aesthetic laws behind aesthetic manifestations and the categories or ideas (beauty, grandeur, etc.) to which they pointed. Next, having established thus the causes of certain responses, he proceeded to his

Synthesis, examining existing critical ideas and testing them by their relations with these general principles. This second part is necessarily more practical and involves the exposition of a rhetoric and a poetic besides some specific criticism, which, however, is always subordinated to the framework of the theory.

In addition to these chapters covering Kames's aesthetic, there are chapters on his life and on the history of the book, together with five appendices of illustrative matter and biographical detail.

UNA ELLIS-FERMOR

LONDON

Sr Jorge Guillén's essay introducing *La Poética de Bécquer* (New York Hispanic Institute 1943 58 pp) is of the admirable kind which is precisely borne out by the anthology attached. Bécquer's thoughts about poetry were scattered and unsystematic, like his poems themselves, but they make a coherent whole. His ideas were not notably new. He attained to the concept of poetry as emotion recollected in tranquillity, but he could not phrase this view with Wordsworth's skill. This also was in his nature, since, though he too had vision transfiguring experience, what he saw was the stuff of dreams, not the essence of things. In like manner he carries his cult of words far on the road to discovering the inevitable and just word, but at the last touch lacks confidence in words. The Romantic tampering with integrity of thought leaves a trace in the ineffectiveness of Bécquer's intellect, his uncertainty, feminism and illusion. His accent is thin, but it was clear and sweet, amid the muddy stream of verses used for political ends, and by being so it contributed essentially to the purification of the Spanish Parnassus. Sr Guillén notes these two aspects of Bécquer: 'Partiendo del romanticismo, hemos ya en la atmósfera que anuncia el simbolismo. Si Bécquer parece a primera vista un rezagado, ahora se nos revela un precursor del movimiento moderno'.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE

OXFORD

Sr Ivar Dahl has issued, in collaboration with Professor Daniel Jones, a Spanish rendering of the principles of the International Phonetic transcription (*Fundamentos de escritura fonética* London Department of Phonetics 1944 24 pp 2s). To those accustomed to Sr Navarro Tomás's script the first thing that calls for notice is the absence of breath groups in the transcriptions. The value of certain sounds, however, depends above everything on their position in the breath group, and it is by the frequency or rarity of the pauses that one identifies the style of enunciation employed, and consequently the number of liaisons and other abbreviations of speech. The curves of intonation also depend on the determination of the breath groups, and without them more than one possibility emerges in certain clauses. The sign [c] is recommended for *ch*, and [ɟ] for the voiced palatal affricate. They are listed as 'occlusives' on p. 8, but as affricates on p. 12, and the use of single or double signs is placed on the footing of convenience, no pronouncement being made on the theory of these consonants. The older dental affricates are not mentioned for Spanish, but are represented by digraphs in Italian, contrary to the practice of Panconcelli Calzia in his manual. In Chinese transcription the usage is not consistent. In Russian digraphs are used, but are written into each other and called affricates. The 'broad transcription' does not make a distinction between occlusive and fricative values of *b d g*, but this seems too broad for practical use. The 'narrow transcription' gives them as fricative [β ð ɣ] except after a nasal (but one should add also *ɖ* after *l*, and all at the beginning of breath groups). However [ð] is the sound in Eng. *then*, interdental, and its use for Spanish fricative *d* causes one characteristic error of pronunciation. Gonçalves Vianna agreed with Navarro and Barnils in requiring signs distinct from but like the occlusives [b d g], making the further point that the shift from fricative to occlusive is a quite

frequent accident of speech and does not denaturalize individual words. The seven Spanish vowels are admitted in the narrow transcription, but do not occur in the places suggested by Navarro. As Spanish open *e* is never like the French, Portuguese or Catalan sound, I personally favour marking it differently [ɛ], not [e]. It will then be seen to be an open variety of central *e*, a sound quite distinct in a Spanish context, but smothered by more important differences in other languages.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE

OXFORD

Messrs Cassell are first in the field with a pocket *War and Post-War German Dictionary* by Dr C. Brinitzer (London, Cassell, 1945, 254 pp., 5s.). This dictionary, which is 'post-war' only in the sense that it is designed for use in the post-war period, is intended for the Allied Armies of Occupation, administrative officers and for future historians of Nazi Germany. The attempt to meet the needs of the interpreter as well as the student is, we suppose, responsible for the inclusion of numerous words referring to food and drink, but in a supplementary war dictionary of this kind *Astrologie*, *Linksaußen*, *kegeln* and *Nobelpreis* seem out of place.

The dictionary is strongest and most reliable on the organization of the Nazi party and on wireless and legal terms, which are illustrated by apt quotations in English from propaganda literature and the German broadcasts, but the military, air and naval terms are incomplete and at times imprecise and inaccurate. We miss amongst many others *abschiessen* (used of tanks as well as aircraft), *ausfallen*, *ausgebombt*, *Flugbombe*, *Funkgast*, *Hafenschutzboot*, *Leuchtschiff*, *Panzerschiff*, *Riegelstellung*, *Spernbrecher*. An *M-Boot* is a *Minensuchboot* (minesweeper), not a motorboat, a *Führerboot* is a leading boat in a formation, not a destroyer; *flotilla leader*, *Seegeltung* is naval prestige, not sea power, a *Landungsfunkstelle* is a W/T homing station, not a portable W/T set, a *Soldat* is a naval rating as well as a soldier, and, on the home front, an *Originaler* is surely a shell-egg, not a German standard egg.

The dictionary also includes soldiers' slang, but again many common words are missing, e.g. *Er* (mine), *Kasak* (Catholic naval chaplain), *Müser* (mechanic) and *Hermannpokal* (Luftwaffe award).

The tone of the book is not enhanced by Dr Brinitzer's jibes at Nazi German in his Introduction. It seems to us that no useful purpose is served by remarks that 'they [the Nazis] wanted a blue-eyed language. What they produced was a language with no eyes at all'.

Within its limits, as a handy word-list, this book will serve as a stop-gap until the time comes for a comprehensive dictionary of Modern German to be made.

C. T. CARR

ST ANDREWS

In *The Jutland Wind and other verse from the Danish Peninsula done into English* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1944, x+116 pp., 7s. 6d.) Mr R. P. Keigwin has made a capital selection of forty poems (or fragments of poems) written by Jutish authors, beginning with Anders Bording (1619-77) and going down to Kaj Munk (1898-1944) and Johannes V. Jensen (fortunately still with us), and has provided each with a verse translation on the page opposite. The poets, more vigorous and varied, less subtle and supple on the whole than their brethren of the Danish islands, span a wide gamut, and the renderings, while adhering to accuracy and to the metres of the original, are almost invariably happy as well. Altogether, this is an admirable little book, pleasant to eye and hand and furnished with just what is wanted in the way of introduction to Jutland and its literature, of foot-notes and bibliography. It will serve not only the lover of poetry, but also the student of Danish, whether he is working by himself or as a member of an 'intermediate' course under tuition.

B. W. DOWNS

CAMBRIDGE

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

April—June 1945

With the collaboration of PAMELA GRADON (English)

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES

#### Italian.

RUBSAMEN, W H, *Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca 1500)* California and Cambridge Univ Presses \$1 25.

#### Portuguese.

AGARD, F, WILLIS, R W and LOBO, H, *Brazilian Portuguese from Thought to Word* Princeton and Oxford Univ Presses 20s

#### French.

CAILLIET, E., *Pascal* Philadelphia, Westminster Press \$3 75

DELACOURCELLE, D., *Le sentiment de l'art dans la 'Bergerie' de Remy Belleau.* Oxford, Blackwell 21s

HUGO, V, *La légende des siècles*, ed by H J Hunt Oxford, Blackwell 8s

KLINCK, G A, *Allons gai! A Topical Anthology of French Canadian Prose and Verse* Toronto, Ryerson Press, London, Hatchard 4s

MOLIÈRE, J B P. DE, *L'Avare*, ed by R A. Wilson. London, Harrap 3s.

### GERMANIC LANGUAGES

#### English.

##### (a) *General (including linguistic).*

BEACH, J W., *A Romantic View of Poetry* (Percy Turnbull Memorial Lectures). Minnesota and Oxford Univ Presses 12s

*Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* Vol xxx, 1944. Collected by C H. Wilkinson. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 7s 6d

*Year's Work in English Studies*, The, ed by F. S. Boas Vol. xxxiii, 1942 London, H. Milford. 10s. 6d

##### (b) *Old and Middle English.*

KENNEDY, C W, *The Earliest English Poetry.* London and New York, Oxford University Press 16s

##### (c) *Modern English*

BENTLEY, G E, *Shakespeare and Jonson* 2 vols Chicago and Cambridge Univ. Presses. 45s

BOYD, E. F, *Byron's Don Juan* New Brunswick, Rutgers Univ. Press. \$3 50

CLARK, L, *Alfred Williams, his Life and Work.* Bristol, W George's Sons, Oxford, Blackwell 17s 6d

FORD, G. H., *Keats and the Victorians. A Study of his Influence and Rise to Fame, 1821-1895.* Yale and Oxford Univ. Presses 20s

GOODES, C., *American Literature in Nineteenth-Century England.* Columbia and Oxford Univ Presses. 16s. 6d.

HOOD, T., *Letters of*, ed. by L. A. Marchand. New Brunswick, Rutgers Univ Press \$2 00

HOUPP, C T, *Mark Akenside* [Diss] Philadelphia, Univ of Pennsylvania

KAHRL, G M, *Tobias Smollett, Traveller-Novelist* Chicago and Cambridge Univ Presses 24s

- MACCARTHY, B G, *Women Writers their Contribution to the English Novel, 1621-1744* Cork Univ Press 10s 6d
- PALMER, J, *Political Characters of Shakespeare* London, Macmillan 18s
- QUENNELL, P, *Four Portraits Studies of the Eighteenth Century* London, Collins 12s 6d
- SHELLEY, P B, *Correspondence with T J Hogg together with Letters of Mary Shelley and T L Peacock and a hitherto unpublished Prose Fragment, ed by W S Scott. The Golden Cockerel Press* £3 3s.
- SIMMONS, J, *Southey* London, Collins 12s 6d
- SMITHER, N, *A History of the English Theatre at New Orleans, 1806-1842* [Diss.] Philadelphia, Univ of Pennsylvania
- STALLKNECHT, N P, *Strange Seas of Thought Studies in William Wordsworth's Philosophy of Man and Nature* Durham, N C, Duke University Press \$3 50
- STRUVE, G, *Scott Letters discovered in Russia* (reprinted from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol XXVIII, no 2, Dec 1944) Manchester, Univ Press 1s
- SUTHERLAND, J, *English in the Universities* Cambridge, Univ Press 1s 6d
- WALPOLE, H, *Correspondence with Mary and Agnes Berry and Barbara Cecilia Seton, ed by W. S. Lewis, A. D. Wallace, C. A. Bennett and E. M. Maitz (The Yale Edition)* Yale and Oxford Univ Presses £4 14s 6d
- WARS OF CYRUS, THE, *An Early Classical Narrative Drama of the Child Actors, ed by J. P. Bawner* Urbana, Univ of Illinois Press. \$2 00
- WISE, T. J., *Letters to J. H. Wienn, ed by F. E. Hatchford* New York, Knopf

### EDITORIAL NOTICE

The General Editor regrets the necessity of a small increase in the rates of subscription for the *Modern Language Review*. The steep rise in the cost of production of the journal has made this inevitable, despite all economies and the good will of the publishers. This step has been taken after full discussion at a General Meeting of the Modern Humanities Research Association held on 19 September 1945. As from January 1946, the annual subscription rates will therefore be 30s and, for members of M. H. R. A., 20s. Single numbers will be nine shillings. It is hoped that the journal will soon be enabled to return to its normal size.

The General Editor takes this opportunity of expressing the gratitude of the Editors to subscribers and contributors, above all in this country and in the United States, for their support and sympathy, which have enabled the journal to appear, and to maintain its standards, throughout the perilous and difficult years of war.

The *Modern Language Review*, however, has increasingly gained support also from other countries and from foreign scholars. With the return of peace it is hoped that the journal will be enabled to discharge more fully its function as an organ of international learning within its wide field.

G. J. Sisson  
General Editor

